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A
COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE AND INTERESTING
TRACTS,
TENDING TO ELUCIDATE DETACHED PARTS
OF THE
HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN;
SELECTED FROM THE
SOMMERS-COLLECTIONS,
AND ARRANGED IN
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

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809



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD BERWICK.

MY LORD,

THE Publication now offered to your Lordship, being a Selection from a very numerous Assemblage of curious and uncommon Tracts, on a Variety of interesting Subjects, composed at different Periods, and by different Writers, and containing many Particularities which are lost in the general Mass of a History, even of our own Country, will, I hope, be thought a Work not unworthy of your Lordship's Notice and Approbation.

The copious Compilation, my Lord, here alluded to, is well known to the Purchasers of curious Pamphlets, by
a 2 the

the Title of *Lord Sommers-Collection*, consisting of Sixteen Quarto Volumes, printed at different Times between the Years 1748 and 1751, now rarely to be met with compleat, and when they do occur, to be procured only at a very high Price.

Whatever appeared most rare and valuable, and of general Concern in that Miscellany, after a careful perusal of its Contents, has been here brought together, and arranged in order of Time; private Narratives in general, and individual Cases, and whatever is not connected some Way or other with the public Interest, have been purposely omitted as breaking the Thread of the History, and destroying that Connection, which, from the interrupted Publication of the original Work, it was impossible perhaps at first to observe, but which appeared to be extremely worthy of Attention, when the Means of accomplishing it were more at Command.

There are two Reasons, my Lord, that persuade me to believe, that in introducing this Book to the Public, under this Address to your Lordship, I have acted with strict Propriety—The first is, the great Zeal that you have expressed

expressed for the general Encouragement of Literature,
and the fine Arts; the other, the peculiar Satisfaction that
I feel in the Opportunity it affords me, of subscribing
myself, with the highest Respect and Esteem,

My Lord,


Your much obliged,

And very obedient Servant,

NEW BOND-STREET,
June 24, 1795.

R. EDWARDS.

ADDRESS



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A D D R E S S
TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE original Collection, out of which the present Volume has been formed, however valuable in some Respects, was yet so incommodious, both from its Bulk and Price, as to confine the Possessors of it to a very small Number; and it was therefore conceived, after the Example of the Compendium, lately published, of the Harleian Miscellany, that an Epitome of the Sommers-Collection might prove an useful and desirable Accession to the Libraries of private Gentlemen, especially at this Time, when the public Taste for minute and curious Information, respecting the History of our own Country, appears to encrease in Proportion to the numerous Gratifications of the Kind, that it is continually receiving from the publication of private Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Lives.

The Name of the great Lord *Sommers*, appended to the Work, at its first Appearance, gave it an accidental Recommendation, which, (considering the total Want of Method, Connection, and Arrangement, in the Materials of which it is composed,) it stood greatly in Need of, and the unfortunate Circumstance of a Fire, which early destroyed a great Part of the Impression, had a considerable Effect
also,

also, in raising its Consequence; added to this the prevailing Turn, as before observed, for this sort of Reading, have together, contributed to make these Volumes, for some Time past, more sought after, and purchased at a much higher Rate than they can justly be thought entitled to from their real Merit; nor is this said wantonly, or to depreciate the Volumes in Question, only since the same Objection of want of Method, so conspicuous in them, whether we consider the Subjects themselves, or their defective Arrangement, may, with equal Truth, be imputed to almost every Compilation of the Kind that has hitherto appeared in our Language: *the Phœnix*, *Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus*, the *Harleian Miscellany*, and *Howard's Collections*, have all precisely the same Faults; the Censure might be continued even to later Publications, but it would be thought invidious to do so.

The Tracts themselves, whether respecting general or particular History, are many of them neither interesting nor uncommon, have no relation either as to Subject, Time, or Place, to one another; and are moreover frequently printed from the earliest and least correct Copies: to get quit of some of these Objections, at least with respect to the *Sommers*-Collection of Pamphlets, by selecting the most remarkable Articles contained therein, and observing Connection of Subject, and chronological Order, is the Design of the present Publication.

It remains only to add, that the Editor, without recurring to the modern Arts of Decoration, has endeavoured to make this Volume worthy a Place in a Gentleman's Library; and if his Readers shall be of Opinion that considerable Improvements have been made
upon

upon the original Plan, both as to the Selection and Disposition of the different Articles, though he assumes not the Name or Character of an Author, he hopes he may be allowed that humble Kind of Praise that would be given to any Builder, who, after clearing the Ground of a vast ill-fashioned and irregular Mansion, crowded with “rich Windows that exclude the Light, and Passages that lead to nothing,” should contrive, at a moderate Expence, and out of the old Materials, to erect upon the Spot a neat, convenient, comfortable Dwelling.

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A

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

From the Cotton Library, which was destroy'd by the
Fire there.

Julius, B. XII. 5. *The Christening of Prince Arthur, Son
to H. 7. with the Ceremonies then used.*

AND sone after the King departed from *Westm.* towarde the West Parties,
and hunted so to *Wynchestre*, where on St. *Eusta's* Day the Prince *Arture* was
borne and cristenede in Maner and Forme as ensuethe, which was the furste-be-
goten Sonne of oure saide Souueraigne Lorde King *H.* the 7th, whiche was in
the Yere of oure Lord 1486, the Dominical Letter A, and the 2d Yere of the
Reigne of oure saide Soveraigne, whiche was not cristene unto the *Soneday*, thene
next folowing, bycause th'Erle of *Oxinforde* was at that Tyme at *Lanam* in *Suff.*
whiche shulde have ben one of the Godfaders at the Font; and also that Sea-
sone was al rayny: Incontynent after the Birth, *Te Deum* with Proceffione was
songe in the Cathedrall Chirche, and in all the Chyrches of that Citie, and great
and many Fiers made in the Stretis, and Messengers sent to all the Astatez and
Cities of the Realme, with that comfortable and good Tydyngis, to whom were
given great Giftes, and over all *Te deum Laudamus* songon, with ringging of
Belles, and in the moost Parties Fiers made in the Praising of God, and the
B Rejoyfing

Rejoyfing of everie true *Englifsheman*; the Body of al the Cathedrall Chyrche of *Wyncheftre* was hangede with Clothes of Arras. And in the Medelle, befide the Font of the faide Chirche, was ordeignede and preparade a folempne Fonte, in Maner and Forme as enfuethe: Furst, there was ordeignede in Maner of a Stage of 7 Steppes, fquare or rounde, like an high Croffe, coverde with rede Worftede, and up in the Myddes a Pooff, with a made of Iron, to bear the Fount of Silver over gilte, which within fourth was wele drefsed with fyne Linnen Clothe, and nere the fame on the West Side a Steppe like a Blokk for the Bifshop to ftonde on, coverde alfo with rede Say; and over the Font, of a good Height, a riche Canape, with a great gilte Bolle, celid and fringed, without Curteyns; and over the North Side was ordeignede a Travers, hanged with Cloth of Arras; and uppon the on Side therof within fourth another Travers of redde Sarfenett, wherof *James Hide* and *Robert Brent* had the Charge; and ther was Fyer with fumygations redy agenfte the Prince comyng; and withoute the Grese of the fayde Fount was raylede with good Tymber, and coverde as the Grefis were, havyng two Entres on on the Este, and another in the Weste, whiche were kept by 5 Yomen of the Coronne, that is to fay, *Rake, Burle, Robert Walker, William Vaughan, and John Hoo.* And afre the Lorde *John Alkok*, Bufshop of *Worcester* had halowed the Fount, it was kepte by Sir *David Owen* and Sir *Hugh Perfall* Knyghtis, for the Body, and *Richarde Wodevile, Thomas Poyntz, John Crokker, and Thomas Braindon*, Efquiers, for the Body, on the *Sunday*, when the Chapell was come into the Priour's great Hall, whiche was the Quene's great Chambre: The Treafourer of Household toke the Say of Salt to the Sargeaunt of the Pantery, and delyverde it to th'Erle of *Effex*, and a Towell withall, whiche the faide Yerle cafte aboute his Nek. In like wife the Sergeant of the Chaunderye a Taper garnifshede with 4 wrethen Bowtes and Bowles, and with Bane Rolls and Penffell, with praty Imagery and Scripture, the whiche the Lorde *Nevell* Sonne and Heire of th'Erle of *Westmerlande* bare. Item, the Sergeant of the Evry delyverde to the fayde Trezorer a Pere of gilt Bafons, with a Towell fowlden upon theym, whiche wer delyverde to the Lorde *Straunge*; and as foloweth they preceded towarde the Chirche: Furst, ther were 20 Torches borne unlight, two and two togeders, by Heuxmen, Squiers, Gentilmen, and Yomen of the Coronne; the Governauce of whom had *Knyston, Gedding, Pers of Wreyton, and John Amyas*; after them the Chapell; after the Chapell, ther wer, withoute Order, certen Knyghtis and Efquiers; after them Kingis of Armes, Herauldes, and Purfurvauntis, having ther cotis on ther Armes, and Sergeauntis of Armes, as been accuftumede, and th'Erle of *Derbye*, and the Lorde *Maltravers*; after theym the Bafouns, the Tapers, then the Salte
of

of Golde coverde ; and then a riche Crefome whiche was pinnyde on the right Breast of my Lady *Anna*, Sister of the Quene, hanging over her left Arme, Sir *Richarde Gilforde*, Knyght, Constable, on the right Hand, and Sir *John Turburvill*, Knyght, Marshall, on the lefte Hande, bering ther Staves of Office ; and after them my Lady *Cecill*, the Quene's eldest Sister, bare the Prince, wrappede in a Mantell of Cremefyn Clothe of Golde, furred with Ermyn, with a Trayne whiche was borne by my Lady the Marquesse of *Dorset*, and Sir *John Cheyny* supportede the Medell of the fame ; and the Lorde *Edwarde Widevill*, the Lorde *Lawarre*, the Sonne and Heire of the Lorde *Audeley*, and Sir *John of Aroundell*, bare the Canapie. The Marques of *Dorcett* and th'Erle of *Lincolln* gave Assistance to my Lady *Cecill*. And at this Cristenyng was my Lady *Margaret* of *Clarence*, my Ladye *Gray Rithyn*, my Lady *Straunge* the elder, my Ladye *Lawarre*, Maistres *Fenys*, my Lady *Vaux*, my Lady *Darcy*, Ladye *Maistresse*, my Lady *Bray*, my Lady Dame *Kateryn Grey*, my Lady Dame *Elyonour Hant*, my Lady *Wodall* with dyvers other Gentilwomen ; and thus procedede through the Cloister of th'Abbey unto a litill Doore beside the Weest Ende of the Chirche, in the South Parte of the faide Chirche, wher was ordeynede a riche and a large Clothe of Estate ; for the Wether was to cowlde and to fowlle to have been at the West Ende of the Chirche ; and the Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Chirche, abyding the comyng of the Prince ; at whiche Tyme Tydingis came, that th'Erle of *Oxinforde* was within a Myle ; and ther was the Bisshop of *Worcester*, Lorde *John Alkok* ; whiche cristende Prince in Pontificalibus ; and the Bisshop of *Excester*, Lorde *Pers Courtney*, and the Bisshop of *Saresbury*, Lorde *Thomas Langton*, th'Abbot of *Hide*, and the Prior of the same Place, in like wise accompanyede, with many noble Doctours, in riche Copes and grey Amys, Mayster *Robert Moreton* the Maister of the Rolles, the Deane of *Welles* Maister *John Gonthorpe*, Doctore *Fox*, the King's Secretary, with many moo. How be it, they taried 3 Oures largely and more, after the faide Erle of *Oxinforde* ; and after that, by the Kingis Commaundment, procedede. And th'Erle of *Derbye* and the Lorde *Maltravers* waren Godfaders at the Fount, and Quene *Elizabeth* Godmoder ; and incontinent after the Prince was put into the Fount the Officers of Armes put on ther Cootis, and all the Torches weren light, and then entrede th'Erle of *Oxinford* ; and from the Fount the Prince was had to his Travers, and above his Cremefyn clothede as byfore ; and from thens, in faire Order, was borne to the high Auter, and leide therupon by his Godmoder.

After certyn Ceremony, whan the Goospel was doon, *Veni Creator Spiritus* was begun and solemnely song on by the Kingis Chapell, with Orgons, and *Te Deum* also, during whiche Season th'Erle of *Oxinforde* toke the Prince in his

right Arme, and the Bifshop of *Exceſtre* conferred him, and the Biſhop of *Sareſbury* knyt the Bande of *Lynnene* about his Nek, then the Marquiſſe of *Dorſet*, th'Erle of *Lyncollne*, and the Lord *Straunge*, ſervede Quene *Elizabeth* of *Towell* and *Water*, and Sir *Roger Coton*, and Maifter *Weſt*, ſerved the other Goſſeps. And by ſide the ſaid high Auter was ordeynede a Travers for the Prince, wher Quene *Elizabeth* gave a riche Cuppe of Golde coverde, which was borne by Sir *Davy Owen*; and th'Erle of *Oxynforde* gave a pere of Gilte Baſouns, with a Sayer, whiche were borne by Sir *William Stoner*; and th'Erle of *Derbye* gave a riche Salt of Golde coverde, which was borne by Sir *Raynolde Braye*; and the Lord *Maltravers* gave a Coſter of Golde, whiche was borne by Sir *Charles Somerſett*; and from thens procedede to Seynt *Swythens* Shryne; and ther offrede, where was another Travers; and iſte Confefſor with an Antyme of Seint *Swythine* was ſong on; and Spices and Ipocras, with other ſwete Wynys, great pleynty; whiche doon, the Prince retournede, and was borne Home by my Lady *Cecill*, accompanyede as byfore, ſaving the Salt, the Baſons, and the Taper, and al the Torches brennyng. And in the entering of the Norſerye wer the Kingis Trumpets and Mynſtrellis pleying on ther Inſtrumentis; and then was he borne to the King and Quene, and had the Bleſſing of Almyghty God, our Lady, and Seint *George*, and of his Fader and Moder; and in the Chirche Yerde wer ſett 2 Pipes of Wyne, that every Man myght drynke ynow. And the King gave no great Largeſſe, only but 20 li. for Sake of Advertiſement; but ther ben Prefidentys ynow to be ſhewde of 100 li. or 100 Marcs. *Memorand.* That the Biſhop weſhede at the Font with coverede Baſons.

From the *COTTON* Library.

N. B. (*This was destroyed by the Fire there.*)

Vitellius, C. XI. 12. Fol. 113.

*Remembrance for the Traduction of the Princesse Katherine,
Daughter to the Right Highe and Mighty Prince the
King and Queen of Spaine, as herein Articles it doth
appear.*

IMPRIMIS, It is agreed, that in the Month of *August* or *September* next comeinge, the said *Princesse Katherine*, with her Company, shall be transported, God willinge, into *Hampton Water*. It is thought good, forasmuch as the Shippes which shall passe her noble Person, shall not move to come neere by thre or four Miles unto the Kinge's Porte and Town of *Hampton*; that the two Barkes which the Kinge our Soveraigne Lord caused to be rigged against the last Voyadge and Armie by Water, that his Grace caused to be made into *Scotland*, be richly appointed, and other Barges and great Boats to attend upon her said Companie, be likewise well arraied and well furnished for to bringe her said noble Grace and her Companie the more easily and the more assured unto the Kinge's Towne and Porte aforesaid.

Item, It is accorded, that in the said two Barkes there be some noble Personages of mine to receive the same *Princesse* at her Shippe:

Item, There be Lords Spirituall and Temporall appointed to attend upon her Landinge on Lande, whose Names be written in the Roll of the first Meetinge; and therefore Letters be necessarie to be sent unto them for the same Purpose in Time convenient.

Item, There be Ladyes also appointed to give there Attendance upon the said *Princesse* at her Landinge, whose Names be in a Roll specified; wherefore it is requisite that the Queen's Letters be semblably sent unto the same Ladyes for the same Intent.

Item, That a Proposition be made at the first receiveing of the said *Princesse* unto my Lord Steward's Hands, by such one as my Lorde shall move the Kinge to do the Act. And sithence forthwith upon the Landinge of the said *Princesse*; it seemeth accordinge that she and her Company ought to enter into the Chardge of the King's Grace, should appointe some Officers and
others

others of His most noble Household to make her Costs and Expences and the Provision of the same.

Item, These nine Persons followinge be appointed to attende upon my Lord Stewarde when he shall call or sende for them.

The Lord *St. Jones*,

Sir John *Risley*,

Sir James *Tyrrell*,

Sir *Walter Hungerford*,

Sir *David Owen*,

Sir *Robert Poyntes*,

Sir *Edward Wingfield*,

Sir *William Sandys*,

Sir *Edward Darrell*.

To the Intent that he and they together may debate and commune from Time to Time for the orderinge of the receiveing of the said *Princesse* off the Water, for the first Meeting on Lande, for her conveyinge Lodginge and Dislodginge of her and of her Company, as thereunto it shall apperteine, and soe to advertize the Bishops and Earles of the said first Meetinge for to have their Counsell and Assent for the same.

Item, These forenamed Persons, that is to say, my Lord Steward, my Lord *St. Jones*, &c. shall see every Thing put in due Execution accordingly as it shall be concluded betweene the Lords of the said first Meetinge, and them haveinge in Remembrance that Servants be not suffered to ride before, but see as they be from Time to Time a sufficient Number of Horsemen to ride behinde for the better Order and the more Honor. And in semblablewise it is thought good to be donn in the seconde and thirde Meetinge by my Lord Steward and the other nine Persons to advertize the Lordes, and further to doe for these two later Meetings, as for the first Meetinge, it is devised and before rehearsed.

Item, These Persons ensueinge, be appointed to attend upon my Lord Steward at the first Meeting; *Richmond*, King at Armes, *Somerset Harrolde*, *Rouge Dragon* and *Blewemantle*, Pursevents, *John of Roydon*, *Thomas Footman*, *Lion Chawford*, *John of Leighe*.

Item, That my said Lord Stewarde have the Rolles of the Estates, and the Noblemen that be appointed for the firste, the seconde and the thirde Meeting for himself, and for the Advice of the Lords and of the Knights appointed to assist him, the better and the more assuredly to conduct every Thing in his due Order.

Item, Good it were because he should knowe the whole Ordinance of these saide Traditions, that he had a Copy of the Booke thereof for the better to direct all that to his Charge is conteyned in the same.

Item,

Item, That certaine Officers be assigned to provide for Letteres for Chaires and for Palfreys for the saide Princeesse, and for Her Ladies.

Item, That Boates be provided to bringe the Stuffe and Baggages of her, and of her Company from their Shippes to Lande; and that Horfes be ordeined for the Company to Journey by Lande, and Carriages for the Stuffe and Baggage aforefoid.

Item, That two Litteres be prepared for the saide Princeesse's own Person, the one thereof to convey Her by the Way untill she come to *Croyden*; the other to be more richly garnished then the first, to make Her Entrie into *London*.

The first Chapter, how the Princeesse departed from her Father and Mother, beeing in Spaine, and what Windes and Jeopardies she suffered in her Passage.

When that after the prefixed Promises between the noble Kings of the Royal Realmes of *England* and of *Spaine*, the Daughter and Princes of the saide Kinge of *Spaine*, for the Intent of Matrimonie, to bee lawfully finished and concluded to Her, prepared Navie of Shipps with the right sufficient Guard and Companie of Nobles of that Countrie to Her Assistants, limited and assigned themselves, should breifelie Order and Conducte. The impatient Winds of that Coast seem to have been greatlie agreved, and not peaceably to suffer the fore desired Passage of the saide Princess to the Coasts of *England*, fatally ordained and predestinate the Guifts, and also the Dowrie of so Godlie a Ladie and Princess: Wherupon they cruellie with right great hugenes of Stormes and Tempests opposed with their outeraeous Blastes the Cloathes of the saide Ships, inhaunced their Mafts out of their Socketts, distroubled their Tacklinge and all their whole Weigne, the perillous Seas with Waves soe fearfull wrought and areared, that unto the Rulers and crafty Mariners was most to their Freighte Persons to be safegarded, expediently thought to some of their owne latelie forsaken Havens they should retourne their Coufe, where within shorte Seas, it contented Almighty God that more pleasant Winds should goodlie rule the Journeys of the cleare Aires above, throughe whose Helpe and Aide unto the *English* Partes, they were right shortelie convenied, and fortunatelie they arrived at *Plymouth*, farr in the Countrie of the *West*.

The second Chapter of their arrivinge in England, and of the Meetinge of the King's Grace, and divers other Estates of the Land.

Then as soon as these glad Entries of the Lady was knowen and apperceived to the States and Gentiles, Borders of the saide Countrey of the *West*,
 with

with all godlie Manner and haſte Speed, themſelves with right honorable Guiſtes, to repaire to that Noble Princeſs, and there the Goodlie with all required Points and Features of Curteſie, ſaluted and welcommed her, ſoe eſcaped graciouſlie her perillous Jepordies, with their Pleaſures, Preſents, and thoſe Attendances, as well in the firſt Arrivinge, as in continuall Service, wayting and guideinge the ſaid Princeſs into the further Entrance of the Realm of *England*, towards the honorable and ancient Cittie of *London*, where at that Time the King's noble Grace was lodged and abidinge.

And firſt the Lord *Brooke*, Steward of the King's Houſe, was by the Aſſignment of the King's Grace directed and ſent to the Intent, to purvey and provide for the Princeſs and her Reteinue in their Journey and Paſſage, as well for their Viand, Horſes, Carriages, and as every other Neceſſitie, and right convenientlie ſo he did.

After that the Earle of *Surrey*, with divers other Lords Temporall of the Land, enſued unto the Meetinge and Attendance of this worthie Eſtate, and the Princeſs; and after then the Dutcheſs of *Norfolke* by a like Aſſent and Will of the Kinge with a goodlie Companie with her of Counteſſes, Baronneſes, and manie other honourable Gentlewomen, repaired unto the moſt noble Princeſs, and therat, her ſuch Meetinge, had ſhee kept forth her continual Companie and Waitinge.

Notwithſtandinge his Highneſs's Grace was not ſo intentivelie ſatiſfied with the Service and diligent Attendance of his ſaid Subjects, Gentiles, but bounteouſly ſet himſelfe with a Semelic Companie of his Eſtates, Dukes, Earles, Barons, with others divers of Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, to bee, in the fourth Day of *November*, removed from his Mannor of *Richmond*, toward the meeting of this goodlie Ladie, whoſe ſpeedful Journey was annoied and ſuffered Impediment, and of his Increate was ſo abreviate by the Encluſon, that he and his preſent Liege Servant the Day right farr ſpent, ſoe late were horſed at the ſaid Remove, the Silence of the Eveninge did then approache, that they weere compelled by Convinyencie at *Chertſey*, not verie farr from the ſaid Mannor of *Richmond*, to Purvey and Herbage for their repoſeinge that Night.

*The third Chapter of the Meetinge that the Prince gave the King at
Eaſthamſtead.*

Tomorrowe Clowdes were uſuallie, and after the Courſe naturallie expelled, the clear Beams full ofte Times, the middle Aire with their Reflections had ſtroken,

stroken, then the Sides of there Coursers with there Spurres, they began to cast and extend their Passage to the Village of *Easthamstead*, ther might the lovinge *English* People pleasantlie perceive the pure and proper Prefence of Prince *Arthur*, the Heire of their lawfull Lands, and Successor by Grace granted by God, full solemnlie to salute his sage Father before their owne Prefence, the which was greate Gladnes to all trustie Hearts, that of everie eache Realme by wise Lawes are named for the Treasure.

Loe thus with his Sonne, the most noble *Henry* of *Richmont*, of *England*, the 7th Kinge of that Name, full pleasantlie passed over the Season of that Night, and in the next Morrowe to the Plaines he departed, wher met with him the Prothonatarie of *Spaine*, and enured him that they had receaved of him by straighte Injunction and Commandment of their Sovereigne Lord of their Land, that they should in no Manner of wise permitt, or their Ladie and Princes of *Spaine*, whome they had to guide, and in Government, to have anie Meeting, ne use anie manner of Communication; neither Companie unto the Inception of the verie Daie of the Solemnization of Marriage; whereupon, after a certaine musing of this Minde of the Kinge of *Spaine*, immediatelie ther in the Fieldes, the King's Grace of our Realme of *England*, let all then that weer of his honourable Councell to be in that Matter advertised, howe they thought most to Reason agreeable to encline to this declared Purpose, or as hee intended to that Ladie, hee should mainteine his Passage.

And soone after the prudent Infearche of everie Persons both Spirituall and Temporalls Answer, it was held by their Sentance concluded, that forasmuch as due Agreements in a Manner complished, sith they were soe farr entered into his Empire and Realme, they should seeme to bee in Parte dischardged anenst their Sovereigne, and of all Governance of their said Princes avoyded and excluded, and the Pleasure and Commandement of her to lye in the Power in Grace and Disposition of our noble Kinge of *England*.

The Fourth Chapter of the Demeanor of the Kinge, and of the Princess in their first Meeting.

Thus his Highnes advanced himselfe, leavinge the Prince behinde upon the Plaine, and in the Time of Two or Three of the Clocke at Afternoone, his Grace entered into the Towne of *Degmersfield*, where the Princess was Two or Three Houres before his said comminge right well accompanied, and right richelie be seen so as heertofore have none been seen like her, haveing with her an Archebyshope, a Byshop and an Earle, with manie other Nobles of

Spaine, and manie Ladies and Gentlewomen of the same Countrie, to the Number of threescore, and Ladies and Gentlewomen of this Region right nighe as manye.

And as soone as the Prince's Servants weer ascertained of the comminge of the Kinge, as the Archbysshops, the Byfshop, the Earle with other of her Retinue and Councell, they shewed him that the Princess was in her Reste; he answered in such Form, that if shee weer in her Bed, he would see and commune with her, for that was the Minde and Intent of his comminge; and thus, convenient Leifure to her respited; she gave him an honorable Meeting in her third Chamber, wher were perused the most goodlie Words and uttered of the Languages of both Parties to as greate Joye and Gladness as in anie Persons mighte ever convenientlie have been had.

Afer the which Welcomes and Communications ended, the King's Grace deposed his Ridinge Garments, and changed him, and by halfe Season of one Hower the Prince was allsoe knowne to bee present, and ensuinge the King's Highness and the L. Prince, made their second resorte together to the Chamber of the Princess, and there throughe the Interpretation of Byfshops, the Speeches of both Countries, by the Meane of *Latyn*, weer both understood. Whereas to fore they weer by Deputies contracted, they here nowe weer their and either of other Presence Sponfallie ensured, the which seeme- lie Ensurance so as it is promised honorably ended; the Kinge sped him to his Supper, and after that he had supped full courteouslie with the Lord Prince, visited the Ladie in her owne Chamber, and then she and her Ladies let call her Ministrells, and with right goodlie Behaviour and Manner, they solaced themselves with the Disportes of Dancinge, and afterward the Lord Prince in like Demeanore with the Lady *Guildford*, danced right pleasanlie and honorablye.

The First Chapter, howe the Princess departed from Dogmersfield to London ward, and howe the Kinge removed another Waye to the same Citty.

Upon the Morrowe, the seventh Day of the rehearsed Moneth of *November*, the Princess on her Behalfe took her Journey to *Chertsey*, and there lodged all that Night, and from thence toward *Lambeth*; and, or ever she came fullie to the said Towne beyond a Village called *Kingston* upon *Thames*, the Duke of *Bukingham* on Horse backe, full rightlie bee seene the Earle of *Kent*, the Lord *Henry*, the Duke's Brother, and the Abbot of *Burge*, the which after the Duke had saluted her Grace, declared in *Latyne* a certaine Properfition of her welcomminge

welcomminge into the Realme, with a greate manie of the Dukes Gentlemen and Yeamen in his libertie of Blacke and Redd, to the Number of three or four hundred Personns mett this noble Lady, and at that Village they lodged all that Night, and soe accompanied with her as a Guide in the Morne right honorably conducted her to her said Lodginge at *Lambethe*, wher shee continued unto suche Season as her enteringe into the Citty of *London* might most convenientlie in everie Manner behalfe bee prepared, as well on her Partie of the Retinewe of *Spayne*, as to her Assistants of the Realme of *England* by our Soveraigne, assigned partely to the Encrease and Magnifyinge of her Honnor and Estate, *secondlie* to the Maintenance of the old and famous Appetites that the *Englisch* People have ever used in the welcomminge of their acceptable and well beloved Strangers.

The King's Highenes alsoe in his Partie removed from the said Princess another Waye towards the Cittie of *London*, and the first Nighte hee lodged at *Easthamstead*, where as his Grace had beene before in his first comminge to the Lady Princess. And upon the morrowe the 8th Daye of the rehearsed Moneth of *November*, hee nighted at his Castle of *Windsore*, the 9th Daye of the same Moneth, in his Mannor of *Richmond*, himselfe reporse where the Queenes Grace mett with him, whome he ascertained and made Privie of the Acts and Demeanors betweene himselfe, and the Prince, and the Princess, and howe hee liked her Person and Behaviour, and the 10th Day ensuinge, hee rode till hee came to *Paris-garden*, upon the further Side of the River from *London*, and ther hee tooke his Barge, and was sett up at his Lodginge called *Bainards-castle*, within the same Cittie, seitt upon the *Thames* Side, right pleasantlie towards the Water, within forth full well garnished and arraied, full stronglie with Walles encompassed withoute, wherto his prudent and noble Audience all Manner of Matters had their Recourse, that to his owne Person weer appertaininge for his owne Honnor and Right to all his whole Realme for Comforte and Justice; and alsoe for the inductinge of this noble Ladie and Princess of *Spayne*, and his ther setteinge upp and landinge the Queen's Grace, by Water, in her Barge, with her godlie Companie of Ladies, was there presentlie landed and entered in.

A true and summary Report of the Declaration of some Part of the Earl of Northumberland's Treasons, delivered publickly in the Court at the Star-Chamber by the Lord Chancellor and others of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and Council learned, by her Majesty's special Commandment together with the Examinations and Depositions of sundry Persons, touching the Manner of his most wicked and violent Murder, committed upon himself with his own Hand, in the Tower of London, the 20th Day of June, 1585.

In ædibus C. Barker, Printer to the Queen of England, her most excellent Majesty.

TO THE READER.

MALICE, among other essential Properties appertaining to her ugly Nature; hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, *Incredulity*, wherewith she commonly possesseth the Minds and Affections of all those that are infected with her, so blinding the Eyes and Judgment of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceive the bright Beams of the Truth, although the same be delivered with never so great Purity, Proof, Circumstance, and Probability. It is said, that no Truth passeth Abroad unaccompanied with her contrary, and as they go, Truth is ever constrained to yield the Precedence and Preheminence to her Yoke-fellow Falshood, whose lodging is always first made and prepared without a Harbinger in the corrupt Nature of Mankind, by whom he is first received, entertained, and harboured at all Times: Whereof in our daily Experience there happen many and dangerous Demonstrations, especially in Matters of the highest Moment, tending to excuse or accuse the Actions of the greatest Personages.

There was of late delivered in publick by Persons of Honour, Credit, and Reputation, a large declaration of certain Treasons practised by the late Earl of *Northumberland*, of the Manner of his untimely Death, being with his own Hand murdered in the *Tower*, and of the Causes that wrought him thereunto: the Particularities whereof are such and so many, as for the Help of my Memory (coming then to the Star-chamber by Occasion, and not looking for any such
 Presence

Presence of the Nobility and Privy Council as I found there at that Time, and not looking for any such Cause of that Nature to have been handled there that Day) I took Notes of the several Matters declared by the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Attorney, and Solicitor-General, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain: For, as I remember, they spoke in Order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this Sort, and not according to their Precedence in Dignity.

Upon the hearing of the Treasons, with their Proofs and Circumstances, and the desperate Manner of the Earl's destruction delivered in that Place, and by Persons of that Quality, I supposed no Man to have been so void of Judgment, or the Use of common Reason, that would have doubted of any one Point or Particle thereof, until it was my Chance (falling in Company with divers Persons at fundry Times, as well about the City of *London* as Abroad) to hear many Men report variably and corruptly of the Manner and Matter of this publick Declaration, possessing the Minds and Opinions of the People with manifest Untruths: As, that the Earl had been unjustly detained in Prison, without Proof or just Cause of Suspicion of Treason: And that he had been murdered by Device and Practice of some great Enemies, and not destroyed by himself. These slanderous Reports have ministred unto me this Occasion to set forth unto thy View and Consideration, gentle Reader, this short Collection of the said Treasons and Murder, as near unto the Truth as my Notes taken may lead and permit me, with the View of some of the Examinations themselves concerning this Cause, for my better Satisfaction since obtained: Which I have undertaken for two Respects; the one, to convince the false and malicious Impressions and Constructions received, and made of these Actions, by such as are in Heart Enemies to the happy Estate of her Majesty's present Government: the other, because it may be thought necessary for the preventing of a further Contagion, like to grow, by this creeping Infection, in the Minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like Rumours, to receive the bad as the good, and they the most in Number. Wherein, if I have seemed more bold than wise, or intermeddled myself in Matters above my Reach, and appertaining unto me, I crave Pardon where it is to be asked, and commit myself to thy friendly Interpretation to be made of my simple Travel, and dutiful Meaning herein.

Upon the three and twentieth Day of *June* last, assembled in the Court of Star-chamber, Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Knt. Lord Chancellor of *England*, *William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Marshal of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Charles* Lord

Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain, *Henry Lord Hunsdon*, Lord Governor of *Berwick*, *Sir Francis Knollis* Knt. Treasurer, *Sir James Crofte*, Knt. Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, Knt. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Lord Chief Justice of her Majesty's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and others; the Audience very great of Knights, Esquires, and Men of other Quality, the Lord Chancellor began briefly and summarily to declare, that whereas *Henry* late Earl of *Northumberland*, for divers notable Treasons and Practises by him taken in Hand, to the Danger, not only of her Majesty's Royal Person, but to the Peril of the whole Realm, had been long detained in Prison, and looking into the Guilt of his own Conscience, and perceiving by such Means of Intelligence, as he, by corrupting of his Keepers, and other like Devices, had obtained, that his Treasons were by fundry Examinations and Confessions discovered, grew thereby into such a desperate Estate, as that thereupon he most wickedly destroyed and murdered himself; which being made known to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, Order was thereupon taken, and Direction given to the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lord Baron of the Exchequer, to examine the Manner and Circumstances of his Death, which they with all good Endeavour and Diligence had accordingly performed. And lest, through the sinister Means of such Persons as be evil-affected to the present Estate of her Majesty's Government, some bad and untrue Conceits might be had, as well of the Cause of the Earl's Detainment, as of the Manner of his Death, it was therefore thought necessary to have the Truth thereof made known in that Presence: And then he required her Majesty's learned Council there present, to deliver at large the Particularities, both of the Treasons, and in what Sort the Earl had murdered himself. Then began *John Popham*, Esq; her Majesty's Attorney General, as followeth:

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, about the Time of the last Rebellion in the North, in the 11th Year of her Majesty's Reign (then called by the title of *Henry Percy*, Knt.) had undertaken the conveying away of the *Scottish* Queen; for the which, as appeareth by a record of the 14th Year of her Majesty's Reign, in the Court of her Majesty's Bench he was indicted, he confessed the Offence, and put himself to her Majesty's Mercy. At which Time, upon his said Confession, Submission, and faithful Promise of his Duty and Allegiance to her Highness from thenceforth, the Queen's Majesty, of her merciful Nature, was pleased not to look into his Offence with the Extremity of her laws, but dealt therein, as by way of Contempt only, as may appear by the Record; the Effect whereof was then shewed in

in Court, under the Hand of one of the Clerks of her Majesty's said Bench, *in hæc verba.*

Middlesex. } MEMORANDUM, that *Henry Peirce*, late of *Tinmouth*, in the County of *Northumberland*, Knt. was indicted in the Term of *Easter*, in the 14th Year of her Majesty's Reign, for that he, with divers others, did conspire for the delivering of the Queen of *Scots* out of the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: upon which Indictment the same *Henry Peirce* did confess the Offence, and did put himself to the Queen's Mercy, and thereupon Judgement was after given by the Court, that the said *Henry* should pay to the Queen for a Fine for his said Offence, five Thousand Marks, as appeareth by the Record thereof in Court.

Per Micha. 14 & 15 Elizabethæ Reginae, Rotulo quinto inter placita Reginae. Concordat cum Recordo.

Per Jo. Ive.

BY this Record it may appear, that the Earl had his Hand in that Rebellion. But for a further Proof thereof, it is most manifestly discovered in a certain Tract, written by the Bishop of *Ross*, wherein he sheweth how faithfully he behaved himself in the managing of those Treasons, at and about the Time of that Rebellion, that the said Earl was, in Effect, as far plunged into the same, as the late Earl his Brother, howsoever he wound himself out of the Danger at that Time.

Notwithstanding these traiterous Practices, the Queen's Majesty was contented to remit all within a short Time, and then accepted most graciously of him both in Honor and Favour, though unworthily bestowed upon him; for that he utterly forgetting those Graces and Favours received at her Majesty's merciful Hands, with a graceless Resolution was contented to enter into a new Plot, now lately contrived, not only for delivering the *Scottish* Queen, but for the invading of the whole Realm, the Overthrow of the Government, as well concerning the State of Religion, as otherwise, the Danger of her Majesty's sacred Person, and advancing of the said *Scottish* Queen to the Regal Crown and Scepter of this Realm, whereunto her Majesty is lineally and lawfully born and descended, and wherein God of his Mercy continue her long, in happy State of Government, to the Increase of her own Glory, and the Comfort of her loving and obedient Subjects.

Then

Then did Master Attorney enter into the Particularities of the Treasons, leaving many Parts thereof untouched, because the Case stood so as it was not then convenient to reveal them, as he said, in respect that they touched some other Persons undealt withal at that Time, shewing that *Throckmorton's* Treasons were not old, but fresh in every Man's Memory, and how far forth they reached unto the Earl, he declared. And for that the Treasons of *Throckmorton* tended especially to the invading of the Realm with foreign Forces, the Purpose of that Invasion long before intended, is proved by sundry Examinations and Confessions taken here within the Realm, as well of her Majesty's own Subjects as others, by Letters intercepted, written from and to the Conspirators Abroad and at Home, and by other good Advertisements and Intelligences had from foreign Parts, discovering the same. He declared, that in a Letter, written from Dr. *Sanders* to Dr. *Allen* out of *Spain*, in the Year 1577, it is set down, among other Things, that the State of *Christendom* stood upon the stout assailing of *England*.

That in a Letter sent to the same *Allen* from *Rome*, touching Audience given by the Pope to the Ambassadors of certain foreign Princes, between the Pope and whom a league was agreed on against the Queen's Majesty, there were inclosed certain Articles, containing in Effect, that the Realm should be invaded with 20000 Men, at the Charge of the said Pope and Princes, that her Majesty should be deposed, and some *English* Catholick elected King.

That it was confessed, that the coming over of so many Priests into the Realm, was to win great Numbers to the Catholick Party, to join (if Opportunity served) either with foreign Invasion, or with Tumult at Home.

That at *Narbonne* in *Provence*, there was met an *Englishman*, being the Head Preacher there, who gave Intelligence to one of her Majesty's Subjects, that the Realm should shortly be invaded by a foreign King, and the Popish Religion restored: And said further, that Priests came into *England*, and dispersed themselves in Countries, to make their Party strong.

A Message was sent in *November* 1581 to Dr. *Allen*, from a Subject of this Realm, by a Seminary Priest then returning beyond the Seas, that whereas he had received Word from *Allen* at *Allhallow-Tide* before, that Men and all Things were in a Readiness, if the Place of Landing might be known; that *Allen* should forthwith send Word whether Things were in such Readiness or not; and if they were, he would then send him such perfect Instructions as he could.

One *Payne*, executed for Treason, confessed, that this Realm could not continue in the State wherein it was; for that the Pope had a special Care thereof,

of, and would in a short Time, either by foreign Princes, or by some other Means, work a Change of Things here.

From hence, Mr. Attorney fell into the Treasons confessed by *Francis Throckmorton*, shewing, that the State of this Realm had been often presented to the Consideration of a foreign Prince, who, after long Harkening to the Motion, had resolved to yield what Furtherance he might, and to give all Aids necessary for the reforming of Religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this Country.

That the Duke of *Guise* had solicited for two Years together the Pope and other Princes, to supply him with Forces: But being crossed by the Death of a great Personage, it was now grown to this Pass, if there could be a Party found in *England* to join in that Action, and convenient Places and Means for Landing, and other Things necessary, there should be a Supply for *Guise* of foreign Strength.

Francis Throckmorton was recommended from beyond the Seas to Don *Bernardino de Mendoza*, Ambassador Resident for the *Spanish* King here in *England*, who acquainted *Throckmorton* what Plot was laid for the Enterprize of the Duke of *Guise*, and that he was willed to confer with *Throckmorton* in the Matter; who thereupon acquainted the said Ambassador with the Plot of the Havens, and with the Noblemen and Gentlemen that he had set down as fit to be dealt withal in that Cause.

Throckmorton said, That the Bottom of this Enterprize (which was not to be known to many) was, that if a Toleration of Religion might not be obtained without Alteration of the Government, that then the Government should be altered, and the Queen removed.

That the *Scottish* Queen was made acquainted from the Duke of *Guise* with the Intention to relieve her by these Forces.

It was in Debate between *Throckmorton* and the *Spanish* Ambassador, how the *Scottish* Queen might be delivered, as by an Enterprize to be made with a certain Number of Horse: And that it was told *Francis Throckmorton* by his Brother *Thomas Throckmorton*, that it was a principal Matter in Debate beyond the Seas, how she might be delivered with Safety; the Lack of Resolution wherein was the principal Stay of the Execution of the Attempt of Invasion.

Mendoza told *Francis Throckmorton* about *Bartholomew-Tide* 1583, that one *Moape* was come into *England* to sound the Earl of *Northumberland*, and other principal Men in *Suffex*; and about the End of *September* following, the same *Mendoza* told him, that *Moape* was *Charles Paget*, and that he came not only to sound the Men, but to view the Places, the Havens, the Provisions and
D Means,

Means, and Nearness and Commodity of Men's Abidings that should join with the foreign Forces.

It was devised, that such Noblemen and others as would be contented to assist the foreign Forces (being Justices of Peace and of Credit in their Countries) might, by Colour of their Authority, levy Men as for her Majesty's Defence, and yet employ them to assist the foreign Forces. The Lord *Paget* was made acquainted with this Devise, and answered, that it was a good Course, and that he had thought upon it before.

Mendoza told *Throckmorton*, that *Charles Paget* had been in *Sussex*, and had spoken with those that were there, and that he came to move the Earl of *Northumberland* and others.

The Night before *Throckmorton* was apprehended, he came to the Lord *Paget*, and desired him that he would not acquaint the Earl of *Northumberland* and certain others (whom he named) with such Matters as had passed between them two, touching the Practice of this Invasion: And the Lord *Paget* willed him to deal as wisely for his Part as he would for himself, and all should be well: But (quoth the Lord *Paget*) the Earl of *Northumberland* knoweth you well enough.

It was once agreed among the Confederates, that the Duke of *Guise* should land in *Sussex*, being over against *Diepe* and *Normandy*; which after was misliked, because those Parts lay too near to her Majesty's greatest Force and Store, and that the People thereabouts for the most Part were Protestants.

Master Attorney shewed further, that in *Summer* last, there was taken upon the Seas, sailing towards *Scotland*, a *Scottish* Jesuit, about whom there was found a Discourse, written in *Italian*, of a like Enterprize to be attempted against *England*, which should have been executed in *September* or *October* then last past; wherein Assurance is made, that the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, *Dacres* that is dead, whom they termed Lord *Dacres*, and of all the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen in the *North* Parts (where the Invasion should have been attempted) setting it down, that it is not said by Conjecture that these Men are assured; but that it is certainly known that they will join with the foreign Forces. In the said Discourse it is also affirm'd, that the Priests dispersed in the Realm can dispose of the other Catholicks of the Realm as they shall be ordered; and that the Pope's Excommunication should be renewed, and pronounced against her Majesty, and all those that shall take her Part; and that all such should be holden Traitors that did not join with that Army by a Day.

When Master Attorney had thus proved the Purpose of Invasion, he proceeded to the Proof of *Charles Paget's* coming over about the Practice and Prosecution of that Enterprize. And first, That *Paget* came to *Petworth*, in September 1583, was secretly received, and brought in the Night late to the Earl of *Northumberland*, into his Gallery at *Petworth*, by one of the Earl's Servants; where the Earl and he had secret Conference together by the Space of a large Hour: From thence *Paget* was likewise conveyed back into the Town by the same Servant, and there lodg'd all that Night; and the next Night following was conveyed secretly to a Lodge in the Earl's Park, at *Petworth*, called *Conigar Lodge*, where he was kept with the like Secrecy by the Space of eight Days, or thereabouts; and the Servant by whom *Paget* was thus convey'd, was by the Earl enjoin'd and commanded in no wise to discover *Paget's* being there.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the Arrival of *Charles Paget*, sent for the Lord *Paget*, with the Privy of this Servant, who was made believe, that *Charles* came over to set Things in Order, and to pass certain Deeds and Conveyances between the Lord *Paget* and him. The Lord *Paget* came to *Petworth*, staid there two Nights, lodg'd in the Earl's House, conferr'd with *Charles Paget* and with the Earl together sundry Times.

The Earl, after his Apprehension, being at several Times examined what Causes or Affairs had passed between the Lord *Paget* and *Charles* his Brother, when they were together at *Petworth*; answered one while, that they passed certain Deeds and Conveyances; and another while, that there was only a Will or Testament sign'd and sealed between them: He confess'd that he set his Hand to the Will, but knew not what the same contained. All which appeared to be false; for that it hath fallen out by Occasion of Seizure of the Lands and Goods of the Lord *Paget* (after his Departure out of the Realm) that he had disposed of his Lands and Goods by another Course of Assurance executed at *London*; and therefore, their Pretence of the passing of Deeds and Will at *Petworth*, was but a Devise to shadow their traiterous Conspiracies. And for better Proof thereof, it was alledg'd by Master Attorney, that *Charles Paget* returning from *Petworth* to the House of one *William Davis*, near to the Place where *Paget* had landed in *Sussex*, and took shipping again at his Departure beyond the Seas, sent to *William Shelley*, Esq; residing then at his House at *Michelgrove*, distant about a Mile from the House of *William Davis*, to come unto him (who within few Days before had been at the Lodge at *Petworth*, with the said *Paget* :) And now at their Meeting in a Coppice near to *Davis's* House, *Paget* enter'd into Speech and Discourse with him

him of divers Matters ; and at the last, among other Things, he began to be inquisitive of the Strength and Fortification of *Portsmouth*, and what Forces and Strength her Majesty had in the other Parts *Westward*.

Paget broke out, and declared to him, that foreign Princes would seek Revenge against her Majesty of the Wrongs by her done unto them, and would take such Time and Opportunity as might best serve them for that Purpose ; and said, that those Princes disdain'd to see the *Scottish* Queen so kept and used here as she was, and would use all their Forces for her Delivery. That the Duke of *Guise* would be a Dealer therein ; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* would be an Assistant unto them ; willing *Shelley*, whatsoever should happen, to follow the Earl of *Northumberland* ; affirming, that there was not a Nobleman in *England* of Conduct and Government like to the said Earl : Saying further, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was affected to the *Scottish* Queen, and would do what he could for her Advancement.

That the Duke of *Guise* had Forces in a Readiness to be employed for the altering of the State of Religion here in *England*, and to set the *Scottish* Queen at Liberty.

Shelley gathered by these, and other Speeches which passed between him and *Paget*, that *Paget* had dealt with the Earl as a chief Party, and a Man forward in these Actions ; and *Paget* confessed that he came over to break, and deal in these Matters.

Paget delivered further, that the Catholicks would all join for so good a Purpose ; for that it would be a Means to reform Religion.

He said, the Stir should be in the *North* Parts, because *Sussex* was not convenient, as well for that there were no safe Landing-Places, as for that it was so near *London*, where the Queen's Majesty would be ready to resist them ; and that whensoever any Stir should be, the Earl of *Northumberland* would not stay in *Sussex*, but would go into the *North* Parts.

When Master Attorney-General had in this Sort laid down the Particularities of the Treasons and traiterous Practices of the Confederates for this purposed Invasion, then *Thomas Edgerton*, Esq ; her Majesty's Solicitor, to prove the Earl guilty of these Treasons by the Circumstances of his own Proceedings, shewed, that the Earl, knowing how far he himself was touch'd with the said Treasons, and in what Degree of Danger he stood if they should have been reveal'd, found his only Hope of Safety to consist in the cunning concealing of them ; and therefore he endeavoured to cover them by all the possible Means he could devise.

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And first, by conveying away of the Lord *Paget*, a Man not only privy to the Practices and Treasons handled by *Francis Throckmorton*, but also to the Treasons of his Brother *Charles*; wherein the Earl and the Lord *Paget* were doubtless both Confederates with *Charles*, made acquainted by him with the Causes of his coming over, as principal Men with whom he dealt in those Matters at *Petworth*.

The Occasion that provoked the Earl to convey away the Lord *Paget*, grew upon the Apprehension of *Throckmorton*, who being committed to the *Tower*, and charged with high Matters, was in Case to be dealt withal by way of Extremity, to be made to confess the Treasons charged upon him; in revealing whereof, *Charles Paget's* coming to *Petworth*, and the Cause of his Repair thither, could not be concealed.

No Man at this Time within the Realm could accuse the Earl of these Confederacies, but the Lord *Paget* only, who stood in Danger to be discover'd by *Francis Throckmorton*: The Safety therefore of the Earl rested altogether upon the Lord *Paget's* departing out of the Realm, which was procured by the Earl with so great Expedition, as that *Throckmorton* being committed to the *Tower* about the seventh Day of *November 1583*, the Earl made Means the twelfth Day to have the Lord *Paget* provided of shipping in all Haste by *William Shelley*; wherein the Earl used such importunate Intreaty, and sent so often to hasten the Preparation of the Ship, that the same was provided, and the Lord *Paget* embark'd by the twenty-third Day of the same Month following, or thereabouts.

The Departure of the Lord *Paget* was soon after discover'd, and how, and by whom he was convey'd away: Her Majesty, upon good Cause taking Offence thereat, the Earl, being then at *London*, had Notice thereof, and of the Confessions of *Throckmorton* (who began to discover the Treasons) came presently down to *Petworth*, sent immediately for *William Shelley*, who coming to him to *Petworth* the next Day about Dinner-Time, met the Earl in a dining Parlour, ready to go to his Dinner. The Earl took *Shelley* aside into a Chamber, and as a Man greatly distracted and troubled in Mind, entered into these Speeches: *Alas! I am a Man cast away*; and *Shelley* demanding what he meant by those Speeches, the Earl answered, *The Actions I have entered into, I fear, will be my utter undoing*; and thereupon desired *Shelley* to keep his Counsel, and to discover no more of him than he must needs.

The Earl, moreover, at this Meeting, intreated *William Shelley* to convey away all such as he knew to have been employed, and were privy to the Lord *Paget's* going away, and of *Charles Paget's* coming over, which was accordingly

ingly performed by *Shelley*: And the Earl, for his Part, conveyed away a principal Man of his own, whom he had often used in Messages into *France*, and had been of Trust appointed by the Earl, to attend on *Charles Paget*, all the Time of his Stay at *Connigar Lodge*.

Master Solicitor, pursuing the Matters that made the Earl's Practices and Devices for the concealing of his Treasons manifest, declared further, that after the Earl and *Shelley* had obtained some Liberty in the *Tower* after their first Restraint, the Earl found Means to have Intelligence with *Shelley*, and was advertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first Examinations, taken before they were last restrain'd: Sithens which Time, the Earl, by corrupting of his Keeper, hath practised to have continual Advertisements as before, as well of Things done within the *Tower* as abroad; infomuch as by his said Keeper, he had sent and conveyed twelve several Letters out of the *Tower*, within the Space of nine or ten Weeks, and one of those on *Sunday* the twentieth Day of *June* in the Morning, when he murdered himself the Night following.

By the same Corruption of his Keepers, he sent also a Message to *William Shelley*, by a Maid-Servant in the *Tower*, by which he required him to stand to his first Confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he would keep himself out of Danger. Whereunto *Shelley* return'd Answer, by the same Messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the Matters as long as he could, and willed the Earl to consider, that there was a great Difference between the Earl's Estate and his; for that the Earl, in respect of his Nobility, was not in Danger to be dealt withal in such Sort as he the said *Shelley* was like to be, being but a private Gentleman, and therefore to be used with all Extremity to be made to confess the Truth: Wherefore he advised the Earl to deal plainly, and to remember what Speeches had passed at his House at *Petworth*, when *Charles Paget* came last thither.

James Price, by the same Corruption of the Earl's Keeper, came to *William Shelley* on the *Friday* or *Saturday* before *Trinity-Sunday* last, and told him, that the Earl was very desirous to understand how far he had gone in his Confessions: And at *Price's* Instance, *Shelley* did set down in Writing the Effect of the said Confessions, and sent the same to the said Earl, who, upon the Sight thereof, perceiving the Treasons revealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his Offences were, fearing the Justice and Severity of the Laws, and also the Ruin and Overthrow of his House, fell into Desperation, and so to the Destruction of himself; for Confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one *Jaques Pantins*, a Groom of the Earl's Chamber, who had attended on the Earl in the *Tower*, by the Space of ten Weeks before his Death, that he had heard
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the Earl often say, that Master *Shelley* was no faithful Friend unto him, and that he had confessed such Things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: That he was undone by *Shelley's* Accusations, affirming, that the Earl began to despair of himself, often with Tears lamenting his Cause, which the Earl said to proceed only of the Remembrance of his Wife and Children; saying further, that such Matters were laid to his Charge, that he expected no Favour; but to be brought to his Trial, and then he was but a lost Man; repeating often that *Shelley* had undone him, and still mistrusting his Cause, wished for Death.

Herewith Master Solicitor concluded; and then Sir *Roger Manwood*, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of her Majesty's *Exchequer*, entered into the Description of the Earl's Death, and in what Sort he had murder'd himself; shewing first, how the same had been found by a very substantial Jury, chosen among the best Commoners of the City, empannell'd by the Coroner, upon the View of the Body, and diligent Enquiry by all due Means had according to the Law, and declared, That upon the Discovery of the Intelligence conveyed between the Earl and *Shelley*, it was thought necessary, for the Benefit of her Majesty's Service, by such of her Highness's most honourable Privy Council, as were appointed Commissioners, to examine the Course of these Treasons; that *Jacques Pantins*, attending upon the Earl, and the Earl's corrupt Keepers should be removed: Whereupon *Thomas Bailiff*, Gentleman, sent to attend on the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the removing of *Palmer* and *Jacques Pantins* from about the said Earl (who from the Beginning of his last Restraint attended on him) for the Reasons lastly before-mentioned, was by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, on the *Sunday*, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon (being the twentieth of *June*) shut up with the Earl, as appointed to remain with him, and (serve him in the Prison for a Time, until *Palmer*, *Pantins*, and *Price*, then committed close Prisoners, might be examined how the Earl came by such Intelligences as were discovered to have passed between the Earl and *Shelley*, and between the Earl and others. *Bailiff* served the Earl at his Supper, brought him to his Bed about nine of the Clock; and after some Services done by the Earl's Commandment, departed from the Earl to an outer Chamber, where he lay Part of that Night: And being come into his Chamber, the Earl rose out of his Bed, and came to the Chamber-Door, and bolted the same unto him in the inner Side, saying to *Bailiff*, he could not sleep unless his Door were fast. About Twelve of the Clock at Midnight, *Bailiff* being in a Slumber, heard a great Noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some Door, or rather a Piece of the House: The Noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his Bed, and crying
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unto the Earl with a loud Voice, said, My Lord, know you what this is? The Earl not answering, *Bailiff* cried, and knocked still at the Earl's Door, saying, My Lord, how do you? But finding that the Earl made no Answer, continued his Crying and Calling, until an old Man that lay without spake to him, saying, Gentleman, shall I call the Watch, seeing he will not speak? Yea, quoth *Bailiff*, for God's Sake. Then did the old Man rise, and called one of the Watch, whom *Bailiff* intreated, with all possible Speed to call Master Lieutenant unto him. In the mean Time, *Bailiff* heard the Earl give a long and most grievous Groan, and after that, gave a second Groan; and then the Lieutenant being come called to the Earl, who not answering, *Bailiff* cried to the Lieutenant to break open the Earl's Chamber-Door, bolted unto him on the inner Side, which was done, and then they found the Earl dead in his Bed, and by his Bed-Side a Dagger, wherewith he had killed himself.

Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, Knight, examined upon his Oath, affirmed, that on *Sunday* last at Night, less than a Quarter of an Hour before One of the Clock after Midnight, he was called up by the Watch to come to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been called unto by Master *Bailiff* his Keeper, and would not speak (as the Watch told him :) Whereupon the said Sir *Owen* went presently to the Earl's Lodging, opened the outer Doors till he came to the Chamber where Master *Bailiff* lay, which was next to the Earl's Bed-Chamber. *Bailiff* said to this Examinee as he came in, that he was wakened with a Noise as it were of a Door, or some great Thing falling, and that he had called on the Earl, and could have no Answer: And this Examinee going to the Earl's Chamber-Door, finding the same bolted fast on the other Side, within the Earl's Lodging, so as he could not go into the Earl, this Examinee called on the Earl, telling him the Lieutenant was there, and prayed his Lordship to open the Door: But this Examinee having no Answer made unto him, and finding the Door fast bolted on the inner Side of the Earl's Chamber with a strong Iron Bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the Lodging where the said *Bailiff* lay, without breaking up the Chamber-Door, caused the Warders who were with this Examinee, to thrust in their Halberds, and to wrest the Door thereby, as much as they could, and withal to run at the Door with their Feet, and with Violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this Examinee came into the Chamber, in turning up the Sheets he perceived them to be blooded; and then searching further, found the Wound, which was very near the Pap, not thinking at the first Sight, but that it had been done with a Knife. This Examinee went thereupon presently to write to the Court, and took the Warders into the outer Chamber, and left them

them there until he returned, bolting the Door of the Earl's Bed-chamber on the Outside; and as soon as this Examinee returned from writing of his Letter to the Court, he searched about the Chamber, and found a Dagger on the Floor, about three Feet from the Bed, near unto a Table, that had a Green Cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the Dagger: And, after turning down the Bed-cloaths, found the Box, in the which the Powder and Pellets were, on the Bed under the Coverlet; and saith, that the Chamber where the Earl lay, hath no other Door but that one Door which was broken open as aforesaid, save one Door, that went into a Privy, which hath no Manner of Passage out of it; and that the Earl's Lodging Chamber, and the entering to the Privy, are both walled round about with a Stone Wall, and a Brick Wall; and that there is no Door or Passage out of or from the said Earl's Bed-chamber or Privy, but that only Door which was broken open by the Appointment of this Examinee. The Warders that were with this Examinee at the Entry into the Prison, and the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-door, and the doing of the other Things aforesaid, were *Michael Sibley, Anthony Davis, William Ryland, and John Potter*, and one *John Pinner*, this Examinee's Servant, was there also.

For the Proof and Confirmation of the several Parts and Points of this Deposition, *Sibley, Davis, Ryland, Potter, and Pinner* were deposed, and they *viva voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the Examination of the Lieutenant, concerning the coming of the Lieutenant to the Earl's Chamber, the breaking up of the Door, being bolted with a strong Bolt on the inner Side, the finding of the Earl dead upon his Bed, the Dagger lying on the Ground, the Powder and Pellets in a Box on the Bed under the Coverlet, with the rest of the Circumstances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one Door in the Earl's Chamber, saving the Door of the Privy, which, together with the Chamber, was strongly walled about with Stone and Brick: And further, as I remember, the Lord Chief Baron confirmed the same, having viewed the Chamber himself where the Earl lodg'd, and was found dead.

Jaques Pantins, in his examination on the twenty-first of June, confesseth, that *James Price* delivered the Dagger to the Earl his Master in this Examinee's Presence; Whereupon he presently suspected, that the Earl meant Mischief to himself, and therefore did his Endeavour to persuade the Earl to send away the Dagger, and told the Earl that he knew not how the Devil might tempt his Lordship, and that the Devil was great; but could by no means prevail with the Earl in that Behalf: And saith moreover, that the Earl required him to hide the Dagger, and he thereupon hanged the same on a Nail within the Chimney in the Earl's Bed-Chamber, where the Earl, thinking the same not to be sufficiently safe in that Place, it

was by the Earl's Appointment taken from thence, and put into a Slit in the Side of a Mattress that lay under the Earl's Bed, near to the Bed's Head; and that the same *Sunday* Morning that the Earl murdered himself at Night, he saw the Dagger lying under the Earl's Bed's Head. The Dagger was bought not many Days before of one *Adrian Mulan*, a Dagger-maker, dwelling in *East-Smithfield*, as by the said *Mulan* was testified *viva voce* upon his Oath, in the open Court, at the Time of the publick Declaration made of these Matters in the Star-Chamber.

All these Particularities considered, with the Depositions and Proofs of the Witnesses concerning the Earl's Death, *first*, how he came by the Dagger: *Secondly*, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret Manner: *Thirdly*, the Earl's bolting of his Chamber-Door on the Inside: *Fourthly*, the Blow of the Dagger: *Fifthly*, the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-Door by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*: And *Lastly*, the finding of the Earl dead as aforesaid. Who is he so simple, that will think or imagine, or so impudent and malicious, that will avouch and report, that the Earl of *Northumberland* should have been murdered of Purpose by Practice or Device of any Person, affecting his Destruction in that Manner; If Men consider the Inconvenience happened thereby, as well in Matter of State, as Commodity to the Queen's Majesty, lost by the Prevention of his Trial; who can in Reason conjecture the Earl to have been murdered of Policy or set Purpose, as the evil-affected seem to conceive? If the Earl had lived to have received the Censure of the Law for his Offences, all lewd and frivolous Objections had then been answered, and all his Goods, Chattles and Lands, by his Attainder, had come unto her Majesty, and the Honour and State of his House and Posterity been utterly overthrown: The Consideration and Fear whereof appeareth without all doubt to have been the principal, and only Cause that made him lay violent Hands upon himself. If Objections be made, that to murder him in that Sort might be a Satisfaction to his Enemies, who could be pacified by no Means but with his Blood, that seemeth to be as improbable; for that it is commonly discerned in the corrupt Nature of Man, that when we are possess'd with so profound a Hatred, as to seek the Death of our Enemy, we imagine, and wish his Destruction to be had with the greatest Shame and Infamy that can be devised. Think you not then, that, if the Earl of *Northumberland* had any such Enemy, who knew the Danger wherein he stood, and that his Trial and Conviction by Law, would draw upon him the Loss of his Life, Lands, and Goods, Fame, Honour, and the utter Subversion of his House, and would be so kind hearted unto him, as to help to take away his Life only, and save him all the rest; I suppose there is no Man of Judgment will believe it.

But to return to the Manner of the Earl's Death: It was declared by the Lord *Hunsdon*, and the Lord Chief Baron, that the Dagger wherewith the Earl murder-

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ed himself was charged with three Bullets, and so of Necessity with more than an Ordinary Charge of Powder, to force that Weight of Bullets to work their Effect. The Earl lying upon his Back on the left Side of his Bed, took the Dagger charged in his left-hand (by all likelihood) laid the Mouth of the Dagger upon his left Pap (having first put aside his Waistcoat) and his Shirt being only between the Dagger and his Body, which was burn'd away the Breadth of a large Hand, discharged the same, wherewith was made a large Wound in his said Pap, his Heart pierc'd and torn in divers Lobes or Pieces, three of his Ribs broken, the Chine-Bone of his Back cut almost in funder, and under the Point of the Shoulder-blade, on the right Side within the Skin, the three Bullets were found by the Lord *Hunsdon*, which he caused the Surgeon in his Presence to cut out, lying all three close together, within the Breadth and Compass of an Inch, or thereabout: The Bullets were shewed by his Lordship at the Time of the Publication made in the Court of the Star-Chamber.

And whereas it hath been slanderously given out to the advantage of the Earl, as the Reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned, and kept in so streight, narrow, and close a Room, with such Penury of Air and Breath, that thereby he grew sickly, and weary of his life; and that to have been the Cause chiefly why he murdered himself, (if it were so that he died by the Violence of his own Hand, which they hardly believe :) To answer that peevish and senseless Slander, there was much spoken by the Lord Chief Baron, who had viewed, and caused very exactly to be measured the Chambers and Rooms within the Prison where the Earl lay, being Part of her Majesty's own Lodging in the *Tower*: The particular length and Breadth of the said Chambers and Rooms, and the Quality of the Lights and Windows, expressed by the said Lord Chief Baron, I cannot repeat; but well I do remember, it was declared, that all the Day-time the Earl had the Liberty of five large Chambers, and too long Entries, within the utter Door of his Prison; three of which Chambers, and one of the Entries, lay upon two fair Gardens within the *Tower-Wall*, and upon the *Tower-Wharf*, with a pleasant prospect of the *Thames*, and to the Country, more than five Miles beyond. The Windows were of a large Proportion, yielding so much Air and Light as more cannot be desired in any House; Note therefore, how maliciously those that favour Traitors and Treasons can deliver out these and the like slanderous Speeches, to the Dishonour of her Majesty, noting her Counsellors and Ministers with Inhumanity and uncharitable Severity, contrary to all Truth and Honesty.

When the Lord Chief Baron had finished this Discourse of the Manner of the Earl's Death, with the Circumstances, and had satisfied the Court and Auditory concerning the Quality of the Prison where the Earl remained, Sir *Christopher*

Hatton, Knight, her Majesties Vice-Chamberlain, who, as it seemed, had been specially employed by her Majesty, among others of her Privy Council, in the looking into and examining of the Treasons aforesaid, as well in the Person of the Earl as of others, and at the time of the Earl's Commitment from his House in *St. Martin's* to the *Tower* of *London*, sent unto him from her Majesty, to put the Earl in mind of her Majesty's manifold Graces and Favours, in former Times conferr'd upon him, proceeding from the Spring of her Majesty's princely and bountiful Nature, and not of his Deservings; and to advise him to deliver the Truth of the Matters so clearly appearing against him, either by his Letters privately to her Majesty, or by Speech to Master Vice-Chamberlain, who signified also unto him, that if he would determine to take that Course, he should not only not be committed to the *Tower*, but should find Grace and Favour at her Majesty's Hands, in the Mitigation of such Punishment as the Law might lay upon him. And here Master Vice-Chamberlain repeated at length the Effect of her Majesty's Message at that Time sent to the Earl, beginning first with the Remembrance of his Practice undertaken for the conveying away of the *Scottish* Queen about the Time of the last Rebellion (as hath been declared in the Beginning of this Tract) and that he confessing the Offence being capital, her Majesty nevertheless was pleased to alter the Course of his Trial by the Justice of her Laws, and suffered the same to receive a slight and easy Punishment by Way of *Mulette*, or fine of five thousand Marks, whereof before this his Imprisonment (as it is credibly reported) there was not one Penny paid, or his Land touched with any Extent for the Payment thereof; which Offence was by her Majesty not only most graciously forgiven, but also most christianly forgotten; receiving him not long after to the Place of Honour that his Ancestors had enjoyed, for many Years before him, and gave him such Entrance into her princely Favour and good Opinion, that no Man of his Quality received greater Countenance and Comfort at her Majesty's Hands than he; in so much that in all Exercises of Recreation used by her Majesty, the Earl was always called to be one, and whensoever her Majesty shewed herself Abroad in Publick, she gave to him the Honour of the best and highest Services about her Person more often than to all the Noblemen of her Court.

But the remembrance of these most gracious and more then extraordinary Favours and Benefits received, nor the Hope given unto him by Master Vice-Chamberlain, of her Majesty's Disposition of Mercy towards him, nor the Consideration of the Depth and Weight of his Treasons against her Majesty, her Estate, her Crown, and Dignity, with the Danger thereby like to fall upon him by the Course of her Highness's Laws, to the utter Ruin and Subversion of him and his House (standing now at her Majesty's Mercy) could once move his Heart to that natural
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and dutiful Care of her Majesty's Safety that he ought to have borne towards her, and she most worthily had merited at his Hands, or any Remorse or Compassion of himself and his Posterity ; but resting upon Terms of his Innocency, having, as you may perceive, conveyed away all those that he thought could or would any Way accuse him, he made Choice rather to go to the *Tower*, abide the Hazard of her Majesty's high Indignation, and the Extremity of the Law for his Offences : A notable Augure of his Fall, and that God, by his just Judgment, had, for his Sins and Ingratitude, taken from him his Spirit of Grace, and delivered him over to the Enemy of his Soul, who brought him to that most dreadful and horrible End, whereunto he is come ; from the which, God of his Mercy defend all Christian People, and preserve the Queen's Majesty from the Treasons of her Subjects, that she may live in all Happiness, to see the Ruin of her Enemies Abroad and at Home ; and that she, and we, her true and loving Subjects, may be always thankful to God for all his Blessings bestowed upon us by her, the only Maintainer of his Holy Gospel among us.

The COPIE of a LETTER sent out of *ENGLAND* to *DON BERNARDIN MENDOZA*, Ambassador in *France* for the King of *Spaine*, declaring the State of *England*, contrary to the Opinion of *Don Bernardin*, and of all his Partizans, *Spaniards* and others.

This Letter, although it was sent to Don Bernardin Mendoza, yet, by good Hap, the Copies thereof aswell in English as in French, were found in the Chamber of one Richard Leigh a Seminarie Priest, who was lately executed for High Treason, committed in the Time that the Spanish Armada was on the Seas.

Whereunto are adioyned certaine late Aduertisements concerning the Losses and Distresses happened to the *Spanish* Navie aswell in fight with the *English* Navie in the narrow Seas of *England*, as also by Tempests and contrary Winds, vpon the West and North Coasts of *Ireland*, in their Return from the Northern Isles, beyond *Scotland*.

Imprinted at *London*, by *I. Vauttrollier*, for *Richard Field*. 1588.

MY Lord Ambassadour, though at the Time of my last large Writing to you of the State of this Country, and of our long desired Expectation of Succours promised, I did not thinke to haue had such a sorrowfull Occasion of any second Writing, as now I have of a lamentable Change of Matters of Estate here; yet I can not forbear (though it be with as many Sighes as Lines) to aduertise you of the Truth of our miserable Condition, as now to me and others of our Partie the same appeareth to be; that by comparing of all things past in Hope, with the present now in Despaire, your L. who haue had the principal managing hitherto of all Causes of long Time both here and there in *France*, betwixt the King Catholique assisted with the Potentates of the Holy League, and all our Countrimen which haue professed Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, may now fall into some new and better Consideration, how our State both for our selues
at

at home, and our Brethren abroad, now at this present fallen (as it were) in vtter Despaire, may be reuiued and restored to some new Hope, with better Assurance of Suceffe than hath happened hitherto. For which Purpose I have thought it necessary to aduertise you in what Terms this Countrey now standeth farre otherwise then of late, both we at home, and others abroad, did make accompt of.

You know how we have depended in firm Hope of a Change of the State of this Countrey by the means of the devout and earnest Incitations of the Pope's Holines, of the King *Catholique*, and of other *Potentates* of the Holy League, to take vpon them the Inuasion and Conquest of this Realme; and by your Assurances, and firme Promises, we were now of a long Season past perswaded that the King *Catholique* had taken upon him the same glorious Act, and thereof from Yeare to Yeare we looked for the Execution; being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our Hope, and fundry times solicted by your earnest Requests, and Perswasions, to encourage our Partie at home not to wauer, as many were disposed, by sight of continual Delayes, but to be ready to ioyne with the outward Forces, that should come for this Inuasion. Neuerthelesse the Delayes and Prolongations of Times appointed for the comming of the King's Forces, specially by Sea, haue bene so many, as vntill this last Spring, we were in Despaire: at what Time you aduertised vs with great Assurance that all the King's Preparations, which had bene in making ready these three or four Years together, were nowe in full Perfection, and without faile would this Sommer come into our Seas with such mighty Strength, as no Nauie of *England* or of *Christendom*, could resist or abide their Force: and for more suretie, and for auoyding of all doubts, to make the intended Conquest sure, the same should also haue ioyned to it the mightie Armie which the Duke of *Parma* had made ready, and kept in readinesse in the *Low Countreyes* all this Yeare past, wherewith he should land, and so both by Sea and Land, this Realme should be inuaded, and a speedie Conquest made thereof, to the which were alwayes added fundry Reasons: whereupon was gathered, that neither by Sea, nor by Land, there would be any great resistance found here, but a strong Partie in this Realme to ioyne with the forreine Force. For otherwise then with such helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know, it was alwayes doubted, that no forreine Force could preuaile against this Realme, being (as it is) enuironed by Sea, and notably replenished with more mightie and stronger People then any Countrey in Chistendome. But with the Hope of the Landing of these great Armies and our Assistance in taking Part, we here continued all this Yeare past in assured Hope of

of a full Victorie, vntill this last Moneth. But alas, and with a deadly Sorow, we must all at home, and abroade, lament our sudder Fall, from an immeasurable high Ioye, to an vnmeasurable deepe despaire, and that so hastily fallen out, as I may say, we haue seene in the space of eight or nine Dayes in this last Moneth of *July*, which was from the appearance of the Catholique great Nauie vpon the Coast of *England*, vntill it was forced to flie from the Coast of *Flanders* nere *Callice*, towards the vnknowne parts of the cold North, all our Hopes, all our Buildings, as it now appeareth but vpon an imagined Conquest, vtterly ouerthrowen, and as it were with a Earthquake, all our Castles of Comfort brought to the Ground, which now (it seemeth) were builded but in the Ayre, or vpon Waues of the Sea, for they are all perished, all vanished away euen from our Thoughtes.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best thinke of such a Worke so long time in framing, to be so suddenly ouer thrown, as by no reason could procede of Man, or of any Earthly Power, but onely of God. And if it be so (as no body can otherwise impute this late change and fall from our expected Fortune, but to God Almighty) then surely our Case is either dangerous, or doubtfull how to iudge thereof, whether we haue bene these many Yeares in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good, and wise Men, which of long time haue secretly continued in most earnest Deuotion to the Pope's Authoritie, begin now to stagger in their Mindes, and to conceaue that this way of Reformation intended by the Pope's Holines is not allowable in the sight of God, by leauing the ancient course of the Church by Excommunication, which was the Exercise of the Spirituall Sword, and in place thereof to take the Temporal Sword, and put it into a Monarchie's Hand to inuade this Realme with Force and Armes, yea to destroy the Queene thereof, and all her People addicted to her: Which are in very Truth nowe seene, by great prooffe this Yeare, to be in a fort infinite, and inuincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by Violence, by Blood, by Slaughter, and by Conquest, agreeth not with Christe's Doctrine, nor the Doctrine of *S. Peter* or *S. Paule*. And to tell your Lordship truly, I find presently a great Number of wise and deuout People, though they continue in their former Religion, yet do they secretly condemn this intended Reformation by Blood and Force. In so much as I heard a good Diuine alledge a Text of *S. Gregorie* in these Words, *Quid de Episcopis qui verberibus timeri volunt Canones dicunt benè paternitas vestra nouit, pastores sumus non percussores. Noua enim est predicatio, quæ verberibus exigit fidem.* This Sentence I obtained from him, because it seemeth to be charitablie written.

written. But leauing this Authoritie among Doctors, I must needes say that in very trueth, no one thing hath done at this Time more hurt to the Action, then the vntimely hastie publishing abroad in this Realme before this Armie of *Spaine* was readie to come forth to the Seas, of fundry Things written and put in Print, and sent into this Realme, to notifie to the People, that all the Realme should be inuaded and conquered, that the Queene should be destroyed, all the Nobilitie and Men of Reputation, of Honour, and Wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the Inuasion, should be with all their Families rooted out, and their Places, their Honours, their Houses, and Landes bestowed vpon the Conquerors: Things vniuersally so odiously taken, as the Hearts of all sorts of People were enflamed, some with Ire, some with Fear, but all sorts almost, without exception, resolved to venture their Lives for the withstanding of all maner of Conquest, wherewith euery Body can say this Realme was not threatened these five hundreth Yeares and more.

These Reports were brought to this Realme with good Credit, not in Secret but in Publique Writings and Printings, and tooke deepe Roote in all kind of People of this Land: And in deede was of the more Credit, first by reason of a new *Bull* lately published at *Rome* by the Pope's Holinesse (which I haue seene) with more Seueritie then others of his Predecessors, whereby the Queene here was accursed, and pronounced to be depriued of her Crowne, and the Inuasion and Conquest of the Realme committed by the Pope to the King *Catholique*, to execute the same with his Armies both by Sea and Land, and to take the Crowne to himselfe, or to limit it to such a Potentate as the Pope and he should name. And secondly, there followed a large Explanation of this *Bull*, by sending hither a number of *English* Bookes printed in *Antwerp* euen when the Nauie of *Spaine* was dayly looked for, the Original whereof was written by the Reuerend Father Cardinall *Allen* in *April* last, called in his owne Writing the Cardinall of *England*, which Book was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the Aduersaries) so arrogantly, falsely, and sclanderously, against the Person of the Queene, against her Father King *Henry* the Eight, against all her Nobilitie, and Counsell, as in very truth I was heartily fory to perceauie so many good Men of our owne Religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accompted a Father of the Church, who was also a borne Subiect of this Crowne (though by the Aduersaries reported to be very basely borne) such foule, vile, irreuerent, and violent Speeches, such irefull and bloody Threatenings, of a Queene, of a Nobilitie, yea of the whole People of his owne Nation.

Sory, and most sory I am to report the generall euill Concept of these vnordinat and vnaduised Proceedings of this Cardinall, of whose rash Choice to such a Place, the World speaketh strangely, as though he came to it through Corruption of the Pope's Sister, without liking of the Colledge of Cardinales, where otherwise the blessed Intention of our holy Father, and the Desire also of the fayde Cardinall, might without such fatall bloody Premonitions, and Threatenings of future Inuasions and Conquests by the Catholique King's noble Forces, haue taken better place.

There was also to adde the more Credite to these terrible Prognostications, such kind of other Bookes printed in *Spaine* and translated into *French*, (as it is sayd by your Lordship) containing particular long Descriptions, and Catalogues of *Armados* of *Castile*, of *Andalouzia*, of *Biscaye*, of *Guipusque*, of *Portingal*, of *Naples*, of *Sicili*, of *Ragusa*, and other Countreys of the *Leuant*, with a masse of all kinds of Provisions, beyond measure, for the said *Armados*, sufficient in Estimation to be able to make Conquest of many Kingdomes or Countreys. And one great Argument is published by the Aduersaries to stirre up the minds of the Nobilitie of *England* against the *Spaniards*, which is very maliciously inuented, to shew the Intention of the Conquest, not only of *England*, but of the whole Isle of *Britayn*: mouing all Men specially to marke by the Description of the *Armada*, that there are specially named such a Number of Noblemen, as Princes, Marquises, Condes, and Dons, that are called Aduenturers, without any Office or Pay, and such another Number also of Men with great Titles of Honor, and many of them named Captaines and *Alferex*, without Office, but yet in *Sold*, and therefore called *Entertenidos*, as all those being for no Seruice in the *Armada* may be well presumed (say they) to haue come to haue possessed the Roomes of all the Noblemen in *England*, and *Scotland*: and this Fiction hath taken more Place then it is worth. And though these Armies were indeede exceeding great and mightie, yet they were so amplified beyond all measure in these Bookes, as in no Preparation of Christendome in former Times against the *Sarracins* or *Turks* could be greater. By this means this Queene, and hir Realme, being thus forewarned, and terrified, tooke occasion with the Aide of her People, being not onely firmly (as she was perswaded) deuoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to stirre vp their whole Forces for their Defence, against such prognosticated Conquests, as in a very short Time all her whole Realme and euery Corner were speedily furnished with armed People on Horsebacke, and on Foote, and those continually trayned, exercised, and put into Bands, in warlike manner, as in no Age euer was before in this Realme. Here was no sparing of Money to prouide Horse, Armour, Weapon, Powder, and all Necessaries, no nor want of Provision of Py-
oners,

oners, Carriages, and Victuals in euery County of the Realme, without exception, to attend vpon the Armies. And to this generall Furniture euery Man voluntarily offred, very many their Seruice personally without Wages, others Money for Armour and Weapons, and to wage Souldiors, a matter strange and neuer the like heard of in this Realme or elsewhere: And this general Reason moued all Men to large Contributions, that to withstand a Conquest where all should be lost, there was no Time to spare a Portion.

The Numbers made redy in the Realm I can not affirme of myne owne Knowledge, but I haue heard it reported, when I was greeued to thinke the same to be so true, that there was through *England* no Quarter, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*, but all concurred in one Minde to be in readines to serue for the Realme: and that some one countrie was able to make a sufficient Armie of twentie thousand Men fit to fight, and fifteene thousand of them well armed and weaponed: and in some Countries the Number of fortie thousand able Men.

The maritime Countreis from *Cornwall*, all along the Southside of *England*, to *Kent*: and from *Kent* Eastward, by *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolk* to *Lincolneshire* (which Countries with their Hauens were well described unto you in perfect Plots, when *Francis Throgmorton*, first did treat with your L. about the same) were so furnished of Men of Warre, both of themselues, and with resort of Aide from their next Shires, as there was no Place to be doubted for landing of any forrein Forces, but there were within eight and fortie Houres to come to the Place above twenty thousand fighting Men on Horseback and on Foot, with Field Ordnance, Victuals, Pioners and Cariages, and all those gouerned by the principal Noble Men of the Countries, and reduced vnder Captaines of Knowledge.

And one Thing I heard of, that was very politikely ordered and executed at this Time, as of many late Yeares was not vsed: that as the Leaders and Officers of the particular Bands were Men of Experience in the Warres; so to make the Bands strong and constant, Choice was made of the principal Knightes of all Countries to bring their Tenantes to the Field, being Men of Strength, and Landed, and of Wealth: whereby all the Forces so compounded were of a resolute Disposition to sticke to their Lordes and Chieftaines, and the Chieftaines to trust to their owne Tenants. And to remember one strange Speech that I heard spoken may be marueilled at, but it was auowed to me for a Truth, that one Gentleman in *Kent* had a Band of 150 Footmen, which were worth in Goodes aboue 150,000 Poundes Sterling, besides their Landes: such Men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their Goodes, and by

likelihood at this Time, many other Bandes were made of such principall Men, both of Wealth and Strength. Of these Things I am fory to haue cause to write in this sort: but because you may see how heretofore you haue bene deceaued with Aduertisements of many, which had no Proofoe to know the Truth thereof, and so I confesse my selfe in some Thinges to have erred, namely in imagining that whensoever any forrein Power should be sene ready to land in any part of this Realme, there would haue bene found but a small Number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Queene, but that the same would haue bene very vnable for the Warres, vntrayned, rawe, and ignorant in all warlike Actions, without sufficient Armour and Weapons: and that also the Noblemen and Gentlemen that be in this Realme of our Religion, whereof, you know, we made accompt when you were here in *England* of very many, although many of them be dead since that Tyme, but at this Tyme there are not so many Tennes, as we accompted Hundreds, whom we thought would haue shewed themselues like Men of Courage for our common Cause, and would haue sodenly surprized the Houses, Families, and Strength of the Heretiques and Aduersaries.

But now, such is our Calamitie, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke, for our Sinnes, or else for confounding of our bold Opinions, and Presumptions of our owne Strength, to put in the Hartes of all Persons here, one like Mynde and Courage, to withstand the intended Inuasion, aswell in such as we accompted Catholiques, as also in the Heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for Contributions of Money, and for all other warlike Actions, there was no Difference to be seene betwixt the Catholique, and the Heretique. But in this Case to withstand the threatened Conquest, yea to defend the Person of the Queene, there appeared such a Sympathie, Concourse, and Consent of all sortes of Persons, without respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all Straungers, as it were with one Hart and one Body. And though some fewe principall Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you haue had the Names in such Catalogues of Catholiques as you haue bene acquainted withall, were lately vpon the Report of the comming out of the Armie to the Seas, sent to to the Isle of *Ely* there to remaine restrayned of their former Libertie during the Expectation of this intended Inuasion: yet it hath appeared, that they were not so restrayned for any doubt that would with their Powers haue assisted our Army, but onely thereby to make it known to all our Frendes, and Countrymen in *Spaine* and *Flanders*, yea euen to your selfe (for so I heard it spoken, as accompting you to haue bene the most principal Author and Perswader of this Action)

Action) that there should be no hope to haue any of them, or of their Friendes, to assist these great Armies. And in very Truth, I see now whosoever of our Friendes in *Spaine*, or in *Flanders*, or elsewhere, made any such accompt of any ayde against the Queene, or against hir Partie here, they should haue bene deceaued if the Army had offered to haue landed. For I my selfe haue heard that the best of those that were sent to *Eli* did make Offers, yea by their Letters to the Counsell here, signed with their Handes, that they would aduenture their Lives in Defence of the Queene, whome they named their vndoubted *Soueraigne Lady and Queene*, against all forrein Forces, though the same were sent from the Pope, or by his Commaundement: Yea diuers of them did offer that in this Quarell of inuading of the Realme with Straungers they would present their own Bodies in the formost Rankes with their Countrymen against all Straungers. Whereupon I heard also by a secret Friend of mine in the Court, that it was once in some Forwardness of Resolution amongst the Counsellers, that they should haue bene returned and put to their former Libertie. But the Heat of the Warre being kindled with the Knowledge of the Kinges *Armada*, being at that Tyme come to the *Groigne*, and the Duke of *Parma's* Readines with so great an Army and Shipping in *Flanders*, dayly looked for to land in *England*, yea to come to *London*, and a generall Murmur of the People against all such Recufants of Reputation, was the Cause of the staying of these Gentlemen at *Eli*, notwithstanding their Offers of their Seruice to the Queene: and so they do remain in the Bishop's Pallace there, with Fruition of large Walkes about the same, altogether without any Imprisonment, other then that they are not suffered to depart into the Towne, or Countrey: and yet for their Religion, I thinke surely they do, and will, remaine constant to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*: for the which neuerthelesse they are not impeached to any Danger of their Liues, but only charged with a Penalty of Money, because they will not come to the Churches: whereby, by the Law, a Portion of the Reuenue is allotted to the Queene, and the rest left to the Maintenance of them, their Wiues, and Children.

By which kind of Proceedings our Adversaries here do pretend, that both these Gentlemen, and all other of their Qualities are fauourably vsed, that they are not pursued by Death for their Religion, as they say it was vsed in Queene *Marie's* time, and as it is dayly vsed (as they say) most rigorously and barbarously in *Spaine* against the *Englishmen* that come thither, onely in Trade of Marchandise. And yet I and others sometimes priuately speaking with such our Aduersaries, as we thinke are not malliciously bent to haue Men prosecuted to Death onely for their Religion (for to say the Truth, and as the Prouerbe is,

not

not to belye the Deuill, very many of our Contraries are in that Point not vncharitable) we do obieſt to them the Executions by cruell Torments, and Deathes, of very many, both here about *London* and other partes of the Réalme, whom we accompt as Martirs, in that they do witnes by their Death their Obedience to the Pope and the Catholique Church of *Rome*.

To which, theſe our Aduerſaries, pretending ſome ſmall Drops of Charity do anſwere us: that no Execution hath bene of any, to their Knowledge, for their Religion, or for Profeſſion thereof: but for that they which haue bene executed, haue bene found to haue wandred in the Realme ſecretly, and in a diſguiſed Maner, which the Aduerſaries ſcornfully terme as Ruffians, with Fethers and all Ornaments of light couloured Apparell, like to the faſhion of Courtiers, and do uſe many meanes to entice all People, with whom they dare aduenture to ſpeake, not onely to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of *Rome*, but to induce them by Vowes and Oathes to renounce their Obedience to the Queene: to deny hir to be their Soueraigne: and themſelves to be diſcharged of their Allegiance: and to repute all Magiſtrates vnder hir to be vnlawful, and in Conſcience not to be obeyed: with many mo ſuch matters (which I neuertheleſſe count to be very vain Calumniations) tending to make the Factes of all ſuch holy Prieſtes as are ſent with Commiſſion to winne Men's Souls, to be direct Treafons againſt the Queene, and the State of the Realme.

Theſe Defenders of theſe Iudgements and Executions, contend, and doe moſt earneſtly maintaine, that all ſuch Prieſts, Jeſuites, Seminaries and others, ſo perſwading the People againſt the Queene, the Lawes, and the Gouvernement, and the State of the Realme, and all others that are ſo perſwaded by them, are manifeſt Traitors: and ſo they ſay that their Enditements, and all Proceſſe of Law extended and purſued againſt them, doe manifeſtly declare the ſame. Wherein, theſe our Aduerſaries doe ſometimes for maintenance of their Arguments, ſhew the verie Copies of their Enditements and Iudgements, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their Religion, but that they haue attempted to perſwade the Queene's Subiects to forſake their Alleageance, and conſequently to be Rebels to their Queene and Soueraigne.

In this ſort theſe Men for their Aduantage, do at all Times, with theſe and many like earneſt Argumentes, mayntaine their Proceedings againſt the Holy Prieſts and Jeſuites, that haue ſuffred Death for their Conſcience, as iuſt and neceſſary. And though, where I and others may reply without perill to ourſelues (as ſurely in ſome ſmall Companies we may, vſing modeſt Words) we obieſt the Confeſſion of the Catholike Faith by the Parties at their Death, and that with great Conſtancie which our Aduerſaries cannot denie, ſo as it may

ſeeme

seeme they die for their Religion : yet is it on the other Part against vs alleaged and maintained, that they are neither indited, condemned, nor executed for their Religion, but onely for their former Treasons in conspiring against the Queene, and State of the Realme: no otherwise then of late Time *Babington* and all his Complices, who were condemned for their Attempt to haue raised Warre in the Realme, and to haue murdered the Queene, and to haue set up the Queene of *Scots*, all which the said *Babington* and all his Complices, voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, onely for those their great Treasons: and yet diuers of them at the Place of their Executon, did in like manner (as these Priests and Iesuites vse to doe) make confession of their Catholike Faith, with offer to dye for the same: and yet (say our Aduersaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that *Babington* and his Complices were put to Death for Religion, but for their Treasons.

And for further Maintenance of the coloured Arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithfull, and Catholike Brethren are often troubled how to answere them, it is alleaged that the great Number of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, yea some of honourable Calling, and of other meaner Degrees, are known manifestly to be of a contrary Religion to the Lawes of the Realme, both nere the Court and farre of, and yet they are neuer pursued by any forme of Law to put their Liues in Danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their Opinions in Religion, whereby to bring them in any Danger. Onely such as are presented or complained of by the Parishioners where they dwell, for neuer comming to any Church by the space of certaine Monethes in a whole Yere, are thereof indited, and afterward being called to answere thereto, if they can shew no such lawfull Excuse as the Lawe hath prouided, they are then condemned to pay a Penaltie out of their Goods and Lands, if they have any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet by Inquisition any of them examined of their Faith. But yet say these Defendours, if they shew themselves by their open Deedes and Facts to bee reconciled from their Alleagence and Obedience to the Queene, and that they will therein pefist, then they are therewith charged and punished according to the Lawes therefore prouided.

These Arguments in their Defence I doe not repeate as allowing of them, but yet surely they do moue me, and some others that are wise, to thinke, that indeed the Rashnes of diuers coming secretly into the Realm, and professing themselves to be Priestes, many of them being both very young, vnlearned, and of light Behauour, hath done great harme to the Goodness of our common Cause: and if they and such others could haue temperately and secretly instructed the People, and vsed more Circumspection in their own Liuing and Behauour,

there

there would haue been a greater Increase of Numbers perswaded in Conscience to haue ioyned with vs in our Profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lorde, that you may conferre with our Countrimen, that haue accesse vnto you, and that they also may deale with the Fathers of the Iesuits, that more Care and Choice be had of such *English* Men as are hereafter to bee sent into *England*, and not to send euery young Man that hath more Boldnesse, then Learning and Temperance, for such a Function.

In the former Part of this my Declaration to you of the vniuersall Concurrence of all Men of Value, Wealth, and Strength, in the Body of the Realme: to serue and defend the Queen and the Realme, I forgot to report vnto you the great Numbers of Ships of the Subiects of the Realme: as of *London* and other Port Townes, and Cities, that voluntarily this Yeere were armed, able to make a full Nauie of themselues for an Armie, and all at the proper Cofts of the Burgessees, for certaine Monethes, with Men, Victual, and Munition, which did ioyne with the Queene's own Nauie all this Summer, a Thing neuer in any former Age heard of, otherwise then that such Ships were always hired, waged, and victualled by the Kings of the Realm; which argued, to the Grief of me and some others, a most vehement and vnaccustomed Affection and Devotion in the Cities and Port Townes, such as they shewed themselues therein readie to fight, as it had been *pro aris & focis*.

Of the Number and Strength of the Queene's own Ships of Warre, I thinke you have been sufficiently enfourmed many Times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true Report of the State of them this present Summer, what I have credibly heard thereof: because I haue bene very sorry to hear how you and others have been therein abused: and that not only in this Matter of the Queene's Ships, but in some other things also of late, whereof some Part hath bene here by very many, maliciously, and in common Speeches, imputed to your owne Inuention and Publication; whereof in a few Words I will make some Digression before I shew the Estate of the Queene's Nauie.

In this Sommer past, there was printed in *Paris*, by your Direction (as it was reported) a notable Vntruth, which I did see and reade: that the King of *Scots* had besieged *Barwicke*, and had won it by Assault, and possessed it quietly: whereof no Part was true, nor any Cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so bene: but not for any Will that I now beare to the King, but for the Trouble to this Queen. For in truth there is no good for us to be hoped for from the King of *Scots*, howsoever the *Scottish* Bishops in *France* have sought to make you belieue otherwise, who is so rooted in the *Caluinist's* Religion, as there

there is neuer Hope that he can be recouered to the Church of *Rome*: and so I thinke you are of late duely enfourmed, and by his violent Actions against diuers Catholikes, and against all that fauour the *Spaniards*, may certainly appeare.

And likewise another great Vntruth was lately printed (as your Enemies say) by your Direction also in *Paris*, that now in *July* last, when the *Spanish* Fleete and *English* had met and fought betwixt *France* and *England*, the *Spaniards* had then a great Victory, wherein they had funke the Lord Admirall of *England*, with sixteen of the Queene's great Ships into the Bottome of the Seas, and that all the rest were driven to flie with the Vice-Admirall *Frances Drake*. Upon these two so notable Vntruthes, which the Aduersaries spitefully called *Don Bernardin Mendoza's mendacia*, many who honour you, were right sory, that you should giue so hastie Credite, to publish the same as (your Enemies say) you did: though I haue to my Power for clearing of your Honour given it out, that these and such like have proceeded of the Lightness of the *French*, who commonly print more Lies then Truths, in such doubtful Times, and not of you, whose Honour and Wisedome I thought would not bee iustly touched with so great Vntruthes and Lies: considering alwaies, a small Time will discouer Things that are in Facts reported vntruly, and bringeth the Authours to Discredit and Infamie. There hath been a Speech also reported here, to have proceeded from you in *France*, that hath caused a great misliking of you in *Scotland*: which is, that you should in open Asssembly, and in a Bravery say, that the young King of *Scots* (whom you call in your Language a Boy) had deceived the K. your Master: but if the King's Nauie might prosper against *England*, the King of *Scots* should loose his Crowne: and of this the King of *Scots* hath been aduertised out of *Fraunce*, and vseth very euill Language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leave this Digression, and to return to let you know the Truth of the State of the Queene's Nauie this Sommer. The same was in the Beginning of the Yeere, when the Brute was brought of the Redines of the King's *Armada* in *Lisbone*, and of the Armie by Land upon the Sea Coasts in *Flanders* with their Shipping, deuided into three Companies: the greatest vnder the Charge of *Charles L. Harward* High Admirall of *England*, whose Father, Grandfather, Vncles, great Vncles, and other of his House, being of the noble House of the Dukes of *Norfolke*, had also bene High Admirals afore him, whereof both *Fraunce* and *Scotland* haue had Proofs.

Another Company were appointed to remaine with the L. *Henry Seymour*, second Sonne to the Duke of *Somerfet*, that was Protector in King *Edward's* Time,

and Brother to the now Earle of *Hartford*: and these Companies for a Time continued in the narrow Seas betwixt *England* and *Flaunders*, vnder the Charge of the said High Admirall, to attend on the Duke of *Parma's* Actions.

A third Company were armed in the West Part of *England* towards *Spaine* vnder the Conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*, a Man by Name and Fame knowen too well to all *Spaine*, and to the Kinge's *Indias*, and of great Reputation in *England*: and this was compounded, partly of some of the Queene's owne Ship-pes, and partly of the Ships of the West Parts.

But after that it was certainly vnderstood, that the great Nauie of *Spaine* was readie to come out from *Lisbone*, and that the Fame thereof was blowen abroad in Christendome to be inuincible, and so published by Bookes in print, the Queene and all her Counsell, Iam sure, (whatsoever good Countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainly for a dangerous Fight vpon the Seas, and after that for a Landing and Inuasion. Whereupon the Lord Admirall was commaunded to saile with the greatest Ships, to the West of *England* towards *Spaine* to ioyne with *Drake*, whome he made Vice-Admirall, and to continue in the Seas betwixt *France* and *England*, to stoppe the Landing of the Nauie of *Spaine*. And with the Lord Admirall went in certaine of the Queene's Ships, the Lord *Thomas Haward*, second Sonne to the last Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Lord *Sheffield*, Sonne to the Admiral's Sister, who is Wife to the Queene's Ambassadour in *France*, with a great Number of Knights of great Liuelode: And at that Time the Lord *Henry Seymour* was left with a great Number of Ships in the narrow Seas, vpon the Coast of *Flaunders*, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*.

Whilest these two Nauies were thus diuided, I confesse to you, that I and others of our Part secretely made a full Accompt, that none of all these *English* Ships durst abide the Sight of the *Armada* of *Spaine*, or if they would abide any Fight, yet they should all be sonke at the first Encounter. For such constant Opinion we had conceiued by the Reports of the World, that the Greatness and the Number of Ships, and the Army of *Spain*, being the chosen Vessels of all the King's Dominions, was so excessive monstrous, beyond all the Nauies that ever had bene seen in *Christendome*, not excepting the *Armada* at *Lepanto*, that no power could abide in their Way. But how farre deceived we were therein, a very short Time, euen the first Day, did manifestly, to the great Dishonour of *Spaine*, discover. For when the Catholique Armie came to the Coast of *England*, which indeede the *English* confesse did seeme farre greater then they looked for, and that they were astonied with the Sight of them, yet the Lord Admiral and *Drake* having but only fifty of the *English* Ships out of the Haven

Haven of *Plimmouth*, where the rest remained for a new reuiſtualing, without tary-
 ing for the rest of the Nauie that was in *Plimmouth*, they did offer present Fight,
 and furiously purſued the whole Nauie of *Spaine*, being above 150 Ships: ſo as
 the ſame, with the furious and continual Shot of the *English* one whole Day, fled
 without any returning. And after, the *English* Nauie being encreaſed to an hun-
 dred great and ſmal, renewed their Fight with terrible great Shot all the whole
 Day, gaining always the Wind of the *Spaniſh* Nauy. And as I am ſory to remem-
 ber the Particularities, which the *English* haue largely written to their owne
 Praise, ſo as to ſpeake all in one Word, for nine Dayes together, they ſtill forced
 them to flie, and deſtroyed, ſonke, and tooke in three Daies Fight, diuers of the
 greateſt Shippes: out of which, ſpecially out of the principall great Ship of *An-*
daluzia, and out of the *Admiranta* of *Guipusque*, and thirdly out of the principal
 great *Galliaſſe* of *Naples*, great Numbers were brought (beſide many moe killed
 and drowned) to *London*, and to fundry other Portes of the Realme, to the great
 Diſhonour of *Spaine*: amongſt which Priſoners were a great Number of Cap-
 taines both for Land and Sea. And beſides that which deeply blemiſheth the
 Honour of *Spaine*, and vexeth me at my Heart, to conſider the Inequalitie of
 Fortune, it is vaunted by our Aduerſaries, that in all the Time of theſe Fights ſo
 many Daies, the *Spaniards* did neuer take or ſink any *English* Ship or Boate, or
 breake any Maſt, or tooke any one Man Priſoner. A Matter that in deede
 theſe *Spaniards* which are taken doe maruaile greatly, and chafe thereat: ſo as
 ſome of them in their anguiſh of Minde let not to ſay, that in all theſe Fights
Chriſt ſhewed himſelf a *Lutheran*.

And though ſuch Speeches be vnadviſed, and not to be regarded, yet ſurely it
 is moſt manifeſt, that in all this Voiage from the comming of the Nauie out of
Liſbon euen to this Houre, God did ſhew no fauour to ours any one Day, as he
 did continually to theſe *Lutherans*: which percaſe may be done for our good to
 correct vs, as putting our truſt wholly in our worldly Strength, and to the Confu-
 ſion hereafter of the *Lutherans*, by puffing them vp, being his Enemies, with Proſ-
 peritie for a Time, to be afterwardeſ the Cauſe of their Ruine. And amongeſt
 other things reported to the diſhonour of the Duke of *Medina*, who, it is ſaid,
 was lodged in the bottome of his Ship for his Safetie, and to a great touch to the
 Commaunders of the *Spaniſh* Nauie, that they neuer would turne their Shippes,
 nor ſtay them, to defend any of their owne Shippes that were forced to tary be-
 hind, but ſuffered diuers to periſh: as are good Witneſſes therof the three great
 Veſſels. One wherein *Dòn Pedro de Valdez* was taken: another *Galleon* of *Gui-*
pusque that was ſpoyled with Fire: and the noble *Galliaſſe* wherein *Hugo de Mon-*
cada was ſlaine: of which lack of Care by the Duke of *Medina*, theſe *Spaniards*

that are taken geue very euill Report. The like is faide in *Zeland* by the *Spaniards* there, that were faued with *Diego de Pimentelli*, though the *Galleon* wherein he was, being beaten with the *English* Shot, and not succoured by the Nauie of *Spaine*, did there perish in their comming to *Flushing*, and so did another likewise perish for lacke of Succour before *Ostend*.

And now I must needes thinke that you are stricken with some Grief of Mind, or rather with some Anger towards me, to heare from me so much of those aduerse Things, although they are too true: and therefore I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better Contentation, to vnderstand what Opinions we that are here haue, being thus frustrate of our expected Deliverie, by the Defeat of this Enterprise: whether we do comfort our selues with a Conceit that this Action may be, by any Probabilitie, once againe renewed this next Yeere, for the Recouerie of our lost Hope this Yeere, famously spoken of by the Number of 88. and so verified to the Losse of all Catholiques. Wherein surely for our owne partes, as by secret Conference I finde with many with whom I haue secretly of late vpon this vnfortunat Accident conferred, we cannot iudge of any likelihood of good Successe for any long Time: and if there should any be hoped for, surely the Sea-Forces of the King Catholique, must of necessitie be more increased, and better also be gouerned then they were this Yeare. For this we here do consider that this Enterprise of Inuasion and Conquest, was alwaies principally grounded vpon many probable Opinions of the euil State of the Realme.

First, of the weaknes of the *English* Nauie: for so you know you were diuers waies this last Yeare aduertised from hence, and so also many of vs here did conceiue the same: wherein we see by all this Yeare's Seruice with these Ships, we did all notably erre.

Next, of a supposed euil Contentment of a Number of People in this Land to serue the Queene, and her Government, against her Enemies.

Lastly, and most principally, of a great strong Partie that would be found here in the fauour of vs for the Catholique Religion, that should take Armes against the Queene vpon the first sight of the Catholique Nauy on the Coasts of *England*. Of all which Opinions, settled in good Men's Minds in manner of Iudgements, we know that none in the World did more constantly assure the King thereof then you: which, as the matters haue euill succeeded, may, I fear, bring you in danger of his Indignation, although I know you meant uery well therein.

And as these three Opinions have all fayled this Yeere, so I assure you, though some of ours on that side the Seas may persist in their former Opinions against the Experience lately sene (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to maintaine themselves in Credit, for continuing their necessarie Relief from the Pope, and

the King, hauing no other means to keepe them from Steruing or Begging) yet because I would not haue you further deceaued by them, who haue not bene present in the Realme to see such contrary Proofes against all their Conceits, as I and others haue done: I will shew you a great Number of manifest Arguments, though I am sory at my Hart to remember them, whereby you in your Wisedome (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certain, that these former Opinions, for Comfort to be had from hence, will proue the next Yeare as strong against vs, and in some part more strong then they proued this Yeare, if any accompt should be made thereof.

First, for the Nauie of *England*, which hath this Yeare to the sight of the World proued to be of great Force and Value, for those Seas, and able to ouermatch in their manner of Fight, double to their Number, of the great *Gallions*, *Carikes*, *Galliaffes*, or *Gallies*, it is certain that it will be greatly increased this next Yeare. For I know, that within these few Dayes, Bargaines are already made, and Imprest of Money deliuered, and certaine sent into the *Estlands*, for great Store of all Maritime Prouisions. And as for the increase of the Number of good Shippes for the Queene's proper vse, there is already a great quantitie of Timber ready, and Order geuen to fell more in *Nouember*, and *December* next, in the Countries neare both to the Sea, and to *Thames*, to build a Number of Shippes of Warre, equall to these whose Service was seene this Yeare to haue ouermatched the great *Armadas* and Castels of *Spaine* and *Italy*. And furthermore, to ioyne with the Nauie of *England* this Yeare following, not onely the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, but also Shipes of *Denmarke*, and others partes of *Estland*, will certainly be had in great Numbers, whereof there was none at all required this Yeare past to ioyne with the Nauie of *England*. Onely certain *Hollanders*, and *Zelanders* offred their Seruice, according as they are bound, in the end of this Sommer, since the Conflict neare *Callice*, to ioyne with some of the *English* Nauie in the narrow Seas, to defend the issuing of the Duke of *Parma* out of the Portes of *Flaunders*: and in that Seruice, at this Time there are aboue fortie and fixe good Shippes of Warre, with the Vice Admirall *Iustinian* of *Nassau*: a Man that agreeth too well with the *English* Nation, and is a sworne Enemy to all *Spaniards*, and *Catholiques*: and as it is reported for certaine, there are lx. more comming out of *North Holland* to the Seas, for the same purpose: so as it is to be doubted, that this Realme, this next Yeare, will be double as strong as it was this last Yeare.

As to the second Branch of our Hope, depending vpon Opinion of some great Miscontentement of sundry Persons against the Queene, the prooue of the contrary so appeared this Yeare, both of her Actions to mainteine the liking of
all

all her People, and of the generall earnest Deuotion shewed to her by all Estates, Noble and Meane, Rich and Poore, as I thinke no Prince christened euer had greater cause of Comfort in her People, which I may iudge to breede a Pride in her. And to recompence the same she did most notably shew her selfe in this Time, euen when most Danger was threatened, in all her Actions towards her People, as carefull for their Weale, and for the Safetie of her Realme, without any speciall or particular Prouision, or Regard to her owne Person, as euer any Prince could doe. First to let her People vnderstand what Care she had to make her Realme strong against Inuasion, she politikely, yea most carefully, by her owne frequent Directions, caused her whole Realme to be put in Armes, she tooke account thereof her selfe by monethly Certificat from such as were made her Lieutenants in euery Shire of her Realme: she caused Armour, Powder, Weapon, to be sent to all Countries, and Ordinance to all Maritime Countries: there were also fundry Armies described, to defend euery Coast of the Sea: and as I heard it reported by some that did know the Secrets of the Court, was importunate with her Counsell to leaue no Day vnoccupied, to bring these Seruices to effect: and yet she did still continue her Commissioners in the *Low Countries* to treat of Peace, which surely she desired to haue obtained, so that she might haue had the same with certaine Conditions. So as to content her People, she did both treat and desire Peace, and did not in the meane time neglect to make her Realme strong for Defence, if Peace could not be gotten. But in the end when her Demands were wholly refused, whereof we and all Catholiques were most glad, and that she vnderstood very certainly, that the Armie of the Duke of *Parma* should come first to destroy the Citie of *London*, she reuoked her Commissioners, approched *London* in Person, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbs of the same: whereby they of the Citie tooke great Comfort, hauing daily in Shew and Muster of their owne ten thousand Men armed and trained of very able Men of the Citie, and in readines thirtie thousand more, able to fight.

She caused an Armie to be brought to incampe neere the Sea Side, vpon the Riuer of *Thames*, betwixt the Sea and the Citie, twenty Miles beneath the Citie: and after the Army was come thither, she would not by any Aduise be staied, but for Comfort of her People, and to shew her owne Magnanimity of Heart (as she said, she would so do though she was a Woman) she went to that Armie lying betwixt the Citie and the Sea, vnder the Charge of the Earle of *Leicester*, placing her selfe betwixt the Enemie and her Citie, and there viewed her Army, and passed through it diuers Times, lodged in the Borders of it, returned againe, and dined in the Armie: And first, saw the People as they were, by their Countries,

lodged

lodged and quartered in their feuerall Camps, which she viewed from Place to Place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into Battailes, readie, as it were to fight with any Enemie, she rode aroundabout them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied only but with the Generall, and three or four others attending on her. But yet to shew her State, I well marked it, she had the Sword carried before her by the Earle of *Ormonde*.

There she was generally saluted with Cries, with Shoutes, with all Tokens of Loue, of Obedience, of Readinesse and Willingnesse to fight for her, as seldom hath bene seene in a Campe and Armie, considering she was a Queene: and all tended to shew a maruelous Concord, in a mutual Love, betwixt a Queene and her Subiects: and of Reuerence, and Obedience of Subiects to a Soueraigne: all which she acquitted with very Princely Thankes, and good Speeches. I could enlarge this Description with many more Particularities of mine owne Sight, for thither I went, as many others did: and all that Day, wandering from Place to Place, I neuer heard any Word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately Person and Princely Behauiour, and in praying for her Life and Safetie, and cursing of all her Enemies, both Traitors, and all Papists, with earnest Desire to venter their Liues for her Safetie.

And besides such particular Acclamations, the whole Army in euery Quarter, did deuoutely at certaine Times sing in her hearing, in very tunable maner, diuers *Psalmes* put into forme of *Prayers* in Praise of Almighty God, no waies to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest Speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any Comfort, but to geue you these manifest Argumentes, that neither this Queene doth discontent her People, nor her People do shewe any Discontentation in any Thing that they be commanded to do for her Seruice, as heretofore hath bene imagined. She had also an Armie of about forty thousand Footemen, and of six thousand Horsemen, vnder the Charge of the Lord *Hunsdon* Lord Chamberlein, as Lieutenant of that Army, made ready from the Inland partes of the Realme, to be about her owne Person, without disarming the Maritime Counties: so as many marched out of sondry Countries towards her, at the very time that she was in the Camp: some came to the Suburbes and Townes neere *London*, whom she remaunded to their Countries, because their Haruest was at hand, and many of them woulde not bee countermaunded, but still approached onward on their owne Charges, (as they said) to see her Person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquere the Realme. But though the greatest Number of the said Souldiours were compelled to returne, yet the Captains, Leaders, and the principal Knights and Gentlemen came to the Court to offer their Seruice: and those were graciously

graciously accepted of her with many Thanks, and are now for the more part returned with a full Determination, and firme Promise, to continue their Bands in such Redines, as vpon a few Houres warning they will assuredly returne with them in good array.

Beside these foresaid Argumentes to disprove the Opinion of Discontentment of the People, which heretofore hath bene thought a great furtherance to this honorable Action, I will also remember you some other more notable Actions, to proue both Contentacion, and Redines, in all the Nobilitie of the Realme at this Time, that were not tyed to abide in their Countries by reason of their Offices, as Lieutenantes and Gouvernours there for Martiall Seruices. For assoone as it was heard that the Queene was nere *London*, and that the Armies were in gathering to come out of the Countries, for Defence of all Inuasions, and Reportes brought from the Sea Coasts of the appearance of the *Spanish* Nauie: all the Noblemen in the Realme, from East and West, from North and South, excepting onely such great Lordes as had speciall Gouvernementes in Countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their Charge, and some fewe that were not able to make Forces according to their Desire, came to the Queene, bringing with them according to their Degrees, and to the vttermost of their Powers, goodly Bands of Horsmen, both Launces, light Horsmen, and such other as are termed *Carabins* or *Argeletiers*, lodging their Bandes round about *London*, and maintaining them in paie at their owne Charges all the Time, vntill the Nauie of *Spaine* was certainly knowen to be passed beyond *Scotland*. And of these Noble Men many shewed their Bandes of their Horsmen before the Queene euen in the Fields afore her owne Gate, to the great Marueile of Men of good Iudgement (as I heard reported) for that the Number of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no Parcell of the Numbers of Horsmen limited in euery Countrie, and put into Bandes with the Armies described, it was thought before they were seene, that there had not bene so many spare Horses of such Valour in the whole Realme, excepting the North part of *England* towards *Scotland*, whose Forces consist chiefly of Horsmen.

The first that shewed his Bandes to the Queene, was that noble, vertuous, honorable Man, the *Viscount Montague*, who, howsoever Men do iudge of him for Opinion in Religion, yet to tell you the Truth, he is reported always to haue professed, as now also at this Time he did professe and protest solemnly, both to the Queene, and to all her Court, in open Assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly, and in Age, with a full Resolution to liue and dye in Defence of the Queene, and of his Country, against all Inuaders, whether it were Pope, King, or Potentate whatsoeuer, and in that Quarell he would hazard his Life, his Children,

dren, his Landes and Goods. And to shew his Mynde, agreeably thereto, he came personally him selfe before the Queene, with his Band of Horfemen, being almost two hundred: the same being led by his owne Sonnes, and with them a yong Child, very comely seated on horseback, being the Heire of his House, that is, the eldest Sonne to his Sonne and Heir: a matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the same: to see a Grandfather, Father, and Sonne, at one Time on horsebacke afore a Queene for her service, though in Truth I was sory to see our Aduersaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceale it from your Lordship's Knowledge, because I think this Noble Man is known vnto you, having bene used as an Ambassadour to the K. Catholique many Yeares past by this Queene (as I haue heard) to require Confirmation of the Treaties of Amitie, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Noble Man's Condition, I thinke there be some others of whom there is no accompt to be made that they will geue Fauour to any Attempt against the Queene, or to any Inuasion of the Realme.

There were also many at the same Time that made Shewes of great Numbers of serviceable Horfes, whereof though it be no Comfort to you to heare, yet it is good that you be not abused for lacke of Knowledge, how the present State is here: that you may better iudge hereafter what may be done to recouer this late Loss and Dishonour. At this Time the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *Windsore*, with some Knights and Gentlemen with them, shewed their Bandes, as the Lord *Mountague* had done: and after them the Lord *Chancelour* shewed goodly Bandes of Horfemen and Footemen at his owne House, very many and strong. And within one or two Dayes after, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Burghley* Lord Treasorer, the Lord *Compton*, and in the End of the Day the Earl of *Leycester*, and the Lord *Rich*, besides sondry Knightes of the Realme, shewed every of them severall strong Bandes of Horfemen, to the great Liking of the Queene, and of all the People that were there, being many thousands. And within two Daies after that, the Earle of *Essex* being Master of the Queene's Horfe, with certeine principall Gentlemen his Seruants, Friends and Followers, shewed afore the Queene aboue three hundred Horfes of all Service, and a great Number of *Carabins*, and a faire Band of Footemen all Muskettiers.

This Shewe exceeded in Number any other particular Band, and the Earle him selfe with a great Number of Launces horsed and armed, did run very many Courses, and specially with the Earle of *Cumberland* (as they cal it) the *Course of the Field*, which I had neuer seene before: and did also him selfe and his Company *Tourney* on horsebacke a very long time, and caused also his *Carabines*, and his

Footemen, to make Skirmishes there, to the great Liking of the Queene, and of the Multitude of People, which were many thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement Speeches against all *English* Papists, calling them all Traitors, wishing also that the *Spaniards* had bene there in that Field with treble the Number, to make Proof of the Value of *English* Men: all which I heard to my great Grief, with many Curses against all their Countrymen, saying, that they as arrant Traitors to their native Countrey, had villanously sold, as far as in them did lye, the Liberty of their Country to *Spaniards* and other Papistes. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them: for surely if I had, their Rancour was so stirred vp, by the Comfort of these fair Shewes of Horsemen, as they would there in the Field in their Rage haue killed me, and cut me in a thousand Peeeces.

Besides these Lords aboue named, there were brought to the Towne, other faire Bandes by the Earle of *Worcester*, the Earle of *Hertford*, the Lord *Audeley*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Dacres*, Lord *Lomeley*, Lord *Mountioy*, Lord *Sturton*, Lord *Darcy*, Lord *Sandes*, Lord *Mordant*, and by euery one that were of the Priiue Counsell: so as by Estimation, there were about *London* at that Time, aboue five thousand Horses readie to serue the Queene, besides all the Horsemen that were raised in all other Countries for the Armies and the Sea Coasts. And besides these, I heard in a very good Place, where I was silent, that there was by Accompt twise as many in Readines with the Noble Men that were absent, attending on their Charges in their seuerall Lieutenancies. As the *Marques* of *Winchester*, one counted to be the strongest Man of his owne Furniture for Horse and Armour, who is Lieutenant of *Hampshire*, with the Earle of *Suffex* Captain of *Portsmouth*, and Lieutenant also of *Dorsetshire*. Next him is in Accompt the Earle of *Shrowsbury*, Earle *Marshal* of *England*, Lieutenant of a great Number of Countries, and of great Power of his owne, both for Horsemen and Footemen, beside the Power of the Lord *Talbot* his Sonne. The Earle of *Darby* also, though he was in *Flaunders*, from whence he came lately, yet his Sonne the Lord *Strange*, Lieutenant of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, in his Father's Absence, is said to haue raised a great Power of Horsemen. And to shew the popular Affection to this Earle in his Countrey, I heard it for certaine reported, that when the Earle continued longer in *Flanders* then they liked, and doubting of his Return, for that they supposed that the Duke of *Parma* would stay him, and the other Commissioners there, the People of his Countrey in a Generalitie did amongst themselves determine, that the Lord *Strange*, the Earl's Son, and all the Manhood of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire* would go over the Seas and
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fetch

fetch the Earle home. A Matter for no Purpose to be spoken of, but to note the Force of the Love which the People doe beare to the Earle, who with his Sonne is firmly bent against the Pope.

The Earle of *Bath* also Lieutenant of *Devonshire*, had, as is said, great Forces of his own readie to have impeached the Landing of any Strangers in *Devonshire*. The Earle of *Pembroke* also being Lieutenant of *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and Lord Prefident of all *Wales*, was readie to have come to the Queene with three hundred Horsemen and five hundred Footmen all of his owne Retinue, leauing all the Countries vnder his Charge fully furnished.

I omit here to speake of the Bands of Horsemen, belonging to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, which though they were ready to haue bene shewed at the same Time, yet the Earles hearing of the *Spanish* Armie approaching, went voluntarily to the Sea-side in all Hast, and came to the Queene's Nauie before the Fight afore *Callice*. Where they being in feuerall Ships of the Queene's, did with their owne Persons valiant Services against the King's *Armada*. And to shew the great Readines in a Generalitie of fundrie others at the same Time, to aduenture their Liues in the said Seruice, there went to the Seas at the same Time diuers Gentlemen of good Reputation, who voluntarily without any Charge, and without Knowledge of the Queen, put themselves into the Queen's Nauie in fundry Ships, wherein they serued at the Fight afore *Callice*: of which Number, being very great, I remember that the Names of some of them were these: Master *Henry Brooke* Sonne and Heire to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Cecil* Sonne and Heir to the Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Hatton* Heire to the Lord Chancellour, Sir *Horatio Pallavicino*, a Knight of *Genua*, Master *Robert Carie* Sonne to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Brother to the Lord *Mountioy*. But much Speech is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Nauy at the same Time, whose Names are *Thomas Gerard* and *William Harue*, to me not knowen, but now here about *London* spoken of with great Fame. These two aduentured out of a Ship Boate, to scale the great Galliasse wherein *Moncada* was, and entered the same only with their Rapiers: a Matter commonlie spoken, that neuer the like was hazarded afore, considering the Height of the Galliasse compared to a Ship Boate.

And yet to make it more manifest, how earnest all Sorts of Noble Men and Gentlemen were to aduenture their Liues in this Seruice, it is reported that the Earle of *Oxford*, who is one of the most auncient Earles of this Land, went also to the Sea to serue in the Queene's Armie. There went also for the same Purpose, a seconde Sonne of the Lord Treasurer called, as I can remember,

Robert Cecil: there went also about that Time to the Seas, the Lord *Dudley* an auncient Baron of the Realm, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* a Gentleman of the Queene's Priuy Chamber, and in his Company a great Number of young Gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the Names of the Heire of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, called *William Cecil*, of *Edward Darcy*, *Arthure Gorge*, and such others: with the Rehearfall of whom I doe not comfort myselfe, but only to shew you, how farre we have bene deceiued, to thinke that wee should haue had a Partie here for vs, when as you see both by Lande and by Sea, all Sorts of Men were so readie of their owne Charges, without either Commandement, or Entertainment, to aduenture their Liues in Defence of the Queene and the Realme.

And for the Earle of *Huntington's* Forces, being Lieutenant General of the North, it is reported, that he hath put in Readines for an Army in *Yorkshire*, and other Countries commonly limited to serue against *Scotland*, to the Number of forty thousand well armed Footemen, and neare hande tenne thousande Horsemen, to come to him if any Occasion of Inuasion should be in the North Partes: to whom are ioyned with their Forces three Lordes in the North, the Lord *Scroop*, Lord *Darcy*, and Lord *Euers*.

There are also diuers other Lordes that are Lieutenantes of Countries, that haue in readines of their proper Charges good Numbers of Horsemen. As the Earle of *Kent*, Lieutenant of *Bedfordshire*: the L. *Hunsdon* Lord Chamberleine, Lieutenant of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: the Lord *Cobham* Lieutenant of *Kent*: the Lord *Gray* of *Buckinghamshire*: the Lord *North* of *Cambridgeshire*: Lord *Chandos* of *Glocestershire*: Lord *S. John* of *Huntingtonshire*: Lord *Buckhurst* of *Sussex*: and so by this particuler recitall not vnmeet for your Knowledge, it is to be noted what Disposition the Nobilitie of the Realme had at this Time to haue withstood all Inuasion. And if percase you shall persue your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lordes of the Realme, you shall finde that these are the Substance of all the great Lords, sauing three yong Earles within Age, *Rutland*, *Southampton*, and *Bedford*: all three brought vp in peruerse Religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of, the Earle of *Arundell*, who is in the Tower for attempting to haue fled out of the Realme by Prouocation of him, that now is Cardinall *Allen*: who, howsoever he may be affected to the Catholique Religion, yet I heare most certainly that he offreth his Life in Defence of the Queene against all the World.

And where accompt was made to haue a Partie in this Realme, which by these former Relations appeare could not be possible, the whole Nobilitie being assured to the Queene, and the Force of the People not violently bent that way: In this very Time was offered to the Queene as great a Partie for her,

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to come to her Seruice, and Defence of the Realme, as out of all Christendome, she coulde not haue to all respects a stronger; which was the King of *Scottes*, who hearing of the intended Inuasion of the Realme, sent a Gentleman to the Queene, with his Letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the Power that he had to defend her and her Realme: and if she so would, he would come in his owne Person, and hazard his owne Life, to defend this Realme against all Inuaders for Religion, or any other Pretence whatsoever. So by this you may see, what accompt may be made of any vaine Promises, made in the Name of this King. And because you shall perceiue that I haue good meanes to haue Intelligence of any other Forces of the Realme for Defence thereof, it is most certaine as I heare, and I haue sene a List or Rol of a great Number both Horsemen and Footmen, which the Bishops of the Realme haue of their owne Charges, with the Contribution of the Clergy, raised vp in Bandes of Horsemen and Footemen, which are to be led by Noble Gentlemen at the Queene's Nomination: and these Bandes must be vainely termed *Milites Sacri*.

As to the last Point of the three Foundations of the principall Hope conceiued, whereupon the Inuasion was chiefly grounded and taken in Hand, which was most certainly and generally beleued, that there should be found here in the Realm a strong Partie of Catholiques against the Queene, to ioyne and assist the Inuaders, vpon the appearance of the *Spanish* Nauie: by my former Relations of the generall great and feruent Love of the People towards the Queene, and of the great Offers of Seruice now made by the whole Nobilitie of the Realme, this their Foundation may appeare to haue bene wrong laied, onely by Imaginations, as it were vpon a Quick-Sand, or rather as flying in the Air. And yet it appeareth very truely that no small Accompt was made hereof by the King of *Spaine*, and by his principall Ministers: for there is nothing at this present more vniuersally, with one lamentable Voyce, spoken of, by all the Multitude of the *Spaniards*, now here Prisoners, yea by the cheifest of them, then that they now evidently see, that the King their Maister was with such Informations greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say there was no Man of Value in all this Armie, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so deliuered for Comfort of all that serued therein, before they were shipped, that they should not be afrayed of any Resistance to land in *England*, for that there was good Assurance giuen to the King, that they should finde a strong Armie of Catholiques ready in their fauour, as soone as euer their Nauie should be sene vpon the Sea Coast, and so they all here say they were encouraged to come to this Iourney: otherwise, many of them sweare they would

would neuer haue come on Shipbord: so vnlikely, they say, it was, and against all reason, to inuade a Realme, with Opinion to conquere it, without both some Title of Right, and a Partie also: but specially without a good sure Partie.

And therefore now finding this Report uery false, many of these Prisoners doe by name curse you, as being the Kinges Ambassadour: as him, they say, who vpon the Opinion of the Knowledge which you had gotten in *England*, was therein more credited then any other, and had these many Yeares together tempted the King their Maister, vpon Hope, and other such like Perfwasions, to attempt such a matter as this was: being vtterly in all Wisedome to haue bene condemned, without some certaintie of this latter Part, specially to haue had a strong Partie here. They also curse all such *Englishmen*, as haue fled out of this Countrie, whome they spare not to call arrant Traitors, for offering the Sale of their Countrie to the Pope and King of *Spaine*. And these Prisoners adde also that they were borne in hand, that this Countrie was so open to march in, and so weake to withstand any Force, and the People so miserable, as they thought the Conquest thereof had bene of no more difficulty then the ouercomming of a Number of naked *Indians* was at the Beginning of the Conquest thereof by King *Ferdinand*.

And now for Strength of this Countrie and People: many of these Prisoners hauing bene brought from the Sea Coastes hether to *London*, whereby they haue obserued the Countrie and the People, doe speake maruelously thereof, counting the same inuincible, otherwise then by Treason of some great Partie within the Realme. But whether all these Speeches which are commonly reported of them proceede from their Hartes, or that they speake thus to please the *English*, because they are well vsed by them, who are easily deceived with Flattery, I know not, but sure I am they do thus speake dayly, with outward shewe of great Passions against such as haue bene Perfwaders to the King for this Iourney. Diuers of them also which are of good Iudgment and haue heard of such of the *English* banished Men, as haue bene in *Spaine*, and haue knowen some of them there (as of long Time Sir *Francis Englefield*, and of late the Lord *Paget* and his Brother) haue curiously inquired, of what Power they were and Credit here to haue a Partie. They also inquired of the Earle of *Westmerland*, although of him they confesse he is a Man but of smal Gouvernement. Both our Aduersaries here haue so abased these and al the rest to haue bene of no Credit, to cary any Numbers of Men, but by the Queene's Authoritie when they were at their best: as the Prisoners wonder how the King could be so deceaued, to geue them Pensions, otherwise then for Charitie, because of their Religion. But they confesse they haue often heard in *Spaine*, how the King was once notably deceived, when

when one *Thomas Stukeley* a priuat *Englishman*, that fled out of *Ireland* for Debt, and other lewd Actions into *Spaine*, and not being worth one Penny, his Debts being paied, but the second Sonne of a meane Gentleman, pretended, and was beleevd in *Spaine* (so by intitling of him selfe) to be a *Duke*, a *Marquis*, and an *Earle* of *Ireland* : and so was a long Time entertained, as a Man that could do great Service against the Queene of *England*, until at length the King vnderstood his Falshood, and so banished him out of *Spaine* : and repairing to *Rome*, he was by the Pope also maintayned for a Time, vntill he was discouered euen by some good Catholiques, that could not endure the Pope's Holines to be so grossely mocked : of whom some of the Prisoners vsing merry Speeches, how both the Emperour *Charles*, and afterwards the King and the Pope, were so notably deceiued by this *Stukeley*, doe conclude merely, that they thinke some of these *English*, that haue thus abused the King, have followed *Stukeley's* Steppes. And in very Truth, I and many others haue bene very often ashamed to heare so broade Speeches, of the King, and of the Pope, yea of the Emperour *Charles*, whom such a Companion as *Stukeley* was, could so notably deceiue : and the more to be marueiled it was, how he could deceive the King *Catholique*, considering he was knowen to many of his counsell, at the King's being in *England*, to haue bene but a vaunting Beggar, and a *Ruffian*, and afterwards a Pirat against the *Spaniardes*.

Now my Lord Ambassadour by these my large Relations of the Things euil past, and of the Opinions of such as I haue lately dealt withall, with mine owne Conceit also, which I do not vainely imagine, your Lordship may see in the first Part, our present Calamitie, and miserable Estate : in the second Part, the State of this Queene, her Realme, her People, their Mindes, their Strength, so farre contrary to the Expectation of the Pope's Holines, the King *Catholique*, and specially of you (my Lord) and all others, that haue bene in hand these many Yeres with this Action, as I know not what Course shall, or may bee thought meete to take, seeing it is sene by Experience, that by Force our Cause cannot bee releued. Neither will any Change amend the Matter, when this Queene shall end her Daies (as al Princes are mortall) for both the Vniuersalitie of the People through the Realme, are so firmly and desperately bent against our Religion, as nothing can preuail against their vnited Forces. And whosoever shall by Right succeed to this Crowne after the Queene (who is likely to liue as long as any King in *Christendome*) if the Crowne should come to the King of *Scots*, or to any other of the Blood Royall, as there are very many within this Realme descended both of the Royall Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* : there is no accompt to be made, but euery one of them, that now liue

at this Day, are knowen to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the Authoritie of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestant or Heretique in the World. So as to conclude, after all Circumstances well considered, for the present I know no other way, but to commit the Cause to Almighty God, and to all the Saints in Heauen, with our continuall Praiers: and in Earth to the holy Counsels of the Pope and his Cardinals, with our Supplications to releue the afflicted Number of our exiled Brethren, and to send into the Realme discrete, holy, and learned Men, that may onely in secrete maner, without intermedling in Matters of Estate, by teaching confirme vs in our Faith, and gaine with charitable Instruction others that are not rooted in Heresie.

And for Reliefe of such as are forced to pay yeerely great Sommes of Money out of their Reuenue, because they forbear to come to the Church, it were to be charitably considered, whether there might not be some Dispensation from the Pope's Holines, for some fewe Yeares, to tollerate their comming to the Church, without changing of their Faith: considering a great Number doe stand therein, not for any thing (as they say) vsed in this Church that is directly contrarie to God's Law, but for that the Rites and Prayers (though they are collected out of the Body of the Scripture) are not allowed by the Catholique Church, and the Head thereof, which is the Pope's Holines: and for that Cause iustly, all true Catholiques account this Church to be schismaticall. By which Remedie of Tolleration, a great Number of such as will bee perpetually Catholiques, might enioy their Liuing and Libertie: and in proces of Time, the Catholique Religion (by God's Goodnesse) might with more Suretie bee increased, to the Honour of God, than euer it can be by any force whatsoeuer. For so did all Christian Religion at the first begin, and spread it selfe over the World: not by Force, but onely by Teaching and Example of Holines in the Teachers, against all human Forces. And so I will end my long Letter, with the Sentence which King *David* vsed foure Times in one of his Psalmes, *Et clamauerunt ad Dominum in Tribulatione eorum, & de angustia eorum liberauit eos*: And so must we make that for our Foundation to lay our Hope vpon, for all other Hopes are vaine and false.

At London the of August, 1588.

AFTER that I had made an End of this my Letter, which I found by Perusall thereof to have bene at more length then I looked for, although the Matters therein contained did draw me thereto, and that I had made choice of a Friend of mine who had more Knowledge in the *French* Tong, than I, to turne the same into *French*: my Mishap was that when he had done some Part thereof, he fell sicke of a burn-

a burning Feuer, whereby my Letter remained with him vpon Hope of Recovery for tenne or twelue Dayes: and seeing no Hope thereof, I entreated another very trustie and a sound Catholike, having perfect Knowledge in the *French* Tong, who took upon him to put it into *French*, wherein was also longer Time spent: so as my Letter being written in the middest of *August*, I am forced to end it in *September*. And thereupon I thought good, whiles my former Letter was in translating, to adde some thinges happened in the mean time meet for your Knowledge.

About the seventh of *August*, the Lord Admirall returned with the Nauie, having followed the *Spanish* Nauie (as they reported) as farre as the 55. Degree Northwardes: the *Spanish* Nauie taking a Course either to the furthest Partes of *Norway*, or to the *Orcades* beyond *Scotland*: which if they did, then it was here iudged that they would go about *Scotland* and *Ireland*: but if they should go to *Norway*, then it might be, that if they could recouer Prouisions of Mastes, whereof the *English* Nauie had made great Spoile, they might return. But I, for my Part, wished them a prosperous Wind to passe Home about *Ireland*, considering I despaired of their Returne for many Respectes, both of their Wantes, which could not be furnished in *Norway*, and of the Lacke of the Duke of *Parma*'s Habilitie to bring his Army on the Sea, for want of Mariners. Neuerthelesse, vpon Knowledge from *Scotland* that they were beyond the *Orcades*, and that the King of *Scottes* had geuen Commandement upon all the Sea Coasts that the *Spaniards* should not be suffered to land in any part, but that the *English* might land and be releued of any Wantes: Order was giuen to discharge all the Nauie, saving twenty Shippes that were under the Lord *Henry Seymour*'s Charge, to attend vpon the Duke of *Parma*'s Attemptes either towardes *England*, which was most unlikely, or toward *Zeland*, which began to be doubted. But within three or four Daies after this, suddenly there came Report to the Court, that the *Spanish* Nauie had refreshed it self in the Islandes beyonde the *Orcades*, both with Water plentifully, and with Bread, Fish, and Flesh, as for their Money they could get: and would return hether once againe, to attend on the Duke of *Parma*'s Armie, to conduct it by Sea into *England*. Whereupon grew some new Busines here, wherewith I know the Queene and her Counsell was not a little perplexed what to do, but in the End, Order was geuen to staie the disarming of her Nauy, and so the whole Nauie was very speedely made ready againe, onely upon the former Reportes: wherewith I and many others were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and vpon euery light Report put to great Charges. But this lasted not past eight or tenne Dayes, for vpon more certain Knowledge by two or three Pinna-
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sles, that were sent to discover where the *Spanish* Fleet was, which certified that

they were beyond the *Orcades*, failing towards the West, in very euill Case, hauing many of their People dead in those North Partes, and in great Distresse for lacke of Mastes, and also of Mariners: a new Commaundement was giuen to dissolue the Nauie, sauing that which should attend on the Duke of *Parma*: and so the Lord Admirall returned, with the Lord *Thomas Haward*, the Lord *Henry Seymour*, Lord *Sheffield*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with all the Captaines to the Court, sauing such as had Charge of the Fleete, that was vnder the Lord *Henry*. And vpon the Returne of these Sea Men to the Citie, there are spread such Reports, to moue the Noble Men, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all other vulgar People of all sorts, into a mortal Hatred of the *Spaniards*, as the poore *Spanish* Prisoners were greatly afraid to haue bene all massacred: for that it was published, and of many beleeeved, that the Lordes of *Spain* that were in the Nauie, had made a special Division amongst themselues, of all the Noble Men's Houses in *England* by their Names, and had in a sort quartered *England* among themselues, and had determined of fundry Manners of cruell Death, both of the Nobilitie, and of the rest of the People. The Ladies, Women and Maidens were also destined to all Villanie: the rich Marchant's Houses in *London* were put into a Register by their very Names, and limited to the Companies of the Squadrons of the Nauie for their Spoil. And to increase more Hatred, it was reported that there were a great Number of Halters brought in the *Spanish* Nauie, to strangle the vulgar People, and certain Irons grauen with Markes, to be heated for the Marking of all Children in their Faces, being vnder seuen Yeares of Age, that they might be known hereafter, to haue bene the Children of the conquered Nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the *English* Nauie, as having heard the *Spaniards* confesse the same: so as for a Time there was a general Murmure, that the *Spanish* Prisoners ought not to be suffered to liue, as they did, but to bee killed, as they had purposed to haue done the *English*. But the wiser Sort of Men, and such as had the Charge of the Prisoners, hauing no Commandement from the Counsel, did straitly looke to the Safetie of the Prisoners, as a Matter not to be so rashly suffered. But to content the People with some other Matter, there was vpon *Sunday* last, at the Request of the Maior and his Brethren, a great Number of Banners, Streamers, and Ensignes, which were wonne from the *Spanish* Nauie, brought to *Paul's Church-yard*, and there shewed openly in the Sermon Time, to the great reioysing of all the People. And afterwards they were carried to the Crosse in *Cheape*, and afterwards to *London Bridge*: whereby the former Rage of the People was greatly asswaged, the Fury generally conuerted into Triumph, by boasting in euery Place, that this was the Act of God, who had heard the feruent Prayers of the People, and was pleased with their former

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Praiers and Fastings : to haue such Banners, and Streamers, which the *Spaniards* meant to haue brought and set vp in all Places of the Citie, as Monuments of their Triumphes, by his good Prouidence in punishing the Pride of the *Spaniards*, now to be erected by the *English*, as Monuments of their Victories, and of perpetuall Shame to the *Spaniards*. Upon these Shewes great reioycing followed : And as in *June* and *July* past, all Churches were filled daily with People exercised with Praiers and Shewes of Repentance, and Petitions to God for Defence against their Enemies : and in many Churches continually thrice in the Week Exercises of Praiers, Sermons, and Fasting al the Day long from Morning to Evening, with great Admiration to see svch general Devotion (which I and others did iudge to proceede more of Feare then of Devotion) so now, since the *English* Nauy is returned, and the *Spanish* Nauie defeated, and Intelligence brought of the Disorders in *Flaunders* : of the Discentions betwixt the *Spaniards*, and the other Soldiers : of the Contempt of the Duke of *Parma* by the *Spaniards*, being thereto maintained by a Duke called the Duke of *Pastraw*, the King Catholique's Bastard : and of the Departure and running away of the Duke's Mariner's, here is a like Concourse of the People to Sermons in all Churches : wherein is remembered the great Goodness of God towards *England*, by the Deliury thereof from threatened Conquest, and Praiers also publikely to giue Thanks to God for the same.

At London this of September, 1588.

The Printer to the Reader.

ALTHOUGH it be well known, that neither the first Writer of these Letters nowe by me printed, nor yet the *Spaniard* Don Bernadin to whome they are directed, had any desire to heare of any good Successe to the State of *England* : as may appeare in the Writer, by shewing himselfe grieued, to make any good Report of *England*, other then of meere necessitie he was vrged : and in *Don Bernardin*, who was so impudent, or at the least, so blindly rash, as to disperse in Print, both in *French*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, most false Reports of a Victorie had by the *Spaniards*, euen when the Victorie was notiable on the Part of *England*, and the *Spanish* vanquished : yet whilest I was occupied in the Printing hereof, a good Time after the Letters were sent into *Fraunce*, there came to this Citie certaine Knowledge, to all our great Comfort, of fundrie happie Accidents, to the Diminution of our mortall Enemies in their famous Fleete, that was driuen out of our Seas about the last of *July*, towards the farthest North partes of
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Scotland.

Scotland. Wherefore I haue thought it not amisse to ioine the same to this Letter of *Don Bernardin*, that he may beware, not to be so hastie of himselfe, nor yet to permit one *Capella*, who is his common Sower of Reports, to write these false things for Truthes.

The Particularities wherof are these. The Fleete was by Tempest driuen beyond the Isles of *Orkney*, about the first of *August*, which is nowe more then fixe Weekes past, the Place being aboue threescore Degrees from the *North Pole*: an vnaccustomed Place for the yong Gallants of *Spaine*, that neuer had felt Stormes on the Sea, or cold Weather in *August*. And about those North Islands their mariners and Souldiers died daily by Multitudes: as by their Bodies cast on Land did appeare. And after twentie Dayes or more hauing spent their Time in Miseries, they being desirous to returne home to *Spaine*, sayled very farre Southwestward into the Ocean to recouer *Spaine*. But the Almighty God, who alwayes auengeth the Cause of his afflicted People which put their Confidence in him, and bringeth downe his Enemies that exalt them selues with Pride to the Heauens, ordred the Winds to be so violently contrarious to this proud Nauie, as it was with Force disseuered, on the high Seas West vpon *Ireland*: and so a great Number of them driuen into fundrie dangerous Bayes, and vpon Rockes, all along the West and North parts of *Ireland*, in fundrie Places distant aboue an hundred Miles asunder, and there cast away, some sonke, some broken, some runne on Sands, some burned by the *Spaniards* themselves.

As in the North part of *Ireland* towards *Scotland*, betwixt the two Riuers of *Loughfoile* and *Lough Swilley*, nine were driuen to Land, and many of them broken, and the *Spaniards* forced to come to land for succour amongst the wilde *Irish*.

In another Place, twentie Miles Southwest from thence, in a Bay called *Calbeggy*, three other Ships driven also vpon Rockes. In another place Southward, being a Bay, called the *Borreys*, twentie Miles North from *Gallowey*, belonging to the Erle of *Ormond*, one special great Ship, of a Thousand Tonne, with fiftie Brasse Peeces, and foure Canons, was sonke, and all the People drowned sauing fixteene: who by their Apparell, as it is aduertised out of *Ireland*, seeme to be Persons of great Estimation.

Then to come more to the Sowthward, thirty Miles vppon the Coasts of *Thomond*, North from the River *Shennan*, two or three mo perished, whereof one was burned by the *Spaniards* themselves, and so driuen to the Shore: another was of *S. Sebastians*, wherein were three hundred Men, who were also all drowned sauing Three score. A third Ship with all her Lading was cast away at a place called *Breckan*.

In another Place afore Sir *Tirlogh Obryne's* House, there was also another great Ship lost, supposed to be a *Galliasse*. These Losses aboue mentioned, were betwixt the fifth and tenth of *September*, as was aduertised from fundrie Places out of *Ireland*: so as by accompt, from the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, when this Nauie was first beaten with the Nauie of *England*, vntill the tenth of *September*, being the space of seuen Weeks, and more, it is most likely that the sayde Nauie had neuer good Day, nor Night.

Of the rest of the Nauie, Report is also made that many of them haue bene seene, lying of and on, vpon the Coast of *Ireland*, tossed with the Winds, in such sort as it is also doubted, that many of them shall hardly recouer *Spaine*, if they be so weakened with lacke of Victuals and Mariners, as Part of their Companies that are left on Land do lamentably report. These Accidents I thought good to adde to the printed Copies of the Letters of *Don Bernardin*: that he may see, how God doth fauour the iust Cause of our gracious Queene, in shewing his Anger towards these proud boasting Enemies of Christian Peace: as the whole World, from *Rome* to the vttermost parts of Christendome, may see, that she and hir Realme, professing the Gospell of his Sonne Christ, are kept and defended, as the Words of the Psalme are, *Vnder the Shadowe of his Wings from the Face of the Wicked, that sought to afflict her, & compassse her round about to take away her Soule*: which, I doubt not, by Thankfulnesse yeelded by her Majestie and her whole Realme, will alwayes continewe.

The of Octob. 1588.

A LETTER from Sir *Henry Sidney*, to his Son, Sir *Philip Sidney*, consisting of Rules, in his Conduct in Life. *M4*.

Son *Philip*,

I Have received two Letters from you, the one written in *Latin*, the other in *French*, which I take in good Part, and will you to exercise that Practice of Learning often, for it will stand you in Stead, in that Profession of Life which you are born to live in; and now, since that this is my first Letter that ever I did write to you, I will not, that it be all empty of some Advices, which my natural Care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as Documents to you in this tender Age. Let your first Action be the Lifting up of your Hands and Mind to Almighty God, by hearty Prayers, and feelingly digest the Words you speak in

Prayer

Prayer with continual Meditations and Thinking of him to whom you pray, and use this at an ordinary Hour, whereby, the Time itself will put you in Remembrance to do that Thing which you are accustomed in that Time.

2.

Apply to your Study such Hours as your discreet Master doth assign you earnestly, and the Time I know he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your Learning, and safe for your Health ; and mark the Sense and Matter of that you read, as well as the Words ; so shall you both enrich your Tongue with Words, and your Wit with Matter ; and Judgment will grow, as Years grow on you.

3.

Be humble and obedient to your Master, for unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what Obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you hereafter.

4.

Be courteous of Gesture, and affable to all Men with Universality of Reverence, according to the Dignity of the Person ; there is nothing that winneth so much with so little Cost.

5.

Use moderate Diet, so as after your Meat you may find your Wit fresher, and not duller ; and your Body more lively, and not more heavy.

6.

Seldom drink Wines, and yet sometimes do, lest being forced to drink upon the fudden, you should find yourself inflamed.

7.

Use Exercise of Body, but such as is without Peril of your Bones or Joints ; it will much increase your Force, and enlarge your Breath.

8.

Delight to be cleanly, as well in all Parts of your Body, as in your Garments ; it shall make you grateful in each Company, and otherwise loathsome.

9.

Give yourself to be merry, for you degenerate from your Father, if you find not yourself most able in Wit and Body to do any Thing, when you be most merry ; but let your Mirth be ever void of Scurrility and biting Words to any Man, for a Wound given by a Word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a Sword.

10.

Be you rather a Hearer and Bearer away of other Men's Talk than a Beginner, or Procurer of Speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

11.

Be modest in each Assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light Fellows for a maiden Shamefacedness, than of your sober Friends, for pert Boldness.

12.

Think upon every Word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how Nature hath, as it were, rampired up the Tongue with Teeth, Lips, yea, and Hair without the Lips, and all betoken Reins and Bridles to the Restraining the Use of that Member.

13.

Above all Things tell no Untruth, no not in Trifles, the Custom of it is naught; and let it not satisfy you, that the Hearers for a Time take it for a Truth; for afterwards it will be known as it is to Shame, and there cannot be a greater Reproach to a Gentleman than to be accounted a Lyar.

14.

Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied, so shall you make such a Habit of well doing, as you shall not know how to do Evil though you would.

15.

Remember, my Son, the noble blood you are descended of by your Mother's Side, and think, that only by a virtuous Life, and good Actions, you may be an Ornament to your illustrious Family, and otherwise through Vice and Sloth you may be esteemed *Labes Generis*, one of the greatest Curses that can happen to a Man. Well, my little *Philip*, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this Time, but yet if I find that this light Meat of Digestion do nourish any thing the weak Stomach of your young Capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher Food. Farewel; your Mother and I send you our Blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his Fear, guide you with his Grace, and make you a good Servant to your Prince and Country.

Your loving Father,

HENRY SIDNEY.

A Speech

A Speech made by Queen *Elisabeth*, (of famous Memory) in Parliament, Anno 1593; and in the Thirty-fifth Year of her Reign, concerning the *Spanish* Invasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS Kingdom hath had many Wise, Noble, and Victorious Princes; I will not compare with any of them in Wisdom, Fortitude, or any other Virtues: But saving the Duty of a Child, that is, not to compare with his Father in Love, Care, Sincerity, and Justice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought Simplicity in me, that, all this Time of my Reign, I have not sought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and Weakness in that Respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the Things so obtained: And I must say, my Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just Princess.

Yet the King of *Spain* doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these Wars; in which he doth me the greatest Wrong that can be, for my Conscience doth not accuse my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the least Injury: But I am persuaded in my Conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the Wrong, that he hath done me.

I fear not all his Threatenings; his great Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir me: For, though he come against me, with a greater Power than ever was, his *Invincible* Navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great Advantage against him, for my Cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last Invasion, some, upon the Sea-coast, forsook their Towns, and flew up higher into the Country, and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance: But, I swear unto you, if I knew those Persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a Cause.

The Subsidies, you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good Wills with them; but if the Necessity of the Time, and your Preservations, did
not

not require it, I would refuse them: But, let me tell you, that the Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a Princess to have so much always lying in her Coffers, for your Defence in Time of Need, and not to be driven to get it, when we should use it.

You that be Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take Care that the People be well armed, and in Readiness upon all Occasions. You that be Judges and Justices of the Peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the Laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws, when we have put Life into them.

The Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, with her Declaration of her Successor. MSS.

ABOUT the *Friday* Sevenight after *Christmas* last, being about the 14th of *January*, 1602, in the 45th Year of her Reigne, the late Queen about two Days before sickened of a Colde, (being ever forewarned by Doctor *Dee*, to beware of *White-hall*) and the said 14th Day removed to *Richmond*; but a little before her going, even the same Morning, the Earle of *Nottingham*, High Admirall of *England* coming to her, partly to speake with her as concerning her Removall, and partly touching other Matters; wherein her Pleasure and Direction was to be knowne, they fell into some Speech of the Succession, and then she told him that her Seate had ever been the Throne of Kings, and none but her next Heir of Blood and Descent should succeed her; after falling into other Matters, they left that Speech, and she departed to *Richmond*; where she was well amended of the Cold. But on *Monday* the 20th of *February*, she began to sicken againe, and so continued till *Monday* the 7th of *March*, at which Time Notice was given to the Lords of the Councell, that she was sicke of a Cold, and so she continued sick till *Tuesday* the 15th of *March* following; after which Day she began somewhat to amend. But the 18th of *March* following, being *Friday*, she began to be very ill, whereupon the Lords of the Councell were sent for to *Richmond*, and there continued till *Wednesday* the 24th of *March*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning (being our Lady Even) at which Time she dyed; but on the *Tuesday* before her Death, being the 23d of *March*, the Lord Admirall being on the Right Side of the Bed, the Lord Keeper at the Left, and Mr. Secretary *Cecill* (after Earle of *Salisbury*) at the Beds Feete, all standing.

The Lord Admirall put her in Mind of her Speech, concerning the Succession, had at *White-hall*; and that they, in the Name of all the rest of her Councell, came unto her to knowe her Pleasure who should succeede. Whereunto she thus replied: "I told you my Seat had been the Seat of Kings, and I will have no Rascall to succeeed me, and who should succeeed me, but a King?"

The Lords not understanding this darke Speech, and looking the one on the other, at length Mr. Secretary boldly asked her, What she meant by these Words, "That no Rascall should succeeed her?" Whereunto she replied, "That her Meaninge was, that a King should succeeed her, and who, *quoth she*, should that be, but Our Cozen of *Scotland*."

They asked her whether that were her absolute Resolution, whereunto she answered, "I pray you trouble me no more, I'll have none but him," with which Answer they departed.

Notwithstanding, after again, about Four a Clock in the Afternoon, the next Day, being *Wednesday*, (after the Archbishopp of *Canterbury*, and other Divines had been with her, and left her in a manner Speechlesse) the three Lords afore-said, repaired unto her againe, asking her if she remained in her former Resolution, and who should succeeed her, but she not being able to speake, was asked by Mr. Secretary in this Sort, wee Beseech your Majesty if you remaine in your former Resolution, and that you would have the King of *Scots* to succeeed you in your Kingdom, shewe some Sign unto us, whereat suddenly heaveing herself upwards in the Bed, and putting her Arms out of Bed, she held both her Hands jointly together over her Head in manner of a Crown; whereby as they guesseed she signified, that she did not only wish him the Kingdome, but desired the Continuance of his Estate, after which they departed.

And the next Morning (as is afore-said) she dyed, immediately after her Death, all the Lords, as well of the Councell as other Noblemen, that were at the Courte, came from *Richmond* to *White-hall* by Six o'Clock in the Morning, where other Noblemen that were at *London* met them; but as they began to sitt in Councell in the Privy Chamber at *White-hall*, the Lord Keeper, (Sir *Thomas Egerton*) and the rest of the Councell that were no Barons offered to sit at the lower end of the Councell Table, and not above any of the meanest Nobility: But the Noblemen in respect of their former Authority, called them to the higher end of the Table and wished them to keepe their Places, whereunto the Lord Keeper answered, *Viz.* If it be your Lordshipps Pleasures, wee will do so, but that is more of your Courtesies then we can demand of Duty, and so they sat downe, every Man according to his Degree in Councell, touching the Succession

cession where after some Speech had of divers Competitors and Matters of State, at length the Lord Admirall rehearsed all the aforesaid Premisses, which the late Queen had spoken to him, and to the Lord Keeper, and Mr. Secretary, with the manner thereof, which they being asked, did affirme to be true upon their Honours.

The Order and Proceedings at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland. from the Pallace of Westminster, called White-hall: To the Cathedrall Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

FIRST, the Knight Marshals man,
to make way.

Next, the 240 poore Women by four
and four.

Then Servants of Gentlemen Esquires,
and Knights.

Two Porters.

Next, four Trumpetors.

After them,
Rose, Pursuant at Armes.

Two Serjants at Arms.

The Standard of the Dragon.

Two Querries leading a Horse.

Then the Messengers of the Chamber
four and four.

Children of the Almondry.

Children of the Woodyard.

Children of the Skullery.

Children and furners of the Pastry.

The Skalding house.

The Larder.

After them,

Groomes.

Wheat Porters.

Coopers.

Wine Porters.

Conducts in the Bakehouse.

Bell-ringer.

Maker of Spice-bags.

Cart-takers, chosen by the bord.

Long Cartes.

Cart-takers,

Of the Almery.

Of the Stable.

Of the Wood-yard.

Skullery.

Pastrie.

Skalding-House.

Poultrie.

Caterie.

Boyling house.

Larder.

Kitchen.

Laundrie.

Ewry.

Confectionary.

Wafery.

Chaundry.

Pitcher-house.
 Butterie.
 Seller.
 Pantrie.
 Bake-house.
 Counting-house.
 Then Noblemens and Ambassadors,
 Servants.
 Grooms of the Chamber.
 Four Trumpeters.
 Blewmantle.
 A Serjant at Armes.
 The Standard of the Gray-hound.
 Two Querries leading a horse.
 Yeomen of the Servitors in the Hall
 four and four.
 Cart-takers.
 Porters.
 Almondrie.
 Herbengers.
 Woodyard.
 Skullery.
 Pastrie.
 Poultry and Skalding house.
 Purveyors of the Poultrie.
 Purveyors of the Acatrie.
 Stable.
 Boyling-house.
 Larder.
 Kitchen.
 Ewrie.
 Confectionarie.
 Waferie.
 Purveyor of the Wax.
 Tallow Chandler.
 Chaundrie.
 Pitcher-house.
 Brewers.
 Butterie.

Purveyors.
 Seller.
 Pantrie.
 Garneter.
 Bake-house.
 Counting-house.
 Spicery.
 Chamber.
 Robes.
 Wardrobe.
 Earls and Countesses Servants.
 Four Trumpeters.
 Portcullis.
 A Serjeant at Armes.
 The Standard of the Lion.
 Two Querries leading a horse,
 trapped with Veluet.
 Serjeant of the Vestry.
 Children of the Chappell in Sur-
 plesses.
 Gent. of the Chappell in Copes.
 Clarkes.
 Deputie Clarke of the Market.
 Clarkes Extraordinarie.
 Cofferer.
 Diet.
 M. Cooke for the household.
 Pastrie.
 Larder.
 Skullerie.
 Woodyard.
 Poultrie.
 Bake-house.
 Acatrie.
 Stable.
 Serjeants.
 Gent. Harbinger.
 Woodyard.
 Skullery.

Pastrie.
 Cateria.
 Larder.
 Ewry.
 Seller.
 Pantrie.
 Bake-house.
 Master Cooke of the Kitchin.
 Clarkes of the Querrie.
 Second and third Clarke of the
 Chaundrie.
 Second and third Clarke of the Kitch-
 in.
 Superuifors of the Dreffer.
 Surveyors of the Dreffer.
 Surveyor of the Dreffer, for the Cham-
 ber.
 Mufitions.
 Apothecaries and Chirurgions.
 Sewers of the hall.
 Sewers of the Chamber.
 Groom Porter.
 Gentlemen Ufhers and Waiters.
 Clarke, Marshall, and Auenor.
 Chiefe Clarke of the Wardrop.
 Chiefe Clarke of the Kitchin.
 Two Clarks Controulers.
 Clarke of the Green cloath.
 Master of the Houfhould.
 Cofferer.
Rouge Dragon.
 A Sergeant at Armes.
 The Banner of Chefter.
 Clarkes of the Councell four and four.
 Clarkes of the Privie Seale.
 Clarkes of the Signet.
 Clarkes of the Parliament.
 Doctours of Phyfick.
 The Queens Chaplaines.

Secretaries for the *Latin* and *French*
 tongue.
Rouge Croffe.
 Two Sergeants of Armes.
 The Banner of *Cornwall*.
 Aldermen of *London*,
 Solicitor, Attorney, and Sergeant.
 Master of the Reuels, and M. of the
 Tents.
 Knights Bachelors.
 Lord Chiefe Baron, and Lord Chiefe
 Juftice of the Common Pleas.
 Master of the Jewell Houfe.
 Knights Ambaffadors, and Gentlemen
 Agents.
 Sewers for the Queene.
 Sewers for the Body.
 Efquires of the Body.
Lancaster and *Windsor*.
 The Banner of *Wales*.
 The Banner of *Ireland*.
 Master of Requests.
 Agents for Venice, and the Eftates.
 Lord Mayor of *Lomdon*.
 Sir *John Popham*. Sir *John Fortefcue*.
 Sir *Robert Cicell* principall Secretary.
 Controuler and Treafurer of the Houf-
 hold.
 Barons.
 Bifhopps.
 Earles Eldeft Sonnes.
 Vifcounts.
 Dukes Second Sonnes.
 Earles.
 Marqueses.
 Bifhop *Almoner*. Preacher.
 Lord Keeper.
 The *French* Ambaffador.
 Arch-Bifhop of *Canterbury*.

Four Sergeants of Arms.

The Great embrother'd Banner of
England.

Somerſet and Richmond.

Yorke, Helme and Crest.

Norroy King at Arms, Sword.

Clarenceaux King at Arms, Coate.

After them the Gentlemen uſhers with
white Rods.

The lively Picture of her Highneſſe
whole body, crowned in her Par-
liament Robes, lying on the Corps
balmed and leaded, couered with
Veluet, borne on a Chariot, drawn
by four Horſes trapt in Black Vel-
uet.

About it Six Banner Rolls on each
Side: Gentlemen Pentioners with
their axes downward.

With them the Footmen.

A Canopy borne ouer the Chariot by
four Noblemen.

The Earl of *Worceſter* maſter of the

Horſe, leading the Palfrie of Ho-
nour.

Two Eſquires and a Groome, to at-
tende and leade him a way.

Gentlemen Uſher, Garter King of
Armes.

Lady Marchioneſſe of *Northampton*,
aſſiſted by the Lord Treafurer and
Lord Admiral.

Chiefe Mourner, her Traine ſupported
by Maſter Vice-Chamberlaine.

Two Earles aſſiſtants to her.

Fourteen Counteſſes aſſiſtants.

Gentlewoman of the Privy chamber.

Counteſſes.

Viſcounteſſes.

Earles daughters.

Baroneſſes.

Maids of Honour of the Privy cham-
ber.

Captain of the Guard, with all the
Guard following, five and five in a
rank, their Halbords downward.

Farewell.

HEN. CHETLE.

A True Accompt of the moſt Triumphant, and Royall Ac-
complishment of the Baptiſm of the moſt Excellent,
Right High, and Mighty Prince HENRY FREDERICK, by
the Grace of GOD, Prince of *SCOTLAND*, and now
Prince of *WALES*. As it was ſolemnized the 30. Day
of *Auguſt*, 1594.

THE Noble and moſt Potent Prince of *Scotland* was born in the Caſtle of
Striviling, upon *Tueſday*, the 19. Day of *February*, 1594. upon which Occa-
ſion the King's Maſtie, ſent for the Nobles of his Land, and to all the capi-
tall

tall Burrows thereof, to have their Advise, how he should proceed for the due Solemnization of his royal Baptisme, and what Princes he should send too: When they were all compeired with great Diligence and good Will, he proponed unto them, that it was necessary, to direct our Ambassadours to *France, England, Denmarke, Low Countries*, the Duke of *Brunswicke* his Brother in Law, and to the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, the Queene's Majestie's Grand-father, and to such other Princes as should be thought expedient. Likewise, he thought the Castle of *Striviling*, the most convenient Place for the Residence of this most Noble and Mightie Prince, in Respect that he was born there: As also, it was necessary, that sufficient Preparation might be made for the Ambassadours that should be invited to come, for Honour of the Crown and Countrey. And besides all this, because the Chappell Royal was ruinous, and too little, concluded, that the old Chappell should be utterly rased, and a new erected in the same Place, that should be more large, long, and glorious, to entertain the great Number of Straungers expected. These Propositions at length considered, they all with a free voluntarie Deliberation, graunted unto his Majestie the Summe of an Hundred Thousand Pounds Money of *Scotland*. Then was there Ambassadours elected, to pass in *France, England, Denmarke, the Low Countries*, and other Places before mentioned, who were all dispatched with such Expedition, and their Legacies tooke such wished Effect: That first there came two famous Men from the King of *Denmarke*, the one *Christianus Bernekow*, the other, *Stenio Bille*, these came to *Leyth* the 16. of *July*. The next Day after them, came *Adamus Crusius*, Ambassadour for the Duke of *Brunswick*, and *Joachimus Bessevitius*, Ambassadour for the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, who is Grand-father to the noble Princeesse *Anne*, by the Grace of God Queene of *Scotland*. Thirdly, the 3. Day of *August*, there came Ambassadors from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, the Barron of *Braderod*, and the Treasurer of *Zeland*, called *Jacobus Falkius*.

There was also a Nobleman directed from *England*, to wit, the Earle of *Cumberland*, who when he had prepared himself richly, and honourably in all Respects for his Voyage to come into *Scotland*, and divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of Renown, prepared and commanded for his honourable Convoy, it pleased God to visit him with Sickness: And in that Respect another Nobleman was chosen to supply his Place, which was the Earle of *Sussex*, &c. And he in Consideration of his short and unexpected Advertisement, made such Diligence in his Voyage, and Magnificence for his own Person and honourable Convoy, as was thought Rare and Rich by all Men: whereby it fell out, that betwixt the Sickness of the one Nobleman, and the hastie Preparation of the other, the Time was so farre spent, that the very prefixt Dayes of the Baptisme

were fundrie Times delayed. And because the Ambassadour of *England* was so long a Comming: And the Ambassadours of *Denmarke*, *Brunswicke* and *Magdelburgh*, were feared to be hindred in their Voyage by the Sea, by Reason of the neare approaching of Winter: They desired daily of the King's Majestie, dureing their remaining in *Edenburgh*, to have some prefixed Day to be nominate and certainly kept, that immediately thereafter, they might be dispatched, which he granted at the last, although he had divers great Impediments to the contrary. The first was, because the Chappell Royall and Castle of *Striviling*, was not fully compleit in all such Necessaries, as was requisite, although he had the Supply of the greatest Number of Artificers in the whole Country, convened there of all Craftes for that Service; and his Majestie's owne Person dayly Overseer, with large and liberall Payment: but the chiefeest Cause, was the long Absence of an Ambassadour from *England*, which his Majestie greatly respected for many Causes: And last of all, expecting that some Ambassadour should have come from *France*, which fell not out as was looked for. But when the Ambassadour was come from *England* to *Edenburgh*, foorthwith, his Majestie dispatched one of the Gentlemen of his Highness's Chalmer, to request him to repaire towards *Striviling* the next Day with all possible Diligence, (which was the 28. Day of *August*) because he would have had the Baptisme administered the Day following. But neither were the Propines sent by the Queen of *England*, neither her Ambassadours owne Carriages as then come. Therefore the Baptisme was delayed until the 30. Day of *August*, as ye shall hear particularly hereafter.

But in the meane Time, it is to be understood, that all these noble Ambassadours before expressed, were honourably sustained upon the King's Majestie's owne proper Costes, during the whole Time of their Residence in *Scotland*, save only the Ambassadour of *England*, whose whole Expences, were defrayed by his Sovereigne the Queen of *England*. And because the rest of the Ambassadours were repaired to *Striviling* by his Majestie's Direction, long before the Coming of the *English* Ambassadour, his Highness bestowed the Time with them in magnifque Banketting, Revelling, and dayly Hunting with great Honour.

The King's Majestie, purposing further to decore by Magnificence this Action, committed the Charge thereof to the Lord of *Lendores*, and Mr. *William Fowler*, who by their Travels, Diligence, and Invention, brought it to that Perfection, which the Shortnesse of Time and other Considerations could permit. So they having consulted together, concluded that those Exercises that were to be used for Decoration of that Solemnitie, were to be devided both in
Field

Field Pastimes, with martiall and heroicall Exploits, and in Household, with rare Shewes and singular Inventions.

The Field to be used at two severall Daies ; the first to be of three *Turkes*, three Christian Knights of *Malta*, three *Amazones*, and three *Moores*. But by reason of the Absence, or at the least the uncertain Presence of the three last Gentlemen, who should have sustained these Personages, it was thought good, that the Number of that Maske should consist of nine Actors, nine Pages, and nine Lackies ; which comming from sundry Parts, and at divers Times, together with the Diversitie of their Apparel, should bring some Noveltie to the Beholders.

The Place most expedient for this Action was the Valey, near the Castle, which being prepared for that Purpose, both with Carier and Scaffold, after the comming of the Queene's Majestie, with her honourable and gallant Ladies, together with the honourable Ambassadors, the Field being beset by the brave Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, with their Hagbutes, during the whole Time of that Pastime.

Then three Christians entered the Field with Sound of Trumpet, who were the King's Majestie, the Earle of *Mar*, and *Thomas Erskine*, (Gentleman of his Majestie's Chalmer) who made up this Number.

A little after followed three apparelled like *Turkes*, very gorgeously attired: and these were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Cesfurde*, Knight.

Last of all came in three *Amazones*, in Women's Attire, very sumptuously clad, and these were the Lord of *Lendores*, the Lord of *Barclewch*, and the Abbot of *Holy Roote House*. So all these Persons being present, and at their Entrie making their Reverence to the Queene's Majestie, Ambassadors and Ladies, having their Pages ryding upon their led Horse, and on their left Armes, bearing their Maisters *Imprese* or Device.

The King's Majesties, was a Lyon's Head with open Eyes, which signifieth after a mystique and hieroglyphique Sense, Fortitude and Vigilancie : these Words were, *Timeat & primus & ultimus orbis*. The second was a Dog's Collar, all beset with Iron Pikes ; the Words were these, *Offendit, & defendit*. The third of that Christian Army, was a Windmill, with her Spokes unmoving, Windes unblowing on every Side ; with these Words, *Ni sperat immota*.

The second Faction did carie these: A Heart Half in Fire, and half in Frost ; on the one Part *Cupid's* Torch, and on the other, *Jupiter's* Thunder ; with these Wordes *Hinc amor, inde metus*. The other Page a Zodiacke, and in the same, the Moone farre opposite to the Sunne ; with these Wordes, *Quo remotior,*

Incidior : that is to say, the farther, the fairer. The third of this Partie, carried painted foure Coach-wheeles, the hindmost following the foremost, and yet never overtaking them ; with these Wordes, *Quo magis insequor*.

The last three Pages, bare in their Targets, these Impresses following, a Crown, an Eye, and a Portcullis : the Crown betokening the Power of God, the Eye his Providence, and the Portcullis his Protection, with these Wordes, which were composed in *Anagrame*, of *Walterus Scotus*, the Laird of *Bacleugh's* Name, *Clausus tutus ero*. The second Page of this Party, carried on his Targe, The Portraiture of an Hand, holding an Eell by the Tail, alluding to the Uncertainty of Persons, or of Times, with these Wordes, *Ut frustra sic patienter*. The last was this, a Fire in Sight of the Sun, burning, and not perceived, with this Sentence, *Oblector lumine victus*.

And every Lackie, carrying in his Hand, his Master's Launce. They began their Pastime by running at the Ring and Glove : the Lawes whereof were these.

1. First, that all the Persons of this Pastime compeare masked, and in such Order as they come into the Field, so to run out all their Courses.
2. Secondly, that none use any other Ring, but that which is put up : and use no other Launce, but that which they have brought for themselves.
3. Thirdly, he that twice touches the Ring, or stirres it, winneth as much as if he carrieth away the Ring.
4. Fourthly, he that lets his Launce fall out of his Hand, is deprived of all the rest of his Courses.
5. Fifthly, that every one run with loose Reins, and with as much Speed, as his Horse hath.
6. Sixtly, that none after his Race, in uptaking of his Horse, lay his Launce upon his Shoulder, under the Pain of Losse of that which he hath done in his Course.
7. Seventhly, he that carrieth not his Launce under his Arme, loseth his Course.
8. Eightly, that none untill his three Courses be ended chaunge his Horse, if he be not hurt, or upon some other Consideration moved to change him.

These Lawes being seen and approved by the Actors, the Queene's Majestie, signified unto them, that he who did run best, should have for his Rewarde, a faire and a rich Ring of Diamonds : and he also, who on that same Side, had best Fortune in Running, he should be acknowledged with another as fair as the first. The Proof hereof, being made, the Victorie fell to the Duke of *Lennox*, who bringing it to his Side and Partie, had the Praise and Prize adjudged to himself. Thus the first Dayes Pastime was ended, with great Contentment to the Beholders, and Commendation of the Persons Enterprisers.

The second Dayes Pastime was extended, by reason that the Artisans were employed in other Businesse, who should have followed forth that Invention
given

given them: And seeing the Grace of that Exercife consisted in Embofferie, and the Craftesmen apt for the same, otherwise and necessarily busied, it was left off: Which if it had been brought to Effect, this Countrey had not seen, nor practised a more rarer: for what by the Bravery and strange Apparell of the Persons themselves, and by the divers Shapes of the Beasts that should have been born and brought there in Sight, had been commendable and wonderfull: by Reason that such Beastes, as Lyon, Elephant, Hart, Unicorne, and the Griphon, together with the Camel, Hydre, Crocadile, and Dragon, (carrying their Riders) had carried also with it by the Newes of that Invention, great Contentment and Commendation of that Exercife. But I say, some arising Letts, impeded this Invention: and all Things were cast off, that might have farther decorated this Solemnity, through other urgent Occasions.

And when all the Ambassadors were convened together, and all necessary Materials readie, the Chappell Royall of the Castle of *Striviling* was richly hung, with costly Tapestries: And at the North-East End of the same, a Royall Seat of Estate prepared for the King's Majestie: And on his Right Hand, was set a faire wide Chaire, with the due Ornaments pertaining thereto, over which, was set the Armes of the King of *France*.

Next thereunto, was a princely Travers of Crimson Taffeta, for the Ambassadour of *England*: and over his Head, the Armes of *England*: on the Desk before him, lay a Cushion of Red Velvet: There stood attending on him, two Gentlemen Ushers, appointed by the Queene of *England* for that present Service.

Next unto him, sat Mr. *Robert Bowes*, Ambassadour Ordinary for the Queene of *England*: on the Desk before him, was laid a Cloth of Purple Velvet, and a Cushion futable thereunto.

Then sat the Ambassadour of the noble Prince, *Henricus Julius*, Duke of *Brunswick*, and before him on the Desk, was laid a Cloth of green Velvet, with a Cushion of the same: and over his Head, the Arms of his Prince.

Next unto him, sat the Ambassadors of the *Low Countries*, with a long fair Cloth, spread on the Desk before them of blew Velvet, and two Cushions futable thereunto, and over their Heads the Arms of their Countries.

On the King's Left Hand, was placed nearest his Majestie, the two Ambassadors of *Denmark*, with a large broad Cloth spread on the Desk before them of Purple Velvet, and the Arms of *Denmark* over their Heads.

Next unto them sat the Ambassadour of the noble Prince *Udalricus*, Duke of *Magdelburgh*, with his Prince's Arms over his Head.

In the middest of the Chappell Royall within the Partition, where the King's Majestie, the Ambassadors, and Prince with his Convoy were placed, there was a new Pulpit erected: The same was richly hung with Cloth of Gold: All the Pavement within this Partition, was Prince-like laid with fine Tapestry.

Under the Pulpit was another Desk, wherein sat in the midst, Mr. *David Cunninghame*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, Minister of *Leyth*, and *John Duncanson*, one of the ordinary Ministers to the King's Majestie: Before whom was set a Table, covered with yellow Velvet.

And when all Things were in Readiness, as was requisite, there was placed a hundred Hagbutters (being onely the Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, bravely apparelled) in Order, betwixt the Prince's utter Chalmer Doore, and the Entry to the Chappell Royall, on both Sides of the Passage.

Then the King's Majestie, with his Nobles and Counsellors attending on him, entred the Chappell, and there sat downe in his Royall Seate of State.

All the Ambassadors likewise were sent for, and conveyed to the Prince's Chalmer of Prefence, where the Prince was lying on his Bed of Estate, richly decored, and wrought with broidered Worke, containing the Story of *Hercules* and his Travels.

This Bed was erected on a Platforme, very artificially, with a Foote Pace of three Degrees ascending to it: The Degrees being covered with Tapestry, all wrought with Gold, and a large Cloth of Lawne, covering both the Bed, and the Degrees, which Reached forth a great Space over the Floor.

Then the old Countesse of *Mar*, with Reverence past to the Bed, she tooke up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who presently rendered him likewise to the Ambassador of *England*, to be borne to the Chappell Royall.

The Master of the Ceremonies, addressing himself to a Table in the said Chalmer, curiously ordered, whereon stood those Ornaments of Honour which were to be born to the Chappell before the Prince, with due Reverence delivered them to certaine Noblemen, according to the Order appointed by his Majestie for the bearing thereof.

In like Manner, the Prince's Robe royall, being of Purple Velvet, very richly set with Pearle, was delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who put the same about the Prince: the Traine whereof, was born up by the Lord *Sinclair*, and the Lord *Urquhart*. Then they removed themselves to the utter Chalmer, where, there was a fair high Pale made foursquare, of Crimson Velvet attending, which was laid on with rich Pasmments, and fringed with Gold. This Pale was sustained by four Worshipfull Barons: The Laird of *Bacleugh*, the Constable of *Dundee*,

Dundee, Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Cesfurd*, Knight, and the Laird of *Traquhair*. Under the which Pale were the Ambassadors of *England*, *Robert Earle of Sussex*, carrying the Prince in his Armes, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, ordinary Ambassador for *England* assisting him. Next to them, was the Duke of *Lennox*. About the Pale, were the Ambassadors of *Denmark*, *Magdelburgh*, *Brunswick*, and the *Estates*. There followed the old Countesse of *Mar*, Mistresse *Bowes*, divers Ladies of Honour, with the Mistresse Nurse.

Then the Trumpets sounding melodiously before the Prince and his Convoy, went forward: *Lyon* King of Armes, and the Heralds his Brethren, with their Coat-Armours, in goodly Order following:

Next followed the Prince's Honours, borne by these Noblemen: The Lord *Sempill* carrying a Laver of Water; the Lord *Seton*, a fair Bason; the Lord *Livingston*, a Towel; and the Lord *Home*, a low Crowne competent for a Duke, richly set with Diamonds, Saphires, Rubies, and Emeraulds: who approaching neare the Pulpit, where these Honours were received from them by the Master of the Ceremonies, and by him placed on the Table before the Pulpit: The Noblemen retyring backe to their appointed Places.

Lastly, the Pale was carried in before the Pulpit; where the Ambassador of *England* rendered the Prince to the Duke of *Lennox*, who immediately delivered him to the old Countesse of *Mar*, and she consequently to the Mistresse Nurse: And all the Ambassadors were then set, in such Order of Places, as the Demonstration of their Armories, give Notice.

Without the Partition, were ornate Fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, *Flanders*, and *Scotland*. And as all Men were thus competently placed, and universal Silence made, entered Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, one of his Majesty's Ordinary Preachers, into the Pulpit, who learnedly and godly entreated upon the Text of the 21. of *Genesis*. Which being done, the Bishop of *Aberdeen* stood up in his Seate, and taught upon the Sacrament of Baptisme, first in the vulgar Tongue, and next in the Latine, to the End all Men might generally understand. This done, the Provost and Prebends of the Chappell Royal did sing the 21. Psalme of *David*, according to the Art of Musique, to the great Delectation of the noble Auditory.

Then they proceeded to the Action. The King arose, and came towards the Pulpit. The Ambassadors followed in their Order. The Barons that carried the Pale above the Prince, moved towards the Pulpit: The Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Countesse of *Mar*, and delivered him to the Hands of the Earle of *Sussex*, Ambassador for *England*: Where he was named by all their

their Consents, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, and so baptized, *In the Name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost*, by the said Names.

This being done, *Lyon* King of Armes, with a loude Voice, repeates these Names thrice over: and then after him, the rest of his Brethren Herauldes, with Trumpets sounding, confirmed the same.

Then the King's Majestie, Ambassadors and all, removing to their Places: the *English* Ambassadour alone, withdrawing himself on the one Side, was met and attended on by two Groomes, who humbly on their Knees, the one presenting a large rich Bason, the other a suitable Laver, replete with sweet Water, wherewith the Ambassadour washed; a Gentleman Sewer, with humble Reverence, presenting him a fair Towell, wherewith he dried his Hand, and so forthwith returned to his Place.

This being done, the Bishop ascended to the Pulpit, where, after that he had delivered in Verse, a certain Praise and Commendation of the Prince, then he converted the rest of his Latine Oration, in Prose, to the Ambassadors, every one in Particular, beginning at the Ambassadour of *England*, and so continuing with the rest: wherein he made Mention of the Chronology of each of these Princes; and recited the Proximitie, and Nearnesse of Bloud, that they had with *Scotland*. Concluding his Oration, with Exhortation and Thanksgiving to God for that good Occasion, and prosperous Assembly.

In Conclusion, the Blessing being given, *Lyon* King of Armes, cryed with a loud Voice, *GOD save FREDERIKE HENRY, and HENRY FREDERIKE, by the Grace of GOD, Prince of SCOTLAND*. The rest of the Heraulds proclaimed the same at an open Window of the Chappell Royall, with Sound of Trumpet.

Then the King, the Prince, the Ambassadors, the Nobles, and Ladies of Honour, retired forth of the Chappell, in such Order as they entered, and repaired towards the King's Hall: During their Passage, the Cannons of the Castle roared, that therewith the Earth trembled; and all other smaller Shot made their Harmonie after their Kind.

In the King's Hall, the Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Ambassadour of *England*, and presented him to the King's Majestie, who addubbed him Knight: He was touched with the Spur by the Earle of *Mar*. Thereafter the King's Majestie presented a Ducall Crowne on his Head, and then he was proclaimed by *Lyon* King of Armes, *The right Excellent, High, and Magnanime, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, by the Grace of GOD, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earle of Carrike, Duke of Rossay, Prince and Great Steward of Scotland*.

These

These Wordes were repeated by the Heraulds with a loud Voice, at an open Window of the Hall.

Then the Prince was carried, by the Ambassadour of *England*, to his owne Chalmer of Prefence ; where the most rich and rare Propynes were there presented.

Also, there were certain Barons and Gentlemen addubbed Knights, whose Names do follow, in Order as they were proclaimed. And first their Oath.

The Oath of a KNIGHT.

1. *I Shall fortifie and defend the true Christian Religion, and Christ's holy Evangel, now presently preached within this Realme, to the uttermost of my Power.*
 2. *I shall be loyall and true to my soveraigne Lord the King's Majestie, to all Orders of Chivalrie, and to the noble Office of Armes.*
 3. *I shall fortifie and defend Justice at my Power, and that without Favour or Feed.*
 4. *I shall never flie from my soveraigne Lord, the King's Majestie, nor from his Highnesse Lieutenants, in Time of Mellay and Battell.*
 5. *I shall defend my native Realme from all Alieners and Strangers.*
 6. *I shall defend the just Action and Quarrel of all Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendless Widowes, of Orphans, and of Maidens of good Fame.*
 7. *I shall do Diligence, whersoever I heare there is any Murtherers, Traytors, and masterfull Reavers, that oppresseth the King's Lieges, and poore People, to bring them to the Laws at my Power.*
 8. *I shall maintain and uphold the noble Estate of Chivalrie, with Horse, Harnishe, and other knightly Abillements : and shall helpe and succour them of the same Order, at my Power, if they have Need.*
 9. *I shall enquire and seeke to have the Knowledge and Understanding of all the Articles and Points contained in the Book of Chivalrie.*
- All these Premisses to observe, keep, and fulfill: I oblesse me, so help me my God, by my owne Hand, so help me God, &c.*

Sir William Stewart of Houston, Knight.

Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, Knight.

Sir John Boswell of Balmowtow, Knight.

Sir James Schaw of Salquhy, Knight.

Sir John Murray of Ethilstoun, Knight.

Sir William Menteith of Kerse, Knight.

Sir Alexander Frazer of Frazerburgh, Knight.

Sir John Lindefay of Dunrod, Knight.

Sir George Levingston of Ogilface, Knight.

Sir James Forester of Torwood-head, Knight.

Sir Andrew Balfoure of Strathour, Knight.

Sir Walter Dundas of over Newlistoun, Knight.

Sir John Boswel of Glasemont, Knight.

Sir George Elphingstoun of Blythwood, Knight.

Sir William Levingstoun of Darnecheester, Knight.

Sir David Meldrum of New-hall, Knight.

These Names were proclaimed upon the Tarraße of the Forefront of the Castle, with Sound of Trumpets, and great Quantity of divers Especies of Gold and Money, cast over amongst the People.

These things being accomplished, the King and Queene's Majesties, with the Ambassadors addressed themselves to the Banket in the great Hall, about eight of the Clock at Night. Then came *Lyon* King of Armes, with his Brethren the Herauldes, and entred the Hall before the King and Queene's Meate, the Trumpets founding melodiously before them: with these Noblemen, bearing Office for the present.

The Earle of <i>Mar</i> ,	Great Master-Houshold.	
The Lord <i>Fleming</i> ,	Great Master-Usher.	
The Earle of <i>Montroze</i> ,	Carver,	} For the King's Majestie.
The Earle of <i>Glencarne</i> ,	Copper,	
The Earle of <i>Orkenye</i> ,	Sewer,	
The Lord <i>Seton</i> , —	Carver,	} For the Queene's Majestie.
The Lord <i>Hume</i> , —	Copper,	
The Lord <i>Sempill</i> , —	Sewer,	

This delicate Banquet being ordered with great Abundance, the King, Queene, and Ambassadors, were placed all at one Table, being formed of three Parts, after a Geometrical Figure, in such Sort, that every one might have a full Sight of the other.

The King and Queene's Majesties, were placed in the midst of the Table, and on the King's Right Hand were set the *English* Ambassadors, the Earle of *Suffex*, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, next them sat the Ambassador from the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Ambassador from the Duke of *Magdelburgh*.

On the King's Left Hand, next to the Queene's Majestie, sat the Ambassador of *Denmark*, and Ambassadors from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*: Betwixt every one of their Seates was left a good Space.

On the East and West Side of the Hall, were placed two very long Tables, where were set certain Noblemen, Ladies of Honour, and Counsellors of *Scotland*, and with them the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, and *Flanders*: And betwixt every Nobleman, and Gentleman Stranger, was placed a Lady of Honour, or Gentlewoman.

Now, being thus in a very honourable and comely Order set, and after a while, having well refreshed themselves with the first Service, which was very sumptuous, there came into the Sight of them all, a *Black-Moor*, drawing (as it seemed to the Beholders) a triumphall Chariot, (and before it, the melodious Noise of Trumpets and Hautboyes) which Chariot entred the Hall, the Motion of the whole Frame (which was twelve Foot long, and seven Foot broad) was so artificial within it self) that it appeared to be drawne in, onely by the Strength of a *Moor*, which was very richly attired, his Traces were great Chaines of pure Gold.

Upon this Chariot was finely and artificially devised, a sumptuous covered Table, decked with all Sorts of exquisite Delicates and Dainties, of *Patissierie*, *Frutages*, and Confections.

About the Table, were placed six gallant Dames, who represented a silent *Comedie*, three of them clothed in Argentine Sattin, and three in Crimson Sattin: All these six Garments were enriched with Togue and Tinsel, of pure Gold and Silver, every one of them having a Crowne, or Garland on their Heads, very richly decked with Feathers, Pearles and Jewels, upon their loose Haire, in *Antica forma*.

In the first Front stood Dame *Ceres*, with a Sickle in her right Hand, and a Handfull of Corne in the other; and upon the outmost Part of her Thigh was written this Sentence, *Fundent uberes omnia Campi*, which is to say, the plentiful Fields shall afford all Things.

Over against *Ceres*, stood *Fecunditie*, with some Bushes of Chesbolls, which under an hieroglyphick Sence, representeth Broodines with this Devise, *Fælix prole divum*, and on the other Side of her Habite, *Crescant in mille*. The first importing that this Country is blessed by the Childe of the Goddess, and the second, alluding to the King and Queene's Majesties, that their Generations may grow into Thousandds.

Next on the other Side, was placed *Faith*, having in her Hands a Bason, and in the same two Hands joyned together, with this Sentence. *Boni alumna conjugii*, the Fortresse and Nurse of a blessed Marriage.

Over against *Faith*, stood *Concorde*, with a golden Tasse in her Left Hand, and the Horne of Abundance in her Right Hand, with this Sentence, *Plenie-*

bant te numina Sinu. The heavenly Powers do bleſſe thee with a full Boſome.

The next Place was occupied by *Liberalitie*, who having in her Right Hand two Crownes, and in her Left, two Scepters, with this Devife, *Me comite, plura quam dabis, accipies.* That is to ſay, having me thy Follower, thou ſhalt receive more than thou ſhalt give.

And the laſt was *Perſeverance*, having in her right Hand a Staffe, and on her left Shoulder an Anchor; with this Device, *Nec dubiæ res mutabunt, nec ſecundæ,* Neither doubtfull, nor more prosperous Things ſhall change your State.

This Chariot, which ſhould have been drawne in by a *Lyon*, (but becauſe his Prefence might have brought ſome Feare to the neareſt, or that the Sight of the Lights and Torches might have commoved his Tameneſs) it was thought meet that the *Moor* ſhould ſupply that Roome: And ſo he, in outward ſhew, pretended to draw that forward, which by a ſecret Convoy was brought to the Prince's Table; and the whole Deſert was delivered by *Ceres*, *Fecunditie*, *Faith*, *Concord*, *Liberalitie*, and *Perſeverance*, to the Earles, Lords and Barons that were Sewers.

Preſently after the returning of the Chariot, entered a moſt ſumptuous, artificiall, and well proportioned Ship, the Length of her Keele was 18 Foot, and her Breadth 8 Foot; from her Bottome to her higheſt Flagge, was 40 Foot; the Sea ſhe ſtood upon was 24 Foot long, with Breadth convenient; her Motion was ſo artificially deviſed within her ſelf, that none could perceive what brought her in. The Sea under her, was lively Counterfeit, with all Colours; on her Foreſterne was placed *Neptunus*, having in his Hand his Trident, and on his Head a Crowne, his Apparell was all of *Indian* Cloth of Silver and Silke; which bore this Inſcription, *Junxi atque reduxi*, which in Sence importeth, that as he joyned them, ſo he reduced their Majeſties.

Then *Thetis* with her Mace, Goddeſſe of the Sea, with this Devife, *Nunquam abero, & tutum ſemper te littore ſiſtam*, which ſignifieth, that by her Prefence, ſhe alwayes ſhall be carefull, to bring them into a ſafe Shore and Harbour.

Then *Triton* with his wilke Trumpet, was next to her, with this Devife, *Velis, Votis, Ventis*, By Sails, by Vows, by Winds.

Round about the Ship, were all the Marine People, as *Syrenes*, (above the Middle as Women, and under as Fiſhes :) and theſe were *Parthenope*, *Ligea*, and *Leucoſia*, who accommodating their Geſtures to the Voice of the Muſitions, repeated this Verſe, *Unus eris nobis cantandus ſemper in orbe.* And all the ſame were decorated with the Riches of the Seas, as Pearles; Coralls; Shelles; and Metals; verie rare and excellent.

The

The Bulk of this Ship was curiously painted, and her Galleries; whereupon stood the most part of the Banket in Christalline Glasse, gilt with Gold and Azure. Her Mastes were Red; her Tackling and Cordage was Silke of the same Colour, with golden Pullies. Her Ordinance was 36 Peeeces of Brasse, bravely mounted, and her Anchors Silver-gilt. And all her Sails were double of white Taffata. And in her Fore-sayle, a Shippe-Compasse; regarding the North Starre; with this Sentence, *Quascunque per undas*; which is to say, through whatsoever Seas, or Waves, the King's Majestie intendeth his Course, and Project of any arising Action, *Neptune* as God of the Sea, shall be favourable to his Proceedings.

On the maine Sail, was painted the Armories of *Scotland* and *Denmark*, with this Device, competent in the Person of the Prince of *Scotland*. *En quæ divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes*. That is to say, behold (O Prince) what doth make these Kingdomes severally blessed, jointly (O Prince of Hope) thou holdes, and hath altogether.

Her Tops were all armed with Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, Gold, and Jewels: and all her Flagges and Streamers futable to the same.

Her Marriners were in Number six, apparelled all in chaungeable *Spanish* Taffatees, and her Pilote in Cloth of Gold, he alone stood at the Helm, who only moved and governed the whole Frame, both the Ship and her Burden, very artificially.

The Musitions within the same, were 14, all apparelled in Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, besides *Arion* with his Harpe.

Being thus prepared, at the Sounde of Trumpets, she approached, and at the next Sounde of *Triton's* wilke Trumpet, together with the Master's Whistle, she made Sail till she came to the Table, discharging the Ordinance in her Sterne by the Way: But because this Devise carried some morall Meaning with it, it shall not be impertinent to this Purpose, to discover what is meant and propyned thereby.

The King's Majestie having undertaken in such a desperate Time, to sail to *Norway*, and like a new *Jason*, to bring his Queene, our gracious Lady, to this Kingdome, being detained, and stopped, by the Conspiracies of Witches, and such devilish Dragons, thought it very meet, to follow forth this his own Invention, that as *Neptunus* (speaking poetically, and by such Fictions, as the like Interludes, and Actions are accustomed to be decorated withall) joyned the King to the Queene.

So after this Conjunction, he brought their Majesties as happily hither: and now at this her blessed Delivery, did bring such Things as the Sea affords, to

decore this festival Time with all: which immediately were delivered to the Sewers, forth of the Galleries of this Ship, out of Christaline Glasse, very curiously painted with Gold and Azure, all Sorts of Fishes: as Herrings, Whittings, Flocks, Oysters, Buckies, Lampets, Partans, Labstars, Crabs, Spout-Fish, Clammes: with other infinite Things made of Sugar, and most lively represented in their owne Shape. And whilst the Ship was unloading, *Arion* sitting upon the galey Nose, which resembled the Forme of a Dolphine Fish, played upon his Harpe; then began her Musick in greene holyne Hautboys in fine Parts. After that followed Viols with Voices in plaine Counterpoint, to the Nature of these Hexameter Verses.

*Undique convenient, quot Reges nomine Christi
Gaudent, hucque suas maturent cogere vires.
Viribus hos, O Rex, opibusque anteiveris omnes
Quisque suam jam posse velit tibi cedere sortem.
Regna, viros, aurum, quæ te fecere potentem.
Omnia conjugii decorant hæc pignora chari:
ANNA precor fælix multos feliciter annos,
Vive, resume novas, atque annuus anni
Lustar eat, redeatque; novo tibi partus ab ortu.
Cresce Puer, sacri mens numinis imbibar imbres,
Semper uterque parens de te nova gaudia captet.
Scotia, quæ quondam multis tenebrosa vocata est
Lumina magna nitent in te superantia cælum,
Lux verbi, & Rex; et Princeps diademata Regni.*

After which ensued a still Noife of Recoders and Flutes: and for the fourth, a generall Consort of the best Instruments.

So this Enterlude, drawing neare to an End, in the very last Courses, was discovered this Sentence likewise: *Submissus adorat Oceanus*, inferring, that the Ocean Sea, by offering the Shapes of her Treasure humbly adored and honoured the Sitters. And when in this Time, all the Banket was done, after Thanks being given, there was sung with most delicate dulce Voices, and sweet Harmonie in 7 Partes, the 128. Psalm, with 14 Voices. And that being done, at the Sound of *Triton's* wilke Trumpet, and the Pilotte's Whistle, she wayed Anchor, made Sail, and with Noife of Hautboys and Trumpets, retyred, and then discharged the rest of her Ordinance, to the great Admiration of the Beholders.

After

After all which Pastime and Sport, with merry and joyfull Repast, the King and Queene's Majesties, after their Offices of Honour and Respect, Place being prepared for the Revels, and the Persons appointed for the same, discharging themselves sufficiently. Their Majesties and Ambassadors went to another Hall, most richly and magnificently hung with rich Tapestry, where for the Collation, a most rare, sumptuous, and Prince-like Desart was prepared, which being ended, after taking Leave and Good-nights, they departed about three of the Clock in the Morning, to their Night's Rest.

The Dayes ensuing, so long as Leisure might serve, was bestowed by the Ambassadors in banquetting of Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Acquaintance, and the King in the mean Time was solícite and carefull of honourable and magnífike Rewards, to be bestowed on either of them, which was also princely performed, to their great Contentments.

And as they were come to *Edinburgh*, they were all banketted at sometime, severally, and at other Times together, by divers Noblemen of *Scotland* with great Honour: Last of all, one Ambassadour banketted another, for Commemoration of that joyfull Meeting and good Successe.

Then the King and Queene's Majesties came to *Edinburgh*, where they were invited by the Ambassadors of *Denmarke*, unto a Banket within their Ship, which lay at Anchor in the River of *Forth*: She was so great, that she could not enter the Harbour.

The Banket was very sumptuous, and the Ambassadors so joyous of their finall Dispatch, behaved themselves to their Majesties on a kindly Manner, according to the ordinary Custome of their Countrey, by propining of Drink unto them in the Name of their Princes, which was lovingly accepted and requited: In Commemoration whereof, the whole Artillery of that great Vessel were shot in great Number.

The three great Ships of the Estates, lying in the same Road neare by, made Correspondance and Resonance to the number of fix score great Shot; and thus concluded their *Bein ale*.

Then the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for Peformance of the King's Honour, as they perceived the Ships to lose, and to hoise up Sail: The Captain of the Castle saluted every Ship, as they shewed themselves in Readinesse by Order, with a Number of great Cannon Shot. And so I conclude.

The MAGNIFICENT ENTERTAINMENT: Giuen to King
JAMES, Queene ANNE his Wife, and HENRY FREDERICK
the Prince,

Vpon the day of his Maiesties Tryumphant Passage (from the Tower) through
his Honourable Citie, (and Chamber) of *London*, being the 15. of *March*.
1603.

*As well by the English as by the Strangers: With the speeches and Songes, deliuered
in the seuerall Pageants.*

MART. *Templa Deis, mores populis dedit, otia ferre
Astra suis, Cælo sydera, ferta Joui.* THO. DEKKER.

Imprinted at *London* by T. C. for *Tho. Man the yonger*. 1604.

THE sorrow and amazement, that like an *earthquake* began to shake the distempered body of this Iland (by reason of our late Soueraigns departure,) being wisely and miraculously preuented, and the feared wounds of a ciuill sword, (as *Alexanders* fury was with Musicke) being stopt from bursting forth, by the sound of Trompets that proclaimed King *James*: All mens eyes were presently turned to the *North*, standing euen stone stil in their Circles, like the poynts of so many Geometricall needles, through a fixed and Adamantine desire to behold this 45. yeares wonder now brought forth by *Tyme*: their Tongues neglecting all language else, saue that which spake zealous prayers, and vnceasable wishes, for his most speedy and longd-for arriuall. Infomuch that the Night was thought vnworthy to be crownd with sleepe, and the day not fit to be lookt vpon by the Sunne, which brought not some fresh tydings of his Maiesties more neare and neerer approach. At the length *Expectation* (who is euer waking) and that so long was great, grew neare the time of her deliuary, *Rumor* coming all in a sweate to play the Midwife, whose first comfortable words were, that this *Treasure* of a Kingdome (a Man-Ruler) hid so many yeares from vs, was now brought to light, and at hand.

Et populi vox erat vna, Venit. MARTIAL.

And that he was to be conducted through some vtter part of this his Citie, to his royall Castle the *Tower*, that in the age of a man (till this very minute) had

had not bene acquainted nor borne the name of a Kings Court. Which Entrance of his (in this manner) being fam'd abroad, Because his louing Subiects the Citizens would giue a taste of their dutie and affection: The *Deuice* following was suddainly made vp, as the first seruice, to a more royall and serious ensuing Entertainment; And this (as it was then purposed) should haue bene performed about the Barres beyond *Bishops-gate*.

The Deuice.

SAINTE *George*, Saint *Andrew*, (the Patrons of both Kingdomes) hauing along time lookt vpon each other, with countenances rather of meere strangers, then of such neare neighbours, vpon the present aspect of his *Maiesties* approach toward *London*, were (in his sight) to issue from two seuerall places on horsebacke, and in compleate Armour, their Breasts and Caparisons suited with the Armes of *England* and *Scotland*, (as they are now quartered) to testifie their leagued Combination, and newe sworne Brotherhood. These two armed Knights, encountering one another on the way, were to ride hand in hand, till they met his *Maiestie*. But the strangeness of this newly-begotten amitie, flying ouer the earth, It calles vp the *Genius* of the Citie, who (not so much mazed, as wondering at the Noueltie) Intersepts their Passage.

And most aptly (in our Iudgement) might this *Domesticum Numen* (the *Genius* of the place) lay iust clayme to this preheminance of first bestowing Salutations and welcomes on his *Maiestie*, *Genius* being held (*Inter fictos Deos*), to be God of Hospitality and Pleasure: and none but such a one was meet to receiue so excellent and princely a Guest.

Or if not worthy, for those two former respects: Yet being *Deus Generationis*, and hauing a power aswell ouer Countries, hearbs and trees, as ouer men, and the Citie hauing now put on a *Regeneration*, or new birth; the induction of such a Person, might (without a Warrant from the court of *Criticks*) passe very currant.

To make a false flourish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old Maisters of the noble Science of Poesie, and to keepe a tyrannicall coyle, in Anatomizing *Genius*, from head to foote, (only to shew how nimbly we can carue vp the whole messe of the Poets) were to play the Executioner, and to lay our Cities household God on the rack, to make him confesse, how many paire of *Latin* sheets, we haue shakend and cut into shreds to make him a garment. Such feats of Actiuitie are stale and common among Schollers, (before whom it is protested we come not now (in a Pageant) to play a Maisters prize) For *Nunc ego ventosæ Plebis suffragia venor*.

The

The multitude is now to be our Audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wooll-gathering, if we do but offer to breake them with hard words. But suppose (by the way) contrary to the opinion of all Doctors) that our *Genius* (in regarde the place is *Feminine*, and the person it selfe, drawne *Figura Humana sed Ambiguo sexu*) should at this time be thrust into womans apparell. It is no Schisme: be it so: our *Genius* is then a Female, Antique; and reuerend both in yeares and habit: a Chaplet of mingled flowres, interwouen with branches of the Plane Tree (crowning her Temples: her haire long and white: her Vesture a loose roabe, Changeable and powdred with Starres: And being (on horse-backe likewise) thus furnished, this was the tune of her voyce.

Genius Locj.

STAY: wee coniure you, by that Potent Name,
Of which each Letter's (now) a triple charme:
Stay; and deliuer vs, of whence you are,
And why you beare (alone) th'ostent of Warre,
When all hands else reare *Oliue* boughs and *Palme*;
And *Halcyonean* dayes assure all's calme.
When euery Tongue speakes Musick: when each Pen
(Dul'd and dyde blacke in Galle) is white agen,
And dipt in *Nectar*, which by *Delphick* fire
Being heated, melts into an *Orphean* quire.
When *Troyes* proud buildings shew like *Fairie*-bowers,
And Streets (like Gardens) are perfum'd with Flowers;
And Windowes glazde onely with wondring eyes;
(In a *Kings* looke such admiration lyes!)

And when soft handed *Peace*, so sweetly thriues,
That *Bees* in *Souldiers* Helmets build their Hiues:
When Ioy a tip-toe stands on *Fortunes* Wheele,
In filken Robes: How dare you shine in steele?

Saint George.

Ladie, What are you that so question vs?

Genius.

Genius.

I am the places *Genius*, whence now springs
 A *Vine*, whose yongest Braunch shall produce Kings ;
 This little world of men ; this precious Stone,
 That sets out *Europe* : this (the glasse alone,)
 Where the neat Sunne each Morne himselfe attires,
 And glides it with his repercussive fires.
 This Iewell of the Land ; *Englands* right Eye :
 Altar of *Loue* ; and Spheare of Maiestie :
 Greene *Neptunes* Minion, bou't whose virgin-waste,
Isis is like a Christall girdle cast.
 Of this are we the *Genius* ; here haue I,
 Slept (by the fauour of a Diety)
 Fortie-foure Summers and as many springs,
 Not fraughted with the threats of forraine Kings.
 But held vp in that gowned State I haue,
 By twice Twelue-Fathers politique and graue :
 Who with a sheathed Sword, in filken Law,
 Do keepe (within weake Walles) Millions in awe.

I charge you therefore say, for what you come.
 What are you?

BOTH Knights at Arms.

S. GEORGE. *Saint George.*

SAINT AN- *Saint Andrew*

DREW. For *Scotlands* honour I.

S. GEORGE. For *Englands* I,

Both sworne into a League of Vnitie.

Genius.

I clap my hands for Ioy, and seate you both
 Next to my heart : In leaues of purest golde,
 This most auspicious loue shall be enrold.
 Be ioynde to vs : And as to earth we bowe,
 So, to those royall feet, bend your steelde brow.

In name of all these *Senators*, (on whom
 Vertue builds more, then these of Antique *Rome*)
 Shouting a cheerefull welcome : Since no clyme,
 Nor Age that has gon or'e the head of Time,
 Did e're cast vp such Ioyes, nor the like Summe
 (But here) shall stand in the world yeares to come,
 Dread *King*, our hearts make good, what words do want,
 To bid thee boldly enter *Troynouant*.

MART.

*Rerum certa salus, Terrarum gloria Cæsar !**Sospite quo, magnos credimus esse Deos :*

IDEM.

*Delexere prius pueri, Iuvenesque senesque,**At nunc Infantes te quoque Cæsar amant.*

This should haue beene the first Offring of the Cities Loue : and his *Maiestie*
 not making his *Entrance* (according to expectation) It was (not vtterly throwne
 from the Altar but) layd by.

MART.

Iam Crescunt midia Pægmata celsa via.

By this time Imagine, that *Poets* (who drawe speaking Pictures) and *Painters*
 (who make dumbe Poefie) had their heads and hands full, the one for natieue
 and sweet Inuention : the other for liuely Illustration of what the former should
 deuise : Both of them emuloufly contending (but not striuing) with the proprest
 and brightest Colours of Wit and Art, to set out the beautie of the great *Trium-*
phant day.

For more exact and formall managing of which businesse, a Select number
 both of Aldermen and Commoners (like so many *Roman Ædiles*) were (*Communi*
Consilio) chosen forth, to whose discretion, the *Charge*, *Contriuings*, *Proiects* and all
 other *Dependences*, owing to so troublesome a worke, was intirely, and judi-
 cially committed.

Many dayes were thriftily consumed, to molde the bodies of the Tryumphes
 comely, and to the honour of the Place : and at last, the stufte whereof to frame
 them, was beaten out. The Soule that should giue life, and a tongue to this
Entertainment, being to breathe out of Writers Pens. The Limmes of it to
 lye at the hard-handed mercy of Mychanitiens.

In a moment therefore of Time, are Carpenters, Ioyners, Caruers, and other
 Artificers sweating at their Chizzells.

VIR. *Accingunt Omnes operi.*

Not a finger but had an Office : He was held vnworthy ever after to *sucke the Honey-dew of Peace*, that (*against his coming, by whom our Peace weares a triple Wreathe*) would offer to play the *Droane*. The Streets are *furueyed* ; heightes, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make *Fortifications*, for the *Solemnities*. Seauen pieces of ground (like so many fieldes for a *battaile*) are plotted foorth, vpon which these *Arches of Tryumph* must shew themselues in their glorie : aloft, in the ende they aduance their proude fore-heads.

VIRG. *Circum pueri, Innuptæque Puellæ,
Sacra canunt, funemq; manu contingere gaudent.*

Euen Children (might they haue bin suffred) would gladly haue spent their little strength, about the *Engines*, that mounted vp the *Frames* : Such a fire of loue and ioy, was kindled in euery breast.

The day (for whose sake, these wonders of Wood, clymde thus into the clowdes,) is now come ; being so earely vp by reason of *Artificiall Lights*, which wakened it, that the Sunne ouer slept himself, and rose not in many houres after, yet bringing with it into the very bosome of the Citie, a world of people. The Streets seemde to be pauered with men : Stalles in stead of rich wares were set out with children, open Casements fild vp with women.

All Glasse windowes taken downe, but in their places, sparkeled so many eyes, that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to haue made one : hee that should haue compared the emptie and vntroden walkes of *London*, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying Deluge, with the thronged streets now, might haue believed, that vpon this day, began a new *Creation*, and that the Citie was the onely Work-house wherein fundry Nations were made.

A goodly and ciuil order was observed, in Martialling all the Companies according to their degrees : The first beginning at the vpper end of *Saint Marks Lane*, and the last reaching aboue the Conduit in *Fleetstreet* : the Seats, being double-railde : vpon the vpper part whereon they leaned, the Streamers, Ensignes, and Bannerets, of each particular Company decently fixed : And directly against them, (euen quite through the body of the Citie, so hie as to *Temple Barre*) a single Raile (in faire distance from the other) was likewise erected to put off the multitude. Amongst whom, tongues (which in such Conforts never lye still,) tho there were no Musicke, yet as the Poet says :

MART. *Vox diuersa sonat, populorum est vox tamen vna.*

Nothing that they speake could be made any thing, yet all that was spoken, founded to this purpose, that still his Maiestie was coming. They haue their longings: And behold, A farre off they spie him, richly mounted on a white Iennet, vnder a rich Canopy, sustained by eight Barons of the *Cinque-portes*; the Tower seruing that morning but for his with-drawing Chamber, wherein hee made him ready: and from thence stept presently into his Citie of *London*, which for the time might worthily borrow the name of his *Court Royall*: His passage alongst that Court, offering it selfe for more State through seuen Gates, of which the first was erected at *Fanchurch*.

Thus presenting it selfe.

FANCHURCH. It was an vpright Flat-square, (for it contained fiftie foote in the perpendiculer, and fiftie foot in the Ground-lyne) the vpper rooffe thereof (one distinct Gate) bore vp the true moddells of all the notable Houses, Turrets, and Steeples, within the Citie. The Gate vnder which his Maiestie did passe, was 12. foot wide, and 18. foot hie: A Posterne likewise (at one side of it) being four foote wide, and 8. foot in hight: On either side of the Gate, stood a great French Terme, of stone, aduanced vpon woodden Pedestalls; two half Pilasters of Rustick, standing ouer their heads. I could shoote more Arrowes at this marke, and teach you without the Carpenters Rule how to measure all the proportions belonging to this *Fabrick*. But an excellent hand being at this instant curiously describing all the seuen, and bestowing on them their faire prospectiue limmes, your eye shall hereafter rather be delighted in beholding those Pictures, than now be wearied in looking vpon mine.

The Personages (as well Mutes as Speakers) in this Pageant, were these: *viz.*

- 1 THE highest Person was *The Brittain Monarchy*.
- 2 At her feet, sat *Diuine Wisdome*.
- 3 Beneath her, stood *The Genius of the City*, A man.
- 4 At his right hand was placed a Personage, figuring, *The Counsell of the City*.
- 5 Vnder all these lay a person representing *Thamesis the Riuer*.

Sixe other persons (being daughters to *Genius*) were aduanced aboue him, on a spreading *Ascent*, of which the first was,

- 1 *Gladnesse*.
- 2 The second, *Veneration*.
- 3 The third, *Promptitude*.

4 The

- 4 The Fourth, *Vigilance*.
- 5 The fift, *Louing Affection*.
- 6 The fixth, *Vnanimity*.

Of all which personages, *Genius* and *Thamesis* were the only Speakers: *Thamesis* being presented by one of the children of her Maiesties Reuels: *Genius* by M. *Allin* (seruant to the young Prince) his gratulatory speech (which was deliuered with excellent Action, and a well tun'de audible voyce) being to this effect:

That *London* may be prowd to behold this day, and therefore in name of the Lord *Maior* and *Aldermen*, the *Councell*, *Commoners* and *Multitude*, the heartiest Welcome is tendred to his Maiesty, that euer was bestowed on any King, &c.

Which Banquet being taken away with found of Musick, [*The Wayts and Haultboyes* of London.] there, ready for that purpose, his Maiestie made his entrance into this his Court Royall: vnder the Battlements of the worke, in great Capitals was inscribed, thus:

L O N D I N I V M.

And vnder that, in a smaller (but not different) *Character*, was written,

C A M E R A R E G I A :

The Kings Chamber.

Too short a time (in their opinions that were glewed together so many houres, to behold him) did his Maiestie dwell upon this first place: yet too long it seemed to other happy Spirits, that higher vp in these *Elizian* fields were awaiting for his prefence: he sets on therefore (like the Sunne in his *Zodiaque*) bountifully dispersing his beames amongst particular Nations: the brightnesse and warmth of which, was now spent first vpon the *Italians*, and next vpon the *Belgians*: The space of ground, on which their *magnificent Arches* were builded, being not vnworthy to beare the name of the great Hall to this our Court Royall: wherein was to be heard and seene the fundrie languages and habits of Strangers, which vnder Princes Roofes render excellent harmony.

In a paire of Scales doe I weigh these two Nations, and find them (neither in hearty loue to his Maiestie, in aduancement of the Cities honor, nor in forwardnesse to glorifie these *Triumphes*) to differ one grain.

To

To dispute which haue done best, were to doubt that one had done well. Call their inuentions therefore *Twynnes*: or if they themselues doe not like that name, (for happily they are emulous of one glory) yet thus may we speake of them.

—— *Facies non omnibus vna*
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum. OUID.

Because, whatfoeuer (*fixis oculis*) beholds their proportions,

Expleri mentem nequit, ardescitq; tuendo. VIRG.

The street, vpon whose breast, this *Italian Iewell* was worne, [*Graciousstreet.*] was neuer worthy of that name which it carries, till this houre: For here did the Kings eye meete a second Obiect, that inticed him by tarrying to giue honor to the place. And thus did the quaintnesse of the *Engine* seeme to discouer it selfe before him,

The *Italians* Pageant.

THE building tooke vp the whole bredth of the Street, of which, the lower part was a Square, garnished with foure great Columnes: In the midst of which Square, was cut out a fayre and spacious high Gate, arched, being twenty feuen foot in the perpendicular lyne, and eyghtene at the ground lyne: ouer the Gate, in golden Characters, these verses (in a long square were inscribed:

Tu regere imperio populos Iacobe memento,
Hæ tibi erunt Artes, Paci; imponere morem,
Parcere Subiectis, & debellare superbos.

And directly aboue this, was aduanc'd the Armes of the Kingdome, the supporters fairely cut out to the life: ouer the Lyon (some prety distance from it) was written,

I A C O B O R E G I M A G N.

And aboue the head of the *Vnicorne*, at the like distance, this,

H E N R I C I V I I . A B N E P.

In a large Square aboue all these, King *Henry* the seuenth was royally seated in his Imperiall Robes, to whome King *Iames* (mounted on horsebacke) approaches, and receyues a Scepter, ouer both their heads these wordes being written,

HIC VIR, HIC EST.

Betweene two of the *Columnnes*, (on the right hand) was fixed vp a Square table, wherein, in liuely and excellent colours, was lim'd a woman, figuring *Peace*, her head securely leaning on her left hand, her body modestly bestowed (to the length) vpon the earth: In her other hand, was held an *Oliue* branch, the *Ensigne* of Peace, her word was out of *Virgil*, being thus,

— *Dēus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

Beneath that peece, was another square Table, reaching almost to the Bases of the two *Columnnes*: In which 2. (seeming) Sea personages, were drawne to the life, both of them lying, or rather leaning on the bosome of the earth, naked; the one a woman, her back only seene; the other a man, his hand stretching and fastning it selfe vpon her shoulder: the word that this dead body spake, was this

I Decus, I Nostrum.

Vpon the left-hand side of the Gate, betweene the other two *Columnnes*, were also two square Tables: In the one of which were two persons portrayed to the life, naked, and wilde in lookes, the words,

Expectate solo Trinobanti.

And ouer that, in another square, carrying the same proportion, stood a woman vpriight, holding in her hand a Shield, beneath whom was inscribed in golden *Caracters*,

— *Spes ô fidissima rerum.*

And this was the shape and front of the first great Square, whose top being flat, was garnished with *Pilasters*, and vpon the roote was directed a great *Pedestal*, on which stood a Person carued out to the life, (a woman) her left hand leaning on a sword, with the poynt downeward, and her right hand reaching forth

foorth a Diadem, which ſhee ſeemd by bowing of her knee and head, to beſtowe vpon his Maieſtie.

On the foure corners of this vpper part, ſtood foure naked portraytures (in great) with artificiall Trumpets in their hands.

In the Arch of the Gate, was drawne (at one ſide) a company of Palme trees, young, and as it were but newly ſpringing, ouer whoſe branches, two naked winged Angels, flying, held foorth a Scroll, which ſeem'd to ſpeak thus,

Spes altera.

On the contrarie ſide, was a Vine, ſpread it ſelfe into many branches, and winding about *Oliue*, and *Palme* trees; two naked winged Angels hanging likewiſe in the Ayre over them, and holding a Scroll between them, fild with this inſcription,

*Vxor tua, ſicut vitis abundans,
Et filii tui, ſicut palmites Oliuarum.*

If your imaginations (after the beholding of theſe obieſts) will ſuppoſe, that his Maieſtie is now gone to the other ſide of this *Italian Trophée*; doe but caſt your eyes backe, and there you ſhall finde iuſt the ſame proportions, which the fore-part, or Breſt of our Arch carrieth, with equall number of *Columnes*, *Pedef-tals*, *Pilaſters*, *Lim'd peeces*, and *Carued Statues*. Ouer the Gate, this *Diſtichon* preſents it ſelfe.

*Nonne Tuo Imperio ſatis eſt Iacobe potiri?
Imperium in Muſas, Aemule quæris? Habes.*

Vnder which verſes, a wreathe of *Lawrell* ſeem'd to be ready to let fall on his Maieſties head, as hee went vnder it, being held between two naked Antique women, their bodies ſtretching (at the full length) to compaſſe ouer the Arch of the Gate. And aboue thoſe verſes, in a faire Azure table, this inſcription was aduaunc'd in golden *Capitals*:

EXPECTATIONI ORBIS TERRARVM, REGIB. GENITO NVME-
ROSISS. REGVM GENITORI FAELICISS. REGI MARTIGENARVM
AVGVSTISS. REGI MVSARVM GLORIOSISS.

*Itali ſtatuerunt lætitiæ & cultus
Signum.*

On the right hand of this backe-part, between two of the *Columnes*, was a square table, in which was drawn a Woman crown'd with beautifull and fresh flowres, a *Caduceus* in her hand: All the notes of a plenteous and liuely Spring being carried about her, the soul that gaue life to this speaking picture, was:

———*Omnis feret omnia Tellus.*

Aboue this peece, in another square, was portrayed a *Tryton*, his Trumpet at his mouth, seeming to utter thus much.

Dum Cælum stellas.

Vpon the left hand of this back-part, in most excellent colours, Antikely attir'd, stood the 4. kingdoms, *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, holding hands together; this being the language of them all,

Concordes stabili Fatorum Numine.

The middle great Square, that was aduaunced ouer the *Freeze* of the Gate, held *Apollo*, with all his Ensignes and properties belonging vnto him, as a *Sphere*, *Bookes*, a *Caduceus*, an *Octoedron*, with other Geometricall Bodies, and a Harpe in his left hand: his right hand with a golden Wand in it, poynting to the battle of *Lepanto* fought by the *Turks*, (of which his Maiestie hath written a *Poem*) and to doe him Honour, *Apollo* himselfe doth here seem to take vpon him to describe: his word,

Fortunate Puer.

These were the Mutes, and properties that helpt to furnish out this great *Italian Theater*: vpon whose Stage, the found of no uoice was appointed to be heard, but of one, (and that, in the presence of the *Italians* themselues) who in two little opposite galleries vnder and within the Arch of the gate, very richly and neatly hung, deliuered thus much *Latine* to his Maiestie:

The *Italians* speach.

SALVE, Rex magne, salve. Salutem Maiestati tuæ Itali, felicissimum Aduentum læti, felices sub Te futuri, precamur. Ecce hîc Omnes, Exigui munere, pauculi Numero: Sed magni erga Maiestatem tuam animi, multi obsequij. At nec Atlas, qui Cæ-

O

lum

Ium sustinet, nec ipsa Cæli conuexa, altitudinem attingant meritorum Regis optimi; Hoc est, eius, quem de Teipso expressisti doctissimo (Deus!) et admirabili penicillo: Beatissimos populos, ubi & Philosophus regnat, & Rex Philosophatur. Salve, Rex nobilissime, salve, viue, Rex potentissime, feliciter. Regna, Rex sapientissime, feliciter, Itali optamus omnes, Itali clamamus omnes: Omnes, omnes.

Hauing hoysted vp our Sailes, and taken leaue of this *Italian* shore, let our next place of casting anker, be vpon the Land of the 17. Prouinces; where the *Belgians*, (attired in the costly habits of their own natie Countrey, without the fantasticke mixtures of other Nations) but more richly furnished with loue, stand ready to receyue his Maiestie: who (according to their expectation) does most gratiouly make himselfe and his Royal traine their Princely ghests. The house which these *Strangers* haue builded to entertaine him in, is thus contriu'de.

The PAGEANT of the DUTCH-MEN, by the
Royal Exchange.

THE Foundation of this, was (as it were by *Fate*) layd neere vnto a royall place; for it was a royall and magnificent labour: It was bounded in with the houses on both sides the street, so prowdly (as all the rest also did) did this extend her body in bredth. The passage of State, was a Gate, large, ascending eighteene foot high, aptly proportion'd to the other lymmes, and twelue foot wyde, arched; two lesser Posternes were for common feet, cut out and open'd on the sides of the other.

Within a small *Freeze*, (and kissing the very forehead of the Gate) the *Aedifice* spake thus,

Vnicus a Fato surgo non Degener Heres.

Whil'st lifting up your eye to an vpper large *Freeze*, you may there be enriched with these golden Capitalls,

IACOBO, ANGL. SCOT. FRANC. HIBERN. REGI OPT. PRINC.
MAX. BELGAE ded.

But bestowing your sight vpon a large Azure Table, lyned quite through, with Characters of gold, likewise you may for your paynes receiue this inscription,

ORBIS

ORBIS RESTITVTOR. PACIS FVND. RELIG. PROPVG. D. IAC.
P. F. REGI. P. P.

D. ANNAE REGIAE CONIVG. SOR. FIL. NEPTI, ET D. HENRI-
CO. I. FIL. PRINC. IVVENT.

IN PVBL. VRBIS ET ORBIS LAETITIA, SECVLIQVE. FAELICI-
TAT XVII. BELGIAE PROV. MERCATORES BENIGNE REGIA
HAC IN VRBE EXCEPTI, ET

S. M. VESTRAE OB ANTIQ. SOCIALE FOEDVS, ET DE ELIZ.
BENEFICENT. DEVOTI.

FAVSTA OMNIA ET FOELICIA AD IMPERII AETERNITAT.
PRECANTVR.

Above which (being the heart of the *Trophee*) was a spacious square roome, left open, Silke Curtaines drawne before it, which (vpon the approach of his Maiestie) being put by, 17. yong *Damsels*, (all of them sumptuously adorned, after their countrey fashion,) fate as it were in so many Chaires of State, and figuring in their persons, the 17. *Prouinces* of *Belgia*, of which euery one carried in a Scutcheon (excellently pencilde) the Armes and Coate of one.

Above the vpper edge of this large Square Roome, and ouer the first Battlement, in another front, aduaunc'd for the purpose, a square Table was fastened vpright, in which was drawne the liuely picture of the *King*, in his Imperial Robes: a Crowne on his head, the Sword and Scepter in his handes: upon his left side stood a woman, her face fixed vpon his, a burning hart in her right hand, her left hanging by, a *Heron* standing close vnto her: vpon his other side stood vpright (with her countenance directed likewise vpon him) another woman, winged, and in a *Freeze* beneath them, which tooke vp the full length of this Square: this inscription fet out it selfe in golden wordes:

———*Utroque Satellite Tutus.*

Suffer your eyes to be wearied no longer with gazing up so high at those *Sunbeams*, but turn them aside to looke below through the little *Poserues*: whose State sweld quickly vp to a greatnes, by reason of 2. *Columnes* that supported them on either side. In a Table, ouer the right-hand *Portall*, was in perfect colours, drawne a Serpent, pursued by a Lion: betweene them, Adders and Snakes, chafing one another, the Lion scornfully casting his head backe, to be-

holde the violence of a blacke storme, that heauen powred downe, to ouertake them: the found that came from all this, was thus:

—————*Sequitur grauis Ira feroces.*

The opposite body to this (on the other side, and directly ouer the other *Portall*, whose pompe did in like manner leane vpon, and vphold it selfe by two mayne *Columnes*) was a square peece, in which were to be seene, Sheepe browzing, Lambes nibbling, Byrds flying in the Ayre, with other arguments of a serene and vntrobled season, whose happineffe was proclaymed in this manner,

—————*Venit alma Cicuribus Aura.*

Directly aboue this, in a square Table, were portrayed two *Kings*, reuerently and antiquely attyrde, who seem'd to walke upon these golden lines,

*Nascitur in nostro Regum par Nobile Rege
Alter Iesiades, Alter Amoniades.*

From whome, leade but your eye, in a straight line, to the other side, (ouer the contrary Posterne) and there in a second vpper Picture, you may meete with two other *Kings*, not fully so antique, but as rich in their Ornaments; both of them, out of golden letters, composing these wordes,

*Lucius ante alios, Edwardus, & inde IACOBVS
Sextus, & hic sanxit, sextus & ille fidem.*

And these were the *Nerues*, by which this great *Triumphall* Body was knit together, in the inferiour parts of it vpon the shoulders whereof, (which were garnished with rowes of *Pilasters*, that supported Lions rampant, bearing vp Banners) there stood another lesser Square, the head of which wore a Coronet of *Pilasters* also; and aboue them, vpon a *Pedestal*, curiously closed in betweene the tayles of two Dolphins, was aduanced a Woman, holding in one hand, a golden Warder, and poynting with the fore-finger of the other hand vp to heauen. She figur'd *Diuine Prouidence*, for so at her feete was written,

Prouida Mens Cæli.

Somewhat beneath which, was to be seene an Imperiall Crowne, two Scepters being fastened (crosse-wise) vnto it, and deliuering this speech,

—*sceptra hæc concredidit vni.*

At the elbowes of this vpper Square, stood vpon the foure corners of a great *Pedestall*, foure *Pyramides*, hollow, and so neatly contriu'd, that in the night time (for anger that the Sunne would no longer look vpon these earthly beauties) they gaue light to themselves, and the whole place about them: the windowes, from whence these artificiall beames were throwne, being cut out in such a fashion, that (as *Ouid*, describing the Palace of the Sunne, sayes)

Clara micante Auro, Flammæsq; imitante Pyropo.

So did they shine afarre off, like Crysolites, and sparkled like Carbuncles: Betweene those two *Pyramides* that were lifted vp on the right hand, stood *Fortitude*; her Piller resting it self vpon this golden line,

Perfero curaram pondus, Discrimina temno.

Betweene the two *Pyramides* on the other side, Iustice challenged her place, being knowne both by her habit and by her voyce, that spake thus,

Auspice me Dextra solium Regale pererrat.

We haue held his Maiestie too long from entring this third Gate of his *Court Royall*; It is now hie time, that those eyes, which on the other side ake with rolling vp and downe for his gladfome prefence, should inioy that happinesse. Beholde, he is in an instance passed thorough; The Obiects that there offer themselues before him, being these:

Our *Belgick Statue* of Triumph, weares on her back, as much riches, as she carried vpon her breast, being altogether as glorious in *Columnes*, standing on Tip-toe, on as loftie and as proude *Pyramides*; her walkes encompa'ft with as strong and as neate *Pilasters*: the colours of her garments as bright, her adornements as many: For,

In the square Field, next and lowest, ouer one of the Portals, were the Dutch Countrey people, toying at their Husbandrie; women carding of their Hemp, the men beating it, such excellent Art being exprest in their faces, their stoopings,

ings, bendings, sweatings, &c. that nothing is wanting in them but life (which no colours can giue) to make them to be thought more than the workes of Paynters.

Lift vp your eyes a little aboue them, and behold their *Exchange*; the countenances of the Marchants there being so liuely, that bargaines seem to come from their lippes,

But instead of other speach, this is onely to be had,

PIO INVICTO,

R. IACOBO,

QVOD FEL. EIVS AVSPICIIS VNIVERSVM BRIT. IMPERIVM
PACAT, MARE TVTVM PORTVS APERIT.

Ouer the other Portall, in a square (proportion'd, to the bignes of those other) men, women and children (in Dutch habits) are busie at other workes: the men Weauing, the women Spinning, the children at their Hand-loomes, &c. Aboue whose heads, you may with little labour, walke into the *Mart* where as well the *Froe*, as the *Burger*, are buying and selling, the praise of whose industrie (being worthy of it) stands publisht in gold, thus,

QVOD MVTIVS COMMERCIIIS, ET ARTIFICVM, NAVTARVMQVE
SOLERTIA CRESCAT, DESIDIA EXVLAT, MVTVAQVE AMICI-
TIA CONSERVETVR.

Iust in the midst of these foure Squares, and directly ouer the Gate, in a large Table, whose feet are fastned to the *Freeze*, is their fishing and shipping liuely and sweetely set downe: The *Skipper* (euen though he be heard tugging at his Net) loudly singing this:

*Quod Celeb : hoc Emporium prudenti industria suos,
Quouis Terrarum Negotiatores emittat, externos
Humaniter admittat, foris famam, domi diuitias augeat.*

Let vs now clime vp to the vpper battlementes; where, at the right hand *Time* standes: at the left (in a direct line) his daughter *Trueth*; vnder her foot is written, *Sincera.*

And vnder his,

Durant.

Sincera Durant.

In the midst of these two, three other persons are rancked together, *Art*, *Sedulitie*, and *Labour*: beneath whom, in a Freeze rouing along the whole breadth of that Square, you may find these wordes in gold.

Artes, Perfecit, Sedulitate, Labor.

As on the foreside, so on this, and equall in heighth to that of *Diuine Prouidence* is the figure of a Woman aduaunced: beneath whom, is an imperiall Crown, with branches of Oliue, fixed [crosse-wise] vnto it, and giues you this word.

Sine Cæde at Sanguine.

And thus haue we bestowed vpon you, all the dead Cullours of the Picture, (wherein notwithstanding, was left so much life) as can come from Art. The speaking instrument, was a Boy, attyred all in white Silk, a wreath of Lawrell about his temples: from his voyce came this found.

Sermo ad Regem.

*QVÆ tot Sceptra tenes forti, Rex maxime, dextra,
Prouida Mens summi Numinis illa dedit.
Aspice ridentem per gaudia Plebis Olympum,
Reddentem et plausus ad sua verba suos.
Tantus honos paucis, primi post secula mundi
Obtigit, et paucis tantum vnus incubuit,
Nam regere imperijs populum fœlicibus vnum,
Arduares, magnis res tamen apta viris.
At non vnanimis nutu compefcere gentes,
Non homines pensum, sed labor ille Dei,
Ille ideò ingentes qui temperet orbis habenas,
Adiungit longas ad tua fræna manus.*

Et

*Et menti de mente sua prælucet, et Artem
 Regnandi, regnum qui dedit illa, docet.
 Crescentes varijs cumulat virtutibus annos,
 Quas inter pietas, culmina summa tenet.
 Hac proavos reddis patriæ, qui barbara Gentis
 Flexêre induc̃to Numine, corda feræ.
 Hac animos tractas rigidos, subigisq; rebelles,
 Et leue persuades quod trabis ipse iugum,
 Illi fida comes terram indignata profanam,
 Aut nunc te tanto Rege reuersa Themis.
 Assidat et robusta soror, ingentibus ausis
 Pro populo carum tradere prompta caput.
 Quin et Regis amor, musæ et dilectus Apollo,
 Regali gaudent subdere pleetra manu.
 Aurea et vbertas solerti nata labore,
 Exhibet aggestas ruris et vrbis opes.
 Sunt hæc dona Poli, certa quæ prodita fama
 Miratum vt veniat, venit vterq; polus.
 Venimus et Belgæ, patrijs Gens exul ab oris
 Quos fouit tenero mater Eliza sinu.
 Matri sacratum, Patri duplicamus amorem,
 Poscimus et simili posse fauore frui
 Sic Deum Panthaeci tibi proferat alitis æuum,
 Sceptra per innumeros qui tibi tradit Auos.
 Sic Regina tua pars altera, et altera proles,
 Spes populi longum det, capiatq; decus.*

Whilst the tongues of the *Strangers* were employed in extolling the gracious Aspect of the King and his Princely behauour towards them, his Maiestie (by the quicknes of *Time*, and the earnestnesse of expectation, whose eyes ran a thousand wayes to find him) had won more ground, and was gotten so far as to *St. Mildreds Church* in the *Poulterie* : close to the side of which, a Scaffold was erected ; where (at the Cities cost) to delight the Queene with her owne country Musicke, nine Trumpets, and a Kettle Drum, did very sprightly and actiuely sound the *Danish march* : Whose cunning and quick stops, by that time they had toucht the last Ladyes eare in the traine, behold, the *King* was aduanced vp so hie as to *Cheape-side* : into which place (if *Loue* himself had entered, and seene so many

fo many gallant Gentlemen, fo many Ladyes, and beautifull creatures, in whose eyes glaunces (mixt with modest lookes) seemde to daunce courtly Measures in their motion, he could not haue chofen, to haue giuen the Roome any other name, then, *The Prefence Chamber.*

The ftately entraunce into which, was a faire Gate in height 18. Foot. In breadth 12. [*Soper lane.*] The thickneffe of the paffage vnder it, being 24. Two Pofternes ftood wide open on the two fides, either of them being 4. foot wide, and 8. foot high. The two Portals that ietted out before thefe Pofternes, had their fides open four feuerall wayes, and ferued as Pedestalls (of Rusticke) to fupport two *Pyramides*, which ftood vpon four great Balles, and four great Lions: the Pedestalles, Balles, and *Pyramides*, deuowring in their full vpright height, from the ground line to the top, iuft 60. foot. But burying this Mechanicke Body in filence, let vs now take note in what fashion it ftood attyred. Thus then it went appareled.

The Deuice at Soper-lane end.

WITHIN a large Compartment, mounted aboue the forehead of the Gate, ouer the Freeze, in Capitalles was infcribed this Title :

NOVA FÆLIX ARABIA.

Vnder that fhape of *Arabia*, this Iland being figured : which two names of *Nerw*, and *Happie*, the Countrey could by no merit in it felfe, challenge to be her due, but onely by meanes of that fecret influence accompanying his Maieftie wherefoeuer he goes, and working fuch effectes.

The moft worthy perfonage aduaunced in this place, was *Arabia Britannica*, a Woman, attyred all in White, a rich Mantle of Greene caft about her, an imperiall Crown on her head, and a Scepter in one hand, a Mound in the other ; vpon which fhe fadly leaned : a rich Veyle (vnder the Crowne) shadowing her eyes, by reason that her countenaunce (which till his Maiefties approach, could by no worldly obieft be drawne to look vp) was penfiuely deiefted : her ornamentes were markes of *Chafetie* and *Youth* : the Crowne, Mound, and Scepter, badges of Soueraigntie.

Directly vnder her in a Cant by her selfe, *Fame* stood vpright: A Woman in a Watchet Roabe, thickly set with open Eyes, and Tongues, a payre of large golden Winges at her backe, a Trumpet in her hand, a Mantle of fundry colours trauerfing her body: all these Ensignes displaying but the propertie of her swiftnesse, and aptnesse to disperse Rumors.

In a Descent beneath her, being a spacious Concaue roome, were exalted five Mounts, swelling vp with different ascensions: vpon which fate the five *Sences*, drooping, *Viz*:

- 1 *Auditus*, Hearing.
- 2 *Visus*, Sight.
- 3 *Tactus*, Feeling.
- 4 *Olfactus*, Smelling.
- 5 *Gustus*, Taste.

Appareled in Roabes of distinct cullours, proper to their natures; and holding Scutchions in their handes: vpon which were drawne Heroglyphicall bo-dyes, to expresse their qualities.

Some prettie distaunce from them (and as it were in the midst before them) an artificiall Lauer or Fount was erected, called the *Fount of Arate (Vertue.)* Sundry Pipes (like veines) branching from the body of it: the water receiuing libertie but from one place, and that very slowly.

At the foot of this Fount, two Personages (in greater shapes then the rest) lay sleeping: vpon their breasts stucke their names, *Detraçtio*, *Obliuio*: The one holdes an open Cuppe; about whose brim, a wreath of curled Snakes were winding, intimating that whatsoeuer his lippes toucht, was poysoned: the other held a blacke Cuppe couerd, in token of an enuious desire to drowne the worth and memorie of Noble persons.

Vpon an Ascent, on the right hand of these, stood the three *Charities* or *Graces*, hand in hand, attyred like three Sisters.

<i>Aglaia,</i>	} Figuring	Brightnesse, or Maiestie.
<i>Thalia,</i>		Youthfulnes, or flourishing.
<i>Euphrosine,</i>		Chearfulnes, or gladnes.

They

They were all three Virgins: their countenaunces laboring to smother an innated sweetnes and chearefulnes, that appareled their cheekes; yet hardly to be hid: their Garmentes were long Roabes of fundry coloures, hanging loose: the one had a Chaplet of fundry Flowers on her head, clustard heere and there with the Fruites of the earth. The second, a Garland of eares of Corne. The third, a wreath of Vine-branches, mixt with Grapes and Oliues.

Their haire hung downe ouer their shoulders loose, and of a bright cullour, for that *Epithite* is properly bestowed vpon them, by *Homer* in his Himne to *Apollo*.

PVLCHRICOMÆ CHARITES.

The Bright Hayrde Graces.

They held in their handes penfild Shieldes: vpon the first, was drawne a Rose: on the second, 3. Dyce: on the third, a branch of Mirtle.

Figuring { *Pleasantnesse.*
Accord.
Florishing.

In a direct line against them, stood the three *Howres*, to whom in this place we giue the names of *Loue*, *Iustice*, and *Peace*: they were attyred in loose Roabes of light cullours, paynted with Flowers: for so *Ouid* apparrels them.

Conueniunt pictis incinctæ vestibus Horæ.

Winges at their feete, expressing their swiftnesse, because they are Lackies to the Sunne: *Iungere equos Tytan velocibus imperat Horis.* *Ouid.*

Each of them helde two Goblets: the one full of Flowers (as Ensigne of the *Spring*,) the other full of rypened Figges, the Cognifance of *Summer*.

Vpon the approach of his Maiestie (sad and solemne Musicke hauing beaten the Ayre all the time of his absence, and now ceasing,) *Fame* speaks.

Fame.

Turne into Ice mine eye-balls, whilst the found
 Flying through this brazen trump, may back rebound
 To stop *Fames* hundred tongues, leauing them mute,
 As in an vntoucht Bell, or stringlesse Lute,
 For *Vertues* Fount, which late ran deep and cleare,
 Drie, and melts all her body to a teare.
 You *Graces* ! and you houres that each day runne
 On the quick errands of the golden Sunne,
 O say ! to *Vertues* Fount what has befell,
 That thus her veines shrink vp.

Charites Horæ.

Wee cannot tell.

Euphrosine.

Behold the fūe-folde guard of *Sence* which keepes
 The sacred streame, sit drooping : neere them sleepe
 Two horrid Monsters : *Fame* ! summon each *Sence*,
 To tell the cause of this strange accidence.

Heerevpon *Fame* founding her Trumpet ; *Arabia Britannica*, lookes cheerefully
 vp, the fences are startled : *Detraction* and *Oblivion* throw off their iron slumber,
 busily bestowing all their powers to fil their cups at the Fount, with their olde
 malicious intention to sucke it drie ; But a strange and heauenly musicke sud-
 dainly striking through their eares, which causing a wildnes and quicke motion in
 their lookes, drew them to light vpon the glorious presence of the King, they
 were suddainly thereby daunted and funke downe ; The Fount in the same mo-
 ment of *Tyme*, flowing fresh and abundantly through seuerall pipes, with Milke,
 Wine, and Balme, whilst a person (figuring *Circumspection*) that had watcht day and
 night, to giue note to the world of this blessed *Tyme*, which hee forfawe would
 happen, steps forth on a mounted Stage extended 30. foote in length from the
 maine

maine building, to deliuer to his Maiestie the interpretation of this dumbe Myserie.

This Presenter was a Boy, one of the Choristers, belonging to *Paules*.

His Speech.

Great Monarch of the West, whose glorious Stem,
 Doth now support a triple Diadem,
 Weying more than that of thy grand Grandfire *Brute*,
 Thou that maist make a King thy substitute,
 And doest besides the Red-rose and the white,
 With the rich flower of *France* that garland dight,
 Wearing about Kings now, or those of olde,
 A double Crowne of Lawrell and of gold,
 O let my voyce passe through thy royall eare,
 And whisper thus much, that we figure here,
 A new *Arabia*, in whose spiced nest
 A *Phœnix* liu'd and died in the Sunnes breast,
 Her losse, made fight, in teares to drowne her eyes,
 The Eare grew deafe, Taste like a sick-man lyes,
 Finding no relish : euery other Sence,
 Forgat his office, worth and excellence,
 Whereby this Fount of Vertue gan to freeze,
 Threatned to be drunke by two enemies,
 Snakie *Detraction*, and *Oblivion*,
 But at thy glorious presence, both are gone,
 Thou being that sacred *Phœnix*, that doest rise,
 From th' ashes of the first: Beames from thine eyes
 So vertually shining, that they bring
 To *Englands* new *Arabia*, a new Spring :
 For ioy whereof, Nymphes, Sences, Houres, and Fame,
 Eccho loud Hymnes to his imperiall name.

At the shutting vp of this Speech, his Maiestie (being ready to goe on) did most graciouſlie feed the eyes of beholders with his presence, till a Song was spent : which to a loude and excellent Musick (composed of Violins and an other rare Artificiall Instrument, wherein besides fundrie feuerall sounds effus'd
 (all

(all at one time) were also sensibly distinguisht the chirpings of birds, was by two Boyes (Choristers of *Paules*) deliuered in sweet and rauishing voyces.

Cant.

Troynouant is now no more a Citie,
 O great pittie! is't not pittie?
 And yet her Towers on tiptoe stand,
 Like Pageants built on Farie land,
 And her Marble armes,
 Like to Magicke charmes,
 bind thousands fast vnto her,
 That for her wealth and beauty daily wooe her,
 yet for all this, is't not pittie?
Troynouant is now no more a Citie.

2.

Troynouant is now a Sommer Arbour,
 or the nest wherein doth harbour
 The Eagle, of all birds that flie,
 The Soueraigne, for his piercing eye,
 If you wisely marke,
 Tis besides a Parke,
 Where runnes (being newly borne)
 With the fierce Lyon, the faire Vnicorne,
 or else it is a wedding Hall,
 Where foure great Kingdomes hold a Festiuall.

3.

Troynouant is now a Bridall Chamber,
 whoose roofe is gold, floore is of Amber,
 By vertue of that holy light,
 That burnes in *Hymens* hand, more bright,
 Than the filuer Moone,
 or the Torch of Noone.

Harke what the Ecchoes fay !
Brittaine till now nere kept a Holiday :
 for *Ioue* dwels heere: And tis no pittie,
 If *Troynouant* be now no more a Cittie.

Nor let the scrue of any wresting comment vpon these words,

Troynouant is now no more a Cittie,

Enforce the Authors inuention away from his own cleare strength and harmlesse meaning : all the scope of this fiction stretching onely to this point, that *London* (to do honour to this day, wherein springs vp all her happines) being rauished with vnutterable ioyes makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title, to be called a Citie, because alluring these tryumphes, she puts off her formall habite of Trade and Commerce, treading euen Thrift it selfe vnder foote, but now becomes a Reueller and a Courtier. So that, albeit in the end of the first Stanza tis said,

Yet for all this, is't not pittie,
Troynouant is now no more a Cittie.

By a figure called *Castigatio* or the mender, heere followes presently a reproofe ; wherein tytles of Sommer Arbour ; The Eagles nest, a wedding Hall, &c. are throwne vpon her, the least of them being at this time by vertue of Poeticall Heraldrie, but especiallie in regard of the State that now vpholds her, thought to be names of more honour, than that of her owne. And this short Apologie; doth our verse make for it selfe, in regard that some, (to whose settled iudgement and authoritie the censure of these Deuises was referred) brought though not bitterly the life of those lines into question : But appealing with *Machetas* to *Phillip*, now these reasons haue awaked him : let vs follow King *Iames*, who hauing passed vnder this our third gate, is by this time, graciously receiuing a gratulatorie Oration from the mouth of Sir *Henry Mountague*, Recorder of the Citie, a square low gallorie, set round about with pilasters, being for that purpose erected some 4. foote from the ground, and ioyned to the front of the Crosse in *Cheape* ; where likewise stood al the Aldermen, the Chamberlain, Towne-Clarke, and Counsell of the Citie.

The Recorders Speech.

High Imperiall Maiestie, it is not yet a yeere in dayes since with acclamation of the People, Citizens, and Nobles, auspitiouſſie heere at this Croſſe was proclaimed your true ſucceſſion to the Crowne. If then it was ioyous with hats, hands, and hearts, liſt vp to heauen to crie King *Iames*, what is it now to ſee King *Iames*? Come therefore, O worthieſt of Kings, as a glorious Bridegroom through your Royall chamber: But to come neerer, *Adeſt quem querimus*. Twentie and more are the Soueraignes wee haue ſerued ſince our conqueſt, but Conquerour of hearts it is you and your Poſteritie, that we haue vowed to loue and wiſh to ſerue whilſt *London* is a Citie. In pledge whereof my Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and Commons of this Citie, wiſhing a golden Reigne vnto you, preſent your Greatnes with a little cup of gold.

At the end of the Oration three Cups of gold were given (in the name of the Lord Maior, and the whole Body of the Citie,) to his Maieſtie, the young Prince, and the Queene.

All which but aboue all (being gifts of greater value) the loyall hearts of the Citizens, being louingly receaued; his Grace was (at leaſt it was appointed he ſhould haue beene) met on his way neere to the Croſſe, by *Syluanus* dreſt up in greene Iuie, a Cornet in his hand, being attended on by foure other *Syluans* in Iuie likewise, their bowes and quiuers hanging on their ſhoulders, and winde Inſtruments in their hands.

Vpon ſight of his Maieſtie, they made a ſtand, *Syluanus* breaking forth into this abrupt paſſion of ioy.

Syluanus.

Stay *Syluanus*, and let the loudeſt voyce of Muſicke proclayme it (euen as high as Heauen) that he is come.

Alter Apollo redit, Nouus En, iam regnat Apollo.

Which acclamation of his was borne vp into the ayre, and there mingled with the breath of their muſicall Inſtruments: whoſe ſound being vaniſhed to nothing, Thus goes our Speaker on.

Sylvanus.

Most happie Prince, pardon me, that being meane in habite, and wilde in appearance, (for my richest liuorie is but leaues, and my stateliest dwelling but in the woodes,) thus rudely with pipeing *Sylvanus*. These are my walkes: yet stand I heere, not to cut off your way, but to giue it a ful and a bounteous welcome, being a Messenger sent from the Lady *Eirene* my Mistresse, to deliuer an errand to the best of all these Worthies, your royall selfe. Many Kingdomes hath the Lady fought out to abide in, but from them all, hath she been most churlishly banished: not that her beautie did deserue such vnkindnes, but that (like the eye of Heauen) hers were too bright, and there were no Eagles breeding in those nests, that could truly beholde them.

At last heere she ariued, *Destinie* subscribed to this Warrant, that none but this Land should be her Inheritance. In contempt of which happines, Enuie shootes his impoisoned stings at her heart, but his Adders (being charmed) turne their daungerous heads vpon his owne bosome. Those that dwell far off, pine away with vexing to see her prosper, because all the acquaintance which they haue of her, is this, that they know there is such a goodly Creature as *Eirene*, in the world, yet her face they know not: whilst all those that heere sleepe vnder the warmth of her wings, adore her by the sacred and Cœlestiall name of *Peace*, for number being (as her blessings are) infinite.

Her daughter *Euphoria* (well knowne by the name of *Plentie*,) is at this present with her, (being indeede neuer from her side) vnder yonder Arbour they sit, which after the daughters name is called, *Hortus Euphorie* (*Plenties Bower* :) Chast are they both, and both maydens in memorie of a Virgine, to whome they were nurse children: for whose sake (because they were bound to her for their life,) mee, haue they charged to lay at your imperiall feete, (being your hereditarie due) the tribvt of their loue: And with it thus to say.

That they haue languished many heauie moneths for your presence, which to them would haue beene (and proud they are that it shall be so now,) of the same operation and influence, that the Sunne is to the spring, and the Spring to the earth: hearing therefore what trebble preferment you haue bestowed vpon this day, wherein besides the beames of a glorious Sunne, two other cleare and gracious starres shine cheerfullie on these her homely buildings: Into which (because no dutie should be wanting) she hath giuen leaue euen to Strangers, to be Sharers in her happines, by suffering them to bid you likewise welcome. By mee (once hers, now your vassaile) shee entreates, and with a knee sinking lower than the ground on which you tread, do I humbly execute her pleasure, that ere you

Q

pass

pasſe further, you would deigne to walke into yonder Garden: the *Hesperides* liue not there but the Muses and the Muses no longer than vnder your protection. Thus farre am I ſent to conduct you thither, proſtrately begging this grace, (ſince I dare not, as beeing vnwoorthie, lackey by your royall ſide) in that yet theſe my greene Followers and my ſelfe may be ioyfull fore-runners of your expected approach, away *Sylvanus*.

And being (in this their returne) come neare to the Arbour, they gaue a ſigne with a ſhort florish from all their Cornets, that his Maieſtie was at hand: whoſe princely eye whileſt it was delighting it ſelfe with the quaint obieſt before it, a ſweete pleaſure likewise courted his eare in the ſhape of Muſicke, ſent from the voyces of nine Boyes (all of them Querifiers of *Paules*) who in that place preſenting the nine Muses ſang the ditie following to their Viols and other Inſtruments.

But, leaſt leaping too bluntly into the miſt of our Garden at firſt, we deface the beautie of it, let vs ſend round about it, and ſuruey the Walles, Allies, and quarters of it as they lye in order.

This being the faſhion of it.

The paſſages through it were two gates, arched and grated Arbor-wiſe, their heighth being 16. foote, their bredth 10. from the rooſe, and ſo on the ſides, downe to the ground, Cowcumbers, Pompions, Grapes, and all other fruits growing in the land, hanging artificially in cluſters: Betweene the two gates, a payre of ſtayres were mounted with ſome 20 aſſents: at the bottome of them (on two pillars) were fixed two Satiers carued out in wood; the ſides of both the gates, being ſtrengthened with four great *French* frames ſtanding vpon pedeſtals, taking vp in their full heighth 20. foote.

The vpper part alſo caried the proportion, of an Arbor, being cloſe with their round tops; the miſt whereof was exalted aboue the other two, *Fortune* ſtanding on the top of it. The garniſhments for the whole Bower, being Apples, Peares, Cherries, Grapes, Roſes, Lillies, and all other both fruits and flowers moſt artificially molded to the life. The whole frame of this ſommer banqueting houſe, ſtood (at the ground line) vpon 4 foote: the *Perpendicular* ſtretching it ſelfe to 45. We might (that day) haue called it, *The Muſicke roome*, by reaſon of the chaunge of tunes, that danced round about it; for in one place were heard a noyſe of cornets, in a ſecond, a conſort, the third, (which ſate in ſight) a ſet of Viols, to which the Muses ſang.

The

The principall persons aduancde in this Bower, were *Eirene* (*Peace*) and *Euphoria* (*Plenty*) who fate together.

Eirene.

Peace : Was richly attired, her vpper garment of carnation, hanging loose, a Robe of White vnder it, powdred with Starres, and girt to her : her haire of a bright colour, long, and hanging at her back, but interwouen with white ribbands, and Iewels: her browes were encompassed with a wreath compounded of the Oliue, the Lawrell, and the Date tree : In one hand shee held a *Caduceus*, (or *Mercuries* rod, the God of Eloquence :) In the other, ripe eares of corne gilded : on her lap fate a Doue : All these being ensignes and furnitures of *Peace*.

Euphorie.

Plenty : Her daughter sat of the left hand, in changable colours, a rich mantle of Gold trauerfing her bodie : her haire large and loosely spreading ouer her shoulders : on her head a crowne of Poppy and Mustard seede ; the antique badges of *Fertilitie* and *Abundance*. In her right hand a *Cornucopia*, filde with flowers, fruit, &c.

Chrusos.

Directly vnder these, fate *Chrusos*, a person figuring Gold, his dressing, a tinsell Robe of the colour of Gold.

Argurion.

And close by him, *Argurion*, Siluer, all in white tinsell ; both of them crownde, and both their hands supported a Globe, between them, in token that they commaunded ouer the world.

Pomona.

Pomona, the goddesse of garden fruits ; fate at the one side of Gold and Siluer ; attirde in greene, a wreath of frutages circling her temples : her armes naked ; haire beautifull, and long.

Ceres.

On the other side fate *Ceres*, crowned with ripened eares of Wheate in a loose straw-coloured robe.

In two large descents (a little belowe them) were placde at one end,

The nine Muses	{	<i>Clio.</i>	}	With Muscall instruments in their hands, to which they sung all the day.
		<i>Euterpe.</i>		
		<i>Thalia.</i>		
		<i>Melpomene.</i>		
		<i>Terpsicore.</i>		
		<i>Erato.</i>		
		<i>Polymnia.</i>		
		<i>Vrania.</i>		
		<i>Calliope.</i>		

At the other ende,

The 7 liberall Arts.	{	<i>Grammar.</i>	}	Holding shieldes in their hands, expressing their feuerall offices.
		<i>Logique.</i>		
		<i>Rhetorique.</i>		
		<i>Musicke.</i>		
		<i>Arithmetick.</i>		
		<i>Geometry.</i>		
		<i>Astrology.</i>		

Vpon the verie vpper edge of a faire large Freeze, running quite along the full breadth of the Arbor, and iust at their feete were planted rankes of artificiall Artichocks and roses.

To describe what apparrell these Arts, and Muses wore, were a hard labour, and when it were done, all were but idle. Few Taylors know how to cut out their Garments: they haue no Wardrob at all, not a Mercer, nor Merchant, though they can all write and read verie excellently well, will suffer them to bee great in their bookes. But (as in other countries) so in this of ours, they go attirde in such thin clothes, that the winde euerie minute is readie to blowe through them: happy was it for them, that they tooke vp their lodging in a summer arbour, and that they had so much musicke to comfort them, their ioies (of which they do not euerie daie tast,) being notwithstanding now infinitelie multiplied, in this, that where before they might haue cryed out till they grew horse, and non would heare them, now they sing.

Aderitque vocatus Apollo.

Chorus in full voices answering it thus :

*Ergo alacris Syluas, & cætera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet, Driadasque puellas
Nec Lupus insidias pecori, nec retia Cervis
Vlla dolum meditantur, amat bonus otia Daphnis;
Ipsi lætitia voces ad sidera iactant
Intonsi montes : ipsa iam carmina Rupes,
Ipsa sonant Arbusta, Deus, Deus ille !*

Sylvanus (as you may perceiue by his office before) was but sent of an errand : there was another of a higher calling, a Trauailer, and one that had gon ouer much grownd, appointed to speake to his Maiefty, his name *Vertumnus*, the maister Gardner, and husband to *Pomona* : To tell you what cloathes he had on his backe were to do him wrong, for he had (to say truth) but one suite: homelie it was, yet meete and fit for a Gardener : In steade of a hat, his browes were bound about with flowers, out of whose thicke heapes, here and there peeped a queene apple, a cherie, or a peare, this boone-grace he made of purpose to keep his face from heate, (because he desired to looke louelie) yet the funne found him out, and by casting a continuall eye at him, whilst the old man was dressing his arbours, his cheeks grew tawnie, which colour for the better grace, he himselfe interpreted blushing. A white head he had, and funne-burnt hands : in the one he held a weeding hooke, in the other a grafting knife : and this was the tenor of his speech. That he was bound to giue thanks to heauen, In that the arbour and trees which growing in that fruitful Cynthian Garden, began to droop and hang downe their green heades, and to vncurle their crisped forlocks, as fearing and in some sort, feeling the sharpenesse of Autumnian malice, are now on the sudden by the deuine influence apparelled with a fresh and more liuely verdure than euer they were before. The nine Muses that could expect no better entertainment than sad banishment, hauing now louely and amiable faces : Arts that were threatned to be trod vnder foot by Barbarisme, now (euen at sight of his Maiestie who is the Delian Patron both of the Muses and Arts) being likewise aduanced to the most high preferment whilst the very rurall and Syluane troopes danced for ioy : the Lady therefore of the place *Eirene*, (his mistris) in the name of the Prætor, Consuls and Senators of the City, who care-
fully

fully prune this garden, (weeding out al hurtful and idle branches that hinder the growth of the good,) and who are indeede, *Ergatai Pistoï*, faithful Laborers in this piece of ground, Shee doth in al their names, (and he in behalfe of his Lady) offer them felues, this Arbor, the bowers and walkes, yea her children of Gold and Siluer, with the louing and loyall harts of all those the Sons of peace, standing about him, to be disposed after his royal pleasure. And so wishing his happie Arriual, at a more glorious bower, to which he is now going, yet welcoming him to this, and praying his Maiefty not to forget this poore Arbor of his Lady, Musicke is commanded to carry all their praiers for his happie reigne, with a loud *Amen* of all his Subiects as hie as heauen.

Cant.

Shine Titan shine.
Let thy sharp raies be hurld
Not on this vnder world,
For now tis none of thine.

These first 4 lines were sung by one alone, the single lines following, by a *Chorus* in full voices.

Chor. No, no tis none of thine.

2.

But in that sphere,
Where what thine armes infolde,
Turnes all to burnisht gold,
Spend thy guilt arrowes there,

Chor. Doe, doe, shoot onelie there.

3.

Earth needes thee not :
Her childbed daies are done,
And Shee another Sunne,
Faire as thy selfe has got.

Chor. A new new Sunne is got.

4. O This

4.

O this is hee !
Whose new beames make our Spring,
Men glad and birdes to Sing ;
Hymnes of praise, ioy, and glee.
Sing, Sing, O this is hee !

5.

That in the North
First rizing : shonne (so far)
Bright as the morning Starre,
At his gaie comming forth.
Chor. See, see how he comes forth.

6.

How soon ioies varie ?
Here staid had still ! O then
Happie both place and men
But here had list not tarrie.
Chor. O grieve ! had list not tarrie.

7.

No, no, his beames,
Must equall deuide,
Their heate to Orbes beside,
Like nourishing filuer streames.
Chor. Ioies slide away like streames.

8.

Yet in this lies
Sweet hope : how far foeuer,
Hee bides, no cloudes can feuer,
His glorie from our eyes.
Chor. Drie, drie, your weeping eyes.

9. And

And make heauen ring,
His welcomes shewted loudlie,
For heauen it felfe lookes proudly,
That earth has fuch a King.

Chor. Earth has not fuch a King.

His Maieftie dwelt here a confiderable long time, giuing both good allowance to the fong and Mufick, and liberally beftowing his eye on the workmanfhip of the place : from whence at the length departing, his next entrance was, as it were, into the clofet or rather the priuy chamber to this our Court royall : through the windowes of which he might behold the Cathedrall Temple of Saint *Paule* : vpon whose lower batlements an Antheme was fung, by the Quirifters of the Church to the muficke of loud instruments : which being finift, a Latine Oration was *Viua voce* deliuered to his grace, by one of maifter *Mulcafter's* Schollers, at the dore of the free-fchole fownded by the Mercers.

Oratio habita, & ad Regem, & coram Rege præ fchola Paulina.

BREVIS ero, ne ingratus fim, Rex fereniffime, licet, & planè, & plenè putem Regem tam prudentem, in tam profufa fuorum lætitia, ita fe hodie patientia contra tædium armauiffe, ne vllius tædij ipfum poffet tædere. Ædificium hoc magno fumptu fuo extructum Dominus Johannes Collettus Ecclefie Paulinae Decanus, fub Henrico feptimo, maieftatis tuæ prudentiffimo abauo, erudiendæ pueritiæ concecrauit, vt huius fcholæ infantia tuo in Regnum Anglicanum iure coetanea exiftat. Tanta magnificentia conditum parique magnificentia dotatum fideliffima Mercerorum huius vrbis primaria femper, hodie etiam Prætorie focietati tuendum testamento moriens commendauit. Quæ focietas, & demortui fundatoris fpei, & noftræ educationis ftudio fidem fuam fanctiffime exoluit. Hic nos cum multis alijs erudimur, qui communi nomine totius pueritiæ Anglicanæ, a Domino Rege, licet fponta fua ad omnia optima fatis incitato, humillime tamen contendimus, vt quemadmodum fua ætatis ratione, in omni re adultioribus profpicit, ita in summæ fpei Principis Henrici gratiam tenerioribus, parique cum ipfo ætate pueris, in fcholarum cura velit etiam confulere. Uirgæ enim
2 obfequium

obsequium sceptri obedientiam & parit & præit, inquit preceptor meus. Qui- que metu didicit iuuenis parere puerque, grandibus imperiis officiosus erit. Habent scholæ Anglicanæ multa, in quibus Regiam maiestatis correctionem efflagitant, ne inde in Academias implumes euolent vnde in Rempublicam implu- miores etiam è prima nuditate emittuntur. Quod malum a Preceptore nostro accepimus: qui annos iam quatuor supra quinquaginta publice, priuatimque erudiendæ pueritiæ præfuit, & hæc scholarum errata, cum aliquo etiam dolore suo, & passim, & sparsim deprehendit. Nostra hæc schola fundatorem Collettum hominem tam pium; tutores Merceros homines tam fidos consequuta, quam esset fœlix, si placeret, Domino etiam Regi, quod Regibus Angliæ, ad summam apud suos charitatem sæpissime profuit, huic Mercerorem principi societati fratrem se, & conciuem adscribere. Quantum huic vrbi ornamentum, quan- tum societati honestamentum, quantum scholæ nostræ emolumentum? Quan- tus etiam Regi ipsi honos inde accederet, mavult, qui hoc vult alias inter alia per otium Regi suo apperire, quam hodie cum tædio & præter aream eidem explicare. Omnipotens Deus Iesus Christus & cum eo, ac per eum noster, et Pater, et Deus serenissimum Regem Iacobum, honoratissimam Reginam Annam, nobilissimum Principem Henricum, relinquamque Regiæ stirpis ad omnia summam natam sobo- lem diu nobis ita incolumes tueatur, vt cum huius vitæ secundissimum curriculum confeceritis, beatissimam vitæ cælestis æternitatem consequamini. Dixi.

Our next Arch of triumph, was erected aboue the Conduit in *Fleet-street*, into which (as into the long and beauteous gallery of the Citie) his Maiestie being entered; a farre off (as if it had been some swelling Promentory, or rather some enchanted Castle guarded by tenne thousand harmelesse spirits) did his eye en- counter another Tower of Pleasure.

Presenting it selfe.

Fourescore and ten foote in height, and fiftie in breadth; the gate twentie foote in the perpendicular line, and fourteene in the ground-line: The two Posternes were answerable to these that are set down before: ouer the Posternes, viz. Vp in proportionable measures, two turrets, with battlementes on the tops: The middest of the building was laid open to the world, and great reason it should be so, for the Globe of the world, was there seen to mooue, being fild with all the degrees, and states that are in the land: and these were the mechanickall and dead limmes of this carued bodie. As touching these that had the vse of mo-

R

tion

tion in it, and for a mind durst haue spoken, but that there was no stufte fit for their mouthes.

The principall and worthiest was *Astræa*, (*Iustice*,) fitting aloft, as being newly descended from heauen, gloriously attirde ; all her garments being thickly strewed with starres : a crown of starres on her head : a siluer veile couering her eyes. Having told you that her name was *Iustice* ; I hope you will not put me to describe what properties she held in her hands, sithence euery painted cloath can inform you.

Directly vnder her, in a Cant by her selfe, was *Arate* (vertue) inthronde, her garments white, her head crowned, and vnder her *Fortuna*: her foote treading on the Globe, that moovde beneath her : Intimating, that his Maiesties fortune, was aboue the world, but his vertues aboue his fortune.

Inuidia.

Envy vnhandsomely attirde all in black, her haire of the same colour, filletted about with snakes, stood in a darke and obscure place by her selfe, neere vnto *Vertue*, but making shew of a fearefulnesse to approach her and the light : yet still and anon, casting her eyes, sometimes to the one side beneath, where on feuerall Greeces fate the four cardinall vertues :

Viz. { *Iustitia.*
Fortitudo.
Temperantia.
Prudentia } In habiliments, fitting
to their natures.

And sometimes throwing a distorted and repining countenance to the other opposite seate, on which, his Maiesties foure kingdomes were aduanced.

Viz. { *England.*
Scotland.
France.
Ireland. }

All of them, in rich Robes and Mantles ; crownes on their heads, and Scepters with penfild scutchions in their hands, lined with the coats of the particuler kingdoms : for very madnesse, that she beheld these glorious obiects, she stood feeding on the heads of Adders.

The

The foure Elements in proper shapes, (artificially and aptly expressing their qualities) vpon the approach of his Maiestie, went round in a proportionable and euen circle, touching that cantle of the Globe, (which was open) to the full view of his Maiestie, which being done, they bestowed themselues in such comely order, and stood so, as if the Eronie had been held vp on the tops of their fingers.

Vpon distinct Ascensions, (neatly raifde within the hollow wombe of the Globe) were placed all the states of the land, from the Nobleman to the Ploughman, among whom there was not one word to be heard, for you must imagine as *Virgil* faith :

Ægl. 4. Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.

Iam redit at virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

[*Astrea.]

That it was now the golden world, in which there were few parts.

All the tongues that went in this place, was the tongue of *Zeale*, whose personage was put on by *W. Bourne*, one of the seruants to the young Prince.

And thus went his speech.

THE populous Globe of this our *English* Ile,
Seemde to mooue backward, at the funerall pile,
Of her dead female Maiestie. All states
From nobles downe to spirits of meaner Fates,
Mooude opposite to Nature and to Peace,
As if these men had bin Th' Antipodes,
But see, the vertue of a Regall eye,
Th' attractiue wonder of mans Maiestie,
Our globe is drawne in a right line agen,
And now appeare new faces, and new men,
The Elements, Earth, Water, Ayre, and Fire,
(Which euer clipt a naturall desire,
To combat each with other, being at first,)
Created enemies to fight their worst,
See at the peacefull presence of their King,
How quietly they mooude, without their sting :

Earth not deuouring, Fire not defacing,
 Water not drowning, and the Ayre not chafing :
 But proping the queint Fabrick that heere stands,
 Without the violence of their wrathfull hands.

Mirror of times, lo where thy *Fortune* fits,
 Aboue the world, and all our humaine wits,
 But thy hye Vertue aboue that : what pen,
 Or Art, or braine can reach thy vertue then ?
 At whose immortall brightnes and true light
Enuies infectious eyes haue lost their fight,
 Her snakes (not daring to shoot-forth their stings
 Gainst such a glorious obiekt) downe she flings
 Their forkes of Venome into her own maw,
 Whilst her ranke teeth the glittering poisons chawe.
 For tis the property of *Enuies* blood,
 To dry away at euery kindomes good,
 Especially when she had eyes to view
 These foure maine vertues figured all in you;
Iustice in causes, *Fortitude* gainst foes,
Temprance in spleene, and *Prudence* in all those,
 And then so rich an Empyre, whose fayre brest,
 Contaynes four Kingdomes by your entrance blest.
 By *Brute* diuided, but by you alone,
 All are againe vnited and made *One*;
 Whose fruitfull glories shine so far and euen,
 They touch not onely earth, but they kisse heauen,
 From whence *Astræa* is descended hither,
 Who with our last Queenes Spirit, fled vp thither,
 Fore-knowing on the earth, she could not rest,
 Till you had lockt her in your rightfull brest.
 And therefore all Estates, whose proper Arts,
 Liue by the breath of Maiestie, had harts
 Burning in holy Zeales immaculate fires,
 With quenchles Ardors, and vnstaind desires,
 To see what they now see, your powerful Grace,
 Reflecting joyes on every subjects face :
 These paynted flames and yellow burning Stripes,
 Vpon this roab, being but as shoves and types,

Of that Zeale. And therefore in the name
 Of this glad Citie, whither no Prince euer came,
 More lou'd, more long'd for, lowely I intreate,
 You'd be to her as gracious as y'are great:
 So with reuerberate shoutes our Globe shall ring,
 The Muficks close being thus: God saue our King.

If there be any glorie to be won by writing these lynes, I do freelie bestow it
 (as his due) on *Tho. Middleton*, in whose braine they were begotten, though they
 were deliuered heere: *Quæ nos non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.*

But hauing peiced vp our wings now againe with our own feathers; suffer vs
 a while to be pruning them, and to lay them smooth, whilst this song, which went
 foorth at the found of Hault boyes, and other lowde instruments, flyes along with
 the trayne.

Cant.

Where are all these Honors owing?
 Why are seas of People flowing?
 Tell mee, tell me, Rumor,
 Though it be thy Humor
 More often to be lying
 Than from thy breath to haue trueth flying:
 Yet alter now that fashion,
 And without the streame of passion,
 Let thy voyce swim smooth and cleare,
 When words want gilding, then they are most deer.
 Behold where Ioue and all the States,
 Of Heau'n, through Heau'ns seauen siluer gates,
 All in glory riding
 (Backs of Clowds bestriding)
 The milky waie do couer,
 With starry Path being measur'd ouer,
 The Deities conuent,
 In Ioues high Court of Parliament,
 Rumor thou doest loose thine aymes,
 This is not Ioue, but One, as great, King IAMES.

And

And now take we our flight vp to *Temple-bar*, (the other end of this our Gallery, wherēby this time, his Maiestie is vpon the poynt of giuing a gracious and Princely Fare-well to the Lord Major, and the Citie. But that his eye meeting a fea-uenth beautifull object, is invited by that, to delay a while his (lamented) departure.

The Building being set out thus.

The Front or Surface of it was proportioned in euery respect like a Temple, being dedicated to *Ianus*, as by this inscription ouer the *Ianus* head may appeare,

*Iano Quadrifronti
Sacrum.*

The height of the whole *Ædifice*, from the grownd line to the top, was 57. foot, the full bredth of it 18. foote: the thicknes of the Passage 12.

The personages that were in this Temple,
are these.

1. The principall person, *Peace*.
2. By her stood *Wealth*.
3. Beneath the feet of *Peace*, lay *Mars* (War) groueling.
4. And vpon her right hand (but with some little defent) was seated *Quiet*, the first hand-maid of *Peace*.
5. She had lying at her Feet, *Tumult*.
6. On the other side was the second hand-maid, *Libertie*, at whose feet lay a Catte.
7. This person trod vpon *Seruitude*.
8. The third hand-maid was *Safety*.
9. Beneath her was *Danger*.
10. The fourth attendant was *Felicitie*:
11. At her feet, *Vnhappines*.

Within the Temple was an Altar, to which, vpon the approach of the King, a *Flamin* appeares, and to him, the former *Genius* of the Citie.

The effect of whose speech was, that whereas the *Flamin* came to performe rites there, in honour of one *Anna* a goddesse of the *Romaines*, the *Genius*, vowes,
that

that none shall do Sacrifice there, but himfelfe, the offering that he makes being, the Heart of the Citie, &c.

And thus haue we (lowely and aloofe) followed our Soueraigne through the feauen Triumphal gates of this his Court Royall, which name, as *London* receiued at the ryfing of the *Sunne* ; fo now at his going from her (euen in a moment) She loft that honour : And being (like an Actor on a Stage) ftript out of her borrowed Majestie, ſhe refignes her former ſhape and title of Citie ; nor is it quite loft, confidering it went along with him to whom it is due : For ſuch Vertue is begotten in Princes, that their verie prefence hath power to turne a Village to a Citie, and to make a Citie appeare great as a Kingdome. Behold how glorious a Flower, Happineſſe, but how fading. The Minutes (that lackey at the heeles of *Time*) run not faſter away then do our joyes. What tongue could haue expreſſed the raptures on which the ſoule of the Citie was carried beyond it ſelfe, for the ſpace of manie houres ? What wealth could haue allurde her to haue cloſed her eies, at the comming of her King, and yet See, her Bridegrome is but ſtept from her, and in a Minute (nay in ſhorter time, then a thought can be borne) is ſhe made a Widdow. All her conſolation being now, to repeate ouer by roate thoſe Honors, which lately ſhe had perfectly by hart : And to tell of thoſe joyes, which but euen now, ſhe reallie behelde ; yet thus of her abſent, beloued, do I heare her gladly and heartily ſpeaking.

VIRG. *In freta dum Fluvii Current: dum montibus umbræ,
Lustrabunt Conuexa, Polus dum ſidera paſcit,
Semper Honos, Nomenque tium, Laudesque manebunt.*

The Pageant in the Strond.

THE Citie of *Westminster* and Duchy of *Lancaster*, perceiuing what preparation their neighbor citie made to entertain her Soueraigne ; though in greatnes they could not match her, yet in greatnes of Loue and Duetie, they gaue teſtimonie, that both were equall. And in token they were ſo, hands and hearts went together : and in the Strond, erected vp a Monument of their affection.

The Inuention was a Rayne-bow, the Moone, Sunne, and the feauen Starres, called the *Pleiades*, being aduaunced between two *Pyramides* : *Electra* (one of thoſe feauen hanging in the aire, in figure of a Comet) was the ſpeaker, her words carrying this effect.

That as his Majestie had left the Citie of *London*, happy, by deliuering it from the noyse of tumult : so he would crown this place of the like joyes ; which being done, she reckons vp a number of bleffings, that will follow vpon it.

The work of this was thought vpon, begun and made perfect in xij. daies.

As touching those fiue which the Citie builded, the *Arbor* in *Cheap-side*, and the Temple of *Ianus*, at Temple-bar, were both of them begun and finisht in fixe weeks. The rest were taken in hand, first in *March* last, after his Majestie was proclaymed, vpon which, at that time, they wrought till a Moneth after St. *Iames* his day following, and then gaue ouer by reason of the sicknes : At this second setting vpon them, six weeks more were spent.

The Citie elected fixteene Comitties, to whom the Mannaging of the whole busines was absolutely referred ; of which number, four were Aldermen, the other graue Commoners.

There were also Committies appoynted as Ouerseers, and Serueyors of the workes.

*Artificum Operariorumque in hoc tam
celebri apparatu, summa
Summa.*

THE Citie imployed in the Framing, building, and setting vp of their fiue *Arches*, these officers and work-men.

A Clarke that attended on the Committies.

Two officers that gaue Summons for their meetings, &c.

A clarke of the Workes.

Two master-Carpenters.

Painters.

Of which number, those that gaue the maine direction, and vndertook for the whole busines, were only these seuen.

{	William Friselfield.	}
	George Mofse.	
	Iohn Knight	
	Paul Ifacson	
	Samuell Goodrick.	
	Richard Wood.	
	George Heron.	

Caruers,

Caruers, - - - - - 24

Ouer whom, *Stephen Harrison* Ioyner was appoynted chief ; who was the sole Inuentor of the Architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to Caruing, Ioyning, Molding, and all other work in those five Pageants of the Citie (Painting excepted) were set down

Ioyners, - - - - - 80

Carpenters, - - - - - 60

Turners, - - - - - 6

Laborers to them, - - - - - 6

Sawyers, - - - - - 12

Laborers during all the time, and for the day of the Triumph, - - - 70

Besides these, there were other Artificers, As :

Plommers, Smythes, Molders.

To the READER.

READER, you must vnderstand, that a regard, being had that his Majestie should not be wearied with tedious speeches : A great part of those which are in this Booke set down, were left vnspoken : So that thou doest here receiue them as they should haue bene deliuered, not as they were. Some errours wander vp and downe in these sheetes, vnder the Printer's warrant : which notwithstanding may by thy Authoritie be brought in, and receiue their due Correction. As in F. 2 For, *From his owne cleare strength*, Read, cleare, straight, &c. And within fewe lines beneath that : Insteede of, (*Because alluring this triumph*) Read, because that during these, &c. In the *Cant.* likewise, beginning thus, *Shine Titan Shine*, Insteede of, *O this is Had*, Read, *O this is He*. And in the sixt staffe : For, *Here stayd*, Had still. But here *Had* list not tary. Read for euery *Had*, he. Other faults pardon, these I think are the grossest.

A Relation of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, his Majesty's Ambassador to the King of *Spain*; Being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King, for the maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, according to the several Articles formerly concluded on by the Constable of *Castile* in *England* in the Month of *August*, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By *Robt. Treswell*, Esq. *Somerset Herald*. Printed 1605.

This curious Piece is recommended for Publication, as it will illustrate as well as correct the Historians in the Reign of King *James the First*, and gives a better Idea of the Court of *Madrid*, as well as of the general Disposition of the *Spaniards*, and of some of the Customs peculiar to them at that Time, that can be met with in any other *English* Writer: Besides, it must be allowed to be a most entertaining Relation; for, among other Varieties, the Reader is here presented with an Account of the famous Procession of *Corpus Christi*, and of a *Bull Feast* and *Spanish* Tournament, and other Kind of Diversions, such as *Masquerades*, &c.

To the READER.

HAVING collected together many general Observations in that honourable Journey into *Spain*, lately performed by the Right Honourable and worthy Earl, the Earl of *Nottingham*; although, amongst many Reasons, which persuaded me to be therein to myself secret, and to the World sparing, in divulging this Treatise, I found especially (and which I must of Necessity confess) my own Weakness in compiling the same, and making it fit and worthy of so general a Reading, as by this Consequence it must undergo; yet, being over-weighed with many especial Motives which I could not well answer or contradict, I thought rather to expose myself to the favourable Censure of the Worthiest and Best-minded (who rather respect a plain and home-bred Stile, yet true, than a Tale consisting of eloquent Phrases, but doubtful) than, pleasing myself in my own fearful Humour, give Cause of Offence to them whom I most labour to content. The first of these Motives being, that many of my Friends, knowing me to have been by
4 especial

especial Appointment an Attendant upon his Lordship in that honourable Employment, and understanding of the Care taken by me in observing some Particulars in the same, exceedingly urged me to give them a perfect Knowledge and Satisfaction thereof; which, as it was a Thing likely to be tedious, so could they not receive that Contentment by a brief Report, which a more ample Relation and Discourse might better afford. Another was, that, for that It came to our Knowledge, how many false and ill-contrived Reports had been bruited abroad, after our Departure from *England*, as well derogating from that honourable Entertainment we received in general, whilst we were in *Spain*, as from the Proceedings of his Lordship and his Company in some Particulars, I could not but (taxing myself of Duty to his Lordship, and the Rest) endeavour to satisfy all doubtful and unsatisfied Minds, with relating and declaring the Truth thereof. But a Third, and a more especial Cause is, that, since our Return, one not well informed, having undertaken to know much of the Proceedings of that Journey, and mistaking himself in his own Understanding, lately published a Pamphlet of many false and erroneous Observations; thereby possessing the Readers with an untrue Relation of that, the Truth whereof they so much desired. Upon these former Considerations therefore, I was advised to tender unto your generous Acceptance my well-meaning Endeavours; which altho' they cannot give that Pleasure and Content in Reading you happily expect, yet shall they assure you what they promise: That is, a true Relation of such Things, which happened in that honourable Journey. In reporting whereof, I had rather be condemned for Plainness, than once suspected for reporting an Untruth.

Robt. Treswell, alias Somerset-Herald.

SO soon as the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, had taken Notice from his Majesty, that it was his Will and Pleasure to employ him in this great Ambassage to the King of *Spain*, calling to Mind how honourably and richly the Duke of *Fryas*, Constable of *Castile*, and late Ambassador for the said King, had formerly demeaned himself in *England*; presently, with a most honourable Resolution, neither fearing the Hazard of his Person, being now aged, nor regarding the Expences, that so great and honourable an Employment should require, with what Speed he conveniently might, endeavoured to perform his Majesty's Designs and Appointment herein. And therefore, by the Advice of the Council of *England*, he first resolved both what Honourable Personages, and what Number of them might be fitting, for accompanying and attending him, in this his great Employment. To whom when as particular Letters from the Council, by his Majesty's especial Commandement, were dispatched, to give

them Notice, to prepare themselves to attend the said Noble Earl, according as his Highness had commanded ; they seemed so willing and ready to perform their Duty and Service, therein, that his Lordship was far more troubled to deny many, and that of very good Sort, who voluntarily tendered their Service in good Will and Honour of his Lordship, to attend him in this his appointed Voyage, than he was at first in bethinking what Company were necessary to take with him. And therefore at last concluding of a competent Number (not without displeasing many) he resolved upon these whose Names hereafter follow :

The Earl of *Perth*.

The Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, his Son and Heir.

The Lord *Willoughby*.

The Lord *Norris*.

Sir *Charles Howard* Knight, his second Son.

Sir *Thomas Howard*, Knight, second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*.

Sir *John Sheffeld* Knight, Son and Heir to the Lord *Sheffeld*.

Master *Pickering Wotton*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Wotton*.

Sir *Richard Lewson* Knight, Admiral of the Fleet and Vice-Admiral of *England*.

Master *Thomas Compton*, Brother to the Lord *Compton*.

Hans Harman Van Veiscenbach, a German, and of good Esteem in *England*.

Sir *Robert Drewry*.

Sir *Robert Maunsel*, Treasurer of the King's Navy, and Vice-admiral of the Fleet.

Sir *Edward Howard* his Nephew.

Sir *Thomas Palmer*.

Sir *Edward Swift*.

Sir *William Smith*.

Sir *John Trevor*, Surveyor of the Navy.

Sir *Robert Killegrew*.

Sir *Richard Cowper*, Gentleman-porter of the King's-house.

Sir *George Buck*.

Sir *Guilford Slingby*.

Sir *Adolphus Cary*.

Sir *Francis Howard*, his Lordship's Nephew also.

Sir *Sacville Trevor*, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet.

Sir *Walter Gore*.

Sir *William Page*.

Sir *Giles Hoftman*.

Sir *Thomas Roe*.

Sir *John Eyres*.

Sir *Philip Cary*.

Sir *Henry Knowles*.

Sir *John Guevarra*, Knights.

Master *Giles Porter*, his Interpreter, Doctor *Marbeck*, Doctor *Palmer*, Physicians, Master *Pawlet*, Master *Cary*, Master *Barret*, Master *John Lewson*, *Lewis Tresham*, Captain *Thomas Button*, *William Button*, *John Fearn*, *Hierom Laments*, *Henry Butler*, *John Milliscent*, *Bernard Sanders*, *Philip Roper*, *Francis Plomb*, *Roger Tailor*,
Captain

Captain *William Morgan*, *Henry Minn*, *Christopher Frederick*, *Thomas Buck*, Captain *William Polewheel*, *Edmond Fittou*, *Walter Grey*, *John Atkinson*, *Dudley Carleton*, *Edward Smith*, and many other Gentlemen of good Condition and Quality, as well his Lordship's private Officers and Servants, as divers, whose Names are not herein remembered.

The Ships appointed to attend his Lordship and his Company for Transportation of themselves, the Followers and Neccessaries were these :

The <i>Bear</i> ,	} being Ships Royal.	The <i>Amity</i> .
The <i>Due-repulse</i> ,		The <i>Resistance</i> .
The <i>Waste-spight</i> ,		The Great Hoy, called the <i>George</i> .
The <i>Mary-Anne</i> ,		

According to Appointement, the said Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen prepared themselves to give their Attendance, whensoever his Lordship should take his Journey ; and therefore, understanding that he intended to take Leave of the King on *Thursday*, the One and twentieth Day of *March*, according to the computation of *England*, the greatest Number of them, being very richly apparelled themselves, and extraordinarily appointed for their Servants, gave their attendance at *Nottingham House*, the said One and twentieth Day of *March*, his Lordship having appointed many Barges and Boats for conveying himself, the said Lords and Knights, and their Company to the Court, the King's Highness then being at *Greenwich* ; the said Earl having ordained his own Company to be in Number, as follows : Six Trumpeters clad in Orange-colour Damask, with Clokes of Cloth of the same Colour, and Banners of Damask with his Honour's Arms thereupon. Six Footmen in Orange-tawny Velvet alike suited. Six Pages, clad likewise in Velvet of the same Colour with their Clokes suitable. Thirty Gentlemen with Clokes of black Velvet. Fourscore Yeomen well apparelled with Livery Clokes of Orange-Tawney Cloth, garded with Silver and blue Silk Lace. The said noble Earl being thus prepared went with his said Company from *Nottingham House*, the said *Thursday* about Noon, and, so shooting the Bridge, arrived at *Greenwich* immediately after Dinner ; and there, presenting himself and his Company unto his Majesty, was most acceptably and graciously entertained. After some Time spent in receiving his Highness's Commandement, as well concerning himself in his own Particular, as also touching the conducting and presenting of Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Knight, who was appointed for to be his Majesty's Lieger Ambassador with the King of *Spain* : the said Ambassador, Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, humbly taking their Leaves of his Highness, were for that Night dismissed ; every one taking himself to his Lodging, there remaining

remaining and expecting his Lordship's further Pleasure to be known when they should prepare to set forward on his Journey.

His Lordship, having now dispatched his private Counsels and Intendments with his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, gave Warning to his said Company and Followers to be ready against *Tuesday* Morning, being the six and twentieth Day of the said Month of *March*. Which Time he gave to prepare themselves ; for that Day he intended to set forward. On which said Day, being both mindful and forward for his intended Journey, he was early up in the Morning, and, taking the Time of the Tide, and such Company as were ready, being to the Number of Eighty Persons, in divers Barges and Boats, passed from *Nottingham* House to *Gravesend*, and there dined, staying for much of the Company, which followed. After Dinner they rode from *Gravesend* to *Chatham*, where he lodged that Night. The same Night the Earl of *Marr* came from the Court, on Purpose to congratulate with his Lordship, and do such like private Offices of Friendship. The next Day being *Wednesday*, his Lordship would have gone to the Ships, which were then fallen so low as *Queensborough*, there riding at Anchor and staying our Coming ; but the Weather fell out somewhat foul, and the Wind contrary, so that he rested at *Chatham* that Night. The next Day being *Thursday* the eight and twentieth of *March*, before Seven of the Clock in the Morning, his Lordship having commanded to be ready divers Barges and Pinnaces, to carry himself and his Followers a-board the Ships, took his Barge, and about Ten of the Clock the same Day entered the Ship, called the *Bear*, lying in *Queensborough* Road as afore is said, together with the *Due-repulse*, and the *Waste-spight*, which three Ships kept Company together, and lay of Purpose to transport his Lordship, the Ambassador-Lieger, and the other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that were of the Company and Train.

Now what by Reason of staying for some of the Lords and Gentlemen, as yet not come a-board, for the better disposing and ordering all Things concerning the Voyage, as also for placing and appointing to every Man his Room accordingly : The Weather likewise being not very fair to put to Sea, we anchored before *Queensborough* till *Sunday* Morning, being *Easter-day*, and the last Day of *March*. At which Time, the Wind coming about to the West, and standing fair to put to Sea, his Lordship commanded to weigh, and to set Sail, which was done accordingly : Sailing as far as the Tide would give them Leave, which was to a certain Road betwixt the Sands, near to the *Shore-beak*, where they rested that Night. The next Day being very foul, and the Wind contrary, they were fain to ride it out till *Tuesday* Morning, being the Second of *April*. At which Time the Weather fell somewhat fair, and his Lordship, being de-

furious

stirous to take all advantage that might forward the Journey, commanded to weigh again and put to Sea; but, the Wind being very slack, he was becalmed, and so driven to a Flat near the *Spits*, where, for that the Tide was much spent, and the Flood coming on, they cast Anchor about One of the Clock in the Afternoon, there staying, in Expectation of Wind, till *Wednesday* Morning; when, although there was little or no Wind stirring, yet his Lordship set forward, Tiding it as far as they could that Night. The next Day, being *Thursday*, early in the Morning, the Wind coming somewhat towards the North, his Lordship caused to weigh Anchor; and so, with Expence of Time and much Pains, the Ships recovered *Dover* Road, where they anchored, as well for the receiving in so many of the Company, as also for taking in fresh Water and Victuals. So soon as the Fleet was discovered, and coming near *Dover* Road, as well the Forts and Blockhouses as the Castle of *Dover* saluted them with many Shot, his Lordship answering them again, both out of his own Ship, and out of the rest also with the like.

That Night, the Lords and Gentlemen, for whom they made stay at *Dover*, came a-board; and that Night also his Lordship minded to have set forward, had not the Hoy called the *George*, by spending of her Mast, in her Passage from *Queensborough* to *Dover*, caused a longer Abode.

Now for that the said Hoy was appointed to carry Provision and Necessaries for the Fleet, and could not be so soon made ready again for Service, as was desired; and for that the Wind, standing at North-east, was a fair and fit Wind, for going forward, his Lordship advised with Sir *Richard Lewson*, the Admiral of the Fleet, that some Course might be presently had to forward the Journey, Sir *Richard* therefore, with great Care and extraordinary Pains, labouring all that Night, being seconded by Sir *John Trevor*, Surveyor of the Navy, unladed the said Hoy of all such necessary Provisions as they were like to use in the Voyage; and having, that Night and the next Morning dispersed her Luggage, some in one Ship, and some in another; and being returned to the Ships, about Ten o'Clock, a Warning-piece was given, and about two Hours after they weighed, and sailed all that Day, being *Friday* the fifth of *April*, until the next Day, being *Saturday*, and then, being becalmed, were fain to cast Anchor again. That night the Wind coming fair, they weighed Anchor, and so sailed all that Night, till the next Day; the Wind again altering, they lay at Anchor till towards the Evening, and then set forward, sailing until Ten o'Clock next Day, and then cast Anchor. About Ten o'Clock in the Evening, they weighed Anchor again, and so sailed with a fair Wind, that Night and the next Day. On *Wednesday* as we sailed, his Lordship commanded to hail a Bark, which was discovered

discovered to be a Bark from *Barnstable* in *Devonshire*, and came from *Bayonne* in *France*, who declared for News, that there was a young Prince born in *Spain*. Now it should seem his Lordship had received Understanding, by Letters from the Right Honourable the Viscount *Cramborn*, his Highness's Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him whilst we lay at Road before *Dover*, That his coming was expected, and Provision made for him and his Company, by the King of *Spain*, at *St. Anderas*. His Lordship having sent his Provision of Horses, Coaches, Litters, Hangings, and other his rich Furniture and Necessaries, together with his Harbingers, and other Officers, to the *Groyne*, in several Hoys appointed for that Purpose, the King's Ship, called the *Advantage*, being their Convoy: His Highness presents likewise, under the Charge of *Thomas Knoell*, one of his Majesty's Equeries, an appointed Messenger, for the Delivery thereof to the King of *Spain*, in their said Company. And being uncertain, whether the King's Designs were as well known to the said Harbingers, and the rest, as to himself, he commanded Captain *Morgan*, and one Master *Pett*, a Master Shipwright, and a very good Mariner, to go on board the *Resistance*, being a Ship of *London*, and one appointed for Carriage of Provision in this Journey, to make what Way they possibly could for the *Groyne*, to command the said Ship's Provisions and People, to meet him in the Mouth of the Harbour, thence to bear in his Company for *St. Anderas*: But the said Ship was becalmed, as was the rest of the Fleet likewise, and could make no Way, but kept Company with us till *Sunday* Morning; after which Time we had no more Sight of her, till her coming to the *Groyne*, which was the next Day after our Arrival there.

On *Monday* Morning early, the Land was discovered by the Fleet, and, about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon, they arrived into the Road of the *Groyne*, being a very safe and pleasant Harbour.

We were no sooner descried from the Land, but the Governor of the Town, Don *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, Seignior *Peynte Corde de Carazena*, and Governor of *Galicia*, had commanded to make ready for entertaining his Lordship; which was most royally performed, being, upon Entrance into the Harbour, first saluted from a Fort, on the North-side of the Town, with twenty great Pieces of Ordnance; then, from the Fort lately built upon the Rock, with six-and-twenty Pieces of great Ordnance; and, from the Town and Castle, with thirty great Pieces of Ordnance at least. His Lordship coming to Anchor, with the rest of the Ships, gave them their whole Broadfides. Immediately upon his Lordship's Arrival, the Governor of the Town sent the four principal Officers, Commanders of the Town, together with his Brother Don

John

John de Pacheco, and *Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, his only Son, to give his Lordship the Welcome; wherein they demeaned themselves so exceeding kindly, and with the most affable and respective Speeches that might be, excusing their slender Entertainment, by Reason of their late Understanding of his Lordship's coming to the *Groyne*, for that they had Intelligence his Lordship meant to have gone to *St. Anderas*. After a short Time spent in Compliment with these Commanders, the Governor himself, being accompanied with divers Personages of Worth, came a-board in a Barge, which seemed to have been made on Purpose for this Use. The Rowers and Mariners thereof, being clad in blue Silk Cassocks and Caps, and the Barge covered with blue Velvet, and newly painted, reported to his Lordship, that the King his Master had especially written to him in these Words: That he should have Respect what Person he was that was coming Ambassador, from whom he was come, and to whom he was sent; and that he should do every Thing for the Honour of these three Persons, without sparing any Thing that might be fit for his Lordship's Entertainment: And therefore, the Governor intreated his Lordship to go on Land, which he refused to do that Night; but, being much importuned, he promised to go on Shore the next Day. During the Governor's Abode on the Ship, there came many on board likewise, and they of all Conditions; Doctors of Law, Churchmen, Friars, and of all other Sorts of People; who all seemed much to wonder and admire the Greatness and Neatness of that Galleon, as they termed her, exceedingly commending and applauding the same. At the Departure of the said Governor from the Ships, his Lordship gave many Pieces of Ordnance, which were again received and answered from the Town and Forts; the whole Town indeed being but a Hold and Fort, but very strong. That Night they sent from the Town unto his Lordship, a Present of Fish and Fruit, Bread, and such like Commodities as the Country yielded, excusing that they were not able to shew their Love in better Sort unto his Lordship, for that *Monday*, the Day of his Arrival, being *St. Mark's Day* with them, and the Fishermen as then, not going to Sea, and also having feasted, as that Day, for Joy of the Birth of the young Prince, they were the more unfurnished of a better Present, and more fit for his Entertainment.

On *Tuesday* the sixteenth Day of *April*, his Lordship prepared to go on Shore to his Lodging, which was prepared for him at the Governor's House; which House is the whole Pleasure of the Town, for that it overlooketh the whole Harbour, and is seated in the Heart of the Town. The Governor likewise having taken great Care to receive his Lordship in the most honourable Manner; and therefore had, upon Intelligence of our coming to the *Groyne*, caused

to be built a Bridge of Timber above forty Yards long, and painted the same yellow, red, and blue, and garnished the same with many Pensils of Silk, of like Colours, very formally, and planted the Way into the Town with Boughs of Bays and Orange Trees, and strewed the same with Rushes and Flowers. A whole Company of the Town, and many more of the Country, being, as was supposed, drawn thither for this Purpose only, all ready to give his Lordship Entertainment after the best Fashion; when the Time came that his Lordship might conveniently land, for until three of the Clock after Noon the Flood was not, upon which he must of Necessity land, the Governor sent divers of the Commanders of the Town to give Notice, that he, and other the Magistrates of the Town would attend upon the Bridge; his Lordship thereupon took his Barge, carrying in the Head thereof, an Antient of white Silk, with the Picture of the Sun in the upper Part thereof, his Motto or Word being *Desir Na Repos*, written in Manner of a Beud, within the same, and so came in a very honourable Manner to the Bridge, where staid for him the said Governor, Judges, and Magistrates of the Town, entertaining the *English* as they landed, whilst the Music, being Shagbots and Hoboys, and placed for that Purpose upon the Bridge, played sweet and delectable Melody, and so the *Spaniards* intermingling themselves with the *English*, according to their Degrees, ever giving the right Hand to the *English*, passed into the Town in Order as follows: First went four of his Lordship's Servants, who were appointed Marshals for his Train; after followed certain of his Officers in his House and Chamber, in their Liveries; next after followed the Gentlemen, his Servants, and especial Officers, in their Liveries of black Velvet; then followed the Esquires and Knights, every one according to his Degree; then, with our Lords and Nobles, divers *Spanish* Commanders and Judges of the Kingdom of *Galicia*. At their Entrance into the Town, there was shot off an exceeding great Volley of Shot, both great and small, and so they passed all on Foot to the Conde's House; and, at the Entrance of his Lordship into the House, there were shot off a great Number of Chambers, being for that Purpose, as it should seem, planted over against the Conde's Gate. His Lordship, being thus received, was exceedingly well appointed and lodged. That Night, what by Reason of the Littleness of the Room, and the Muchness of the Company, he was both lated, and could not but be much troubled at his Supping; wherein the Conde and his Officers did make manifest their exceeding Care and Respect to have all Things to content his Lordship and the Company, with so much Attendance and Observance, as it was rather a Trouble and Offence to any well minded to see their extraordinary Pains taken

in their Service, than Cause of Exception in any wise, especially for that it did appear, there was provided what the Country could any Way afford.

There his Lordship rested from that Time forward, sometimes riding abroad to take the Air on Horseback, other Times, in his Carroch, and ever with much Applause and Admiration of the People; so that it could not but give him much Contentment to observe how welcome he seemed generally to the whole Country. In his Passages abroad he took Occasion to shew his Bounty to the Poor, which in that Place abound greatly, many of them being very miserable Creatures to see, and wherewith his Lordship was in Mercy and Charity much moved, not sparing his Purse one hour in the Day; for, besides what he gave Abroad, he never shewed himself in his Gallery, but he provided good Sums of Money to give for Relief of those miserable poor People, who indeed during his Abode there, made little Account of other Living, than of his Relief.

Whilst we rested in the *Groyne*, a certain Mariner, being one of the *Repulse*, and having, upon *Wednesday* the Seventeenth Day of the present Month of *April*, brought on Shore some Company, and staying in Town until, amongst lewd Company, he became tippled, that thereby he gave Offence in his Behaviour, by violent striking of one of the Churchmen of the Town; although it was not directly complained of by any, either of the Church or of the Town, yet, by Chance, came to his Lordship's Knowledge, who, for that he received such extraordinary kind and liberal Usage, both for himself and his Followers, and that generally from all, if no other Cause might move him but that, was much offended therewith, and therefore thought good to take due Punishment of that so foul a Fault, commanding that present Inquiry should be made through all the Ships, who of them had been on Shore; at last finding the Offender, he committed him presently to the *Bilboes*, there to remain till the next Day which was *Friday*, at which Time he appointed Sir *Richard Lewson*, his Admiral and Marshal, to call unto him the other Admirals and Captains of the Fleet, and thoroughly to examine the Offence, and accordingly to proceed without any Respect or Favour. They calling before them the said Offender, and finding indeed that the Fellow was drunk, and by no Means could remember whether he had struck the said Churchman or no; and although the Manner of his Striking was so flight, and the Party said to be struck so vile in Reputation of the whole City, as they generally pitied any Man should once be called in Question for so base a Person; the said Commissioners and Jury proceeded, and, finding him guilty of striking the said Churchman, being contrary to Law and his Lordship's former Decrees in that Behalf, adjudged him to be presently hanged.

hanged. Here it is to be understood, that the Matter could not be so privately carried, but many of the Town, and some Churchmen also, had made Means to get a-board, and saw the Proceeding so austere and resolute, that presently they solicited the Conde, and the honourable Condesse his Wife, upon any Condition, to hinder the Execution. Whereof when the Conde, but especially the Condesse and her Daughter, had taken Notice, they never left intreating his Lordship to recall his averred Sentence and Judgement; and which to do his Lordship could not, without offering much Unkindness, refuse or deny. Many Reasons were alledged by the Conde and Condesse, that the Party offended was a Man vile in Reputation, and esteemed as a Man half Lunatick; that the Offence was not a malicious or determinate wilful Offence, and therefore the Premisses considered, his Lordship could not but with more Judgment pass it over, than so severely prosecute the Execution of Justice upon so mean a Cause, especially since no Information or Complaint was by the Party offended, or by any other of the Court, prosecuted on his Behalf. His Lordship, thus urged, granted he should be delivered unto the Conde, to be used as he thought good, and therefore commanded he should be brought on Land, and delivered unto him; which was done, one of the Masters going along with him, and the Boatswain leading him with a Halter about his Neck; who, when he came before the Conde, fell on his Knees, and would have made much Protestation; but the honourable Conde took him up, took off the Halter from his Neck, and commanded him to be carried to eat in the Buttery, for that the doleful Looks of the Man moved much Pity in the Conde.

On *Tuesday* the three and twentieth day of *April*, according to the Computation of *England*, his lordship solemnized the Feast of *St. George*; which was done in a very solemn Manner, and with the more Regard, for that the Townsmen, taking Notice of his Intendment to feast, came in Troops, to see and observe the Fashions of *England*: His Lordship, therefore, having desired Sufferance of the Conde to use his own Officers for that Day, appointed to be served after the Fashion of *England*, both in Service and Diet. And, whereas the Conde had, for his Lordship's State, set up a Cloth of State with his proper Arms, his Lordship commanded to set up a State of his own, being rich of Bawdkin, without Arms, other than the Arms of his Highness with *St. George's Cross*, as is the Custom; his own Arms was placed a good Distance off, upon the Hangings, and on the Right-hand of the Cloth of State, for that both the Room was most convenient, as also it was thought the Conde would have dined with his Lordship, as he was desired. After private Prayers in the Chamber, and that most of his Company was come to him, and Dinner being served in accordingly, his Lordship came forth,
in

in his Robes of *St. George*, to meet the Conde: But the Conde fearing to do any Thing that might impeach the Honour of his Master, or be present to hear any Thing pronounced, which might offend him in Respect of the Honour of his Master, after that he had staid to see his Lordship wash, and sit at the Table, prayed Leave, and so went to his private Lodging. At the Coming in of the second Course, according to the Fashion of *England*, the King's Stile was proclaimed, in three several Languages, by *Somerſet-Herald*, crying *Largeſſe*, who had a liberal Reward for the same: and so his Lordship, being served very honorably by Persons of the better Sort, and very richly in Diet, and in Plate, ended his Dinner, sitting alone at the Table; but divers other Lords, Knights, and Esquires sitting in the same Room, at two other Tables by.

After Dinner the Conde came to congratulate his Lordship, seeming much to repent him, that he kept not him Company at Dinner, since he had understood by his Brother (who stood all Dinner-time there, and well observing all) that there was not any Thing, that might give the least Cause of Offence, or Exception: Therefore the Conde discovered, that he much desired to keep him company at Supper; which he did, his Lordship sitting, as he did at Dinner, under the Escutcheon of his own Arms, the Conde of the same Side, but on the Left stand of the Cloth of State, and at the lower End of the Table. Whilst they sat at Table, much Company came in to see them; divers Ladies, and other Gentlemen of the better Sort, coming privately to observe the Fashion of our State, which his Lordship performed most honourably and orderly, to the Glory of our Nation, and to no small Honour of himself.

Wednesday, the four and twentieth Day of the said Month of *April*, about Noon, there came a Gentleman from the Court, who gave Notice to the Conde and his Lordship, that, that Night Don *Blasco de Arragon*, Nephew to the Duke of *Terra-Nova*, one that had been formerly in *England* with the Constable would be there; who, indeed, about seven of the Clock that Night, came accordingly to salute his Lordship, from the King his Master, and to give Understanding, both of the Preparation for his Lordship and his Company upon the Way, as also what Order should be presently taken for their more speedy Journey.

Tuesday, the thirtieth of *April*, there was appointed a Communion on Ship-board, to the which resorted divers Knights and Gentlemen, and as many as could conveniently come to the same.

On *Wednesday* and *Thursday*, his Lordship treated with the Conde, the said Don *Blasco*, and Don *Jasper de Bullion*, the *Aposentador*, Mayor to the King; which said *Jaspel de Bullion* was lately come from the Court, of Purpose to provide

vide for his Lordship and his Train, with Commission from the King to see them furnished of all Necessaries for their Journeying.

In this Conference (notwithstanding it had been formerly understood, there should be no Want of Means or Necessaries for his Lordship and his People, in their Journey to Court) it appeared, that, the Company being numbered by the poll to be six-hundred and fifty Persons of all Sorts, besides their Carriages, which were very many, the Country could by no Means supply the whole Number; therefore it was thought good to lessen them, as much as conveniently they might, resolving to leave divers of his Lordship's own People a-board the Ships, till their return: Some also were dispatched for *England*, with the Carroches, Litters, and Mares, and such other his Furniture, as, by Don *Blasco* was understood, he should have little Use of. And for that, besides Riding-mules, we understood there were sent thither by the King four Litters, and four Coaches, which staid for us at *Villa Franca*, for the more Ease of his Lordship, when he pleased, and for the Relief of any Gentlemen, that might happen to be sick upon the Way; which, in so long and tedious a Journey, was likely to be: And indeed, as it happened, most of them were put to Use, one Coach and one Litter being appointed for his Lordship's own Use; another Coach and Litter appointed to the Ambassador-Lieger; and another serving sometimes one, and sometimes another, as Occasion served, and they desired.

Thursday, the second Day of *May*, there was prepared in the Market-place a certain Piece of Ground, railed in square, the Space of twenty Yards, or more; with Scaffolds built of Purpose about the same, wherein the *English* were very sufficiently appointed and placed, for the Seeing of these Sports. His Lordship and other Noblemen were placed in several Windows, in a very fair Room in the King's State-house, being for that Purpose hung with rich Arras, and several Cloths of State over the Windows, on the Wall on the Outside the House. They being come to their Standings, the Ladies and better Sort of the Town being likewise placed in a convenient Room for that Purpose, they began their Sports after this Manner: *First*, There was brought in a Castle, wherein a Lady was inclosed, and kept by four Monsters. The said Castle being placed in the Midst of the Squadron, there appeared four Knights armed, with their Pages going before them with Drums and Fife, playing; who presently assailed the Castle, surpris'd the Monsters, relieved the Lady, and so set fire to the Castle; the Device being, as we understood of it, as much to shew the Strangeness of the Fire-works, which indeed were many, as for any other Reason, which we observed by the same.

Then

Then came *Venus, Pallas, Juno, Cupid*, every one led severally by Savages; after whom followed four other armed Knights, in Colours painted blue and white. Then came a third Company, being four in Number, in coloured Armours likewise, with Crosses on their Breasts, in Shew like Knights of *Malta*; bringing in with them a Chariot, wherein the Chief sat; *Peace, Plenty*, and other Virtues, being likewise planted in the same, with their several Names written on their Backs; after whom likewise followed four other Knights armed, with Trumpets sounding. When they had all appeared, they fell to Barriers, according to the Direction of certain Gentlemen appointed to Marshal the same. Some *English* Lords and Knights being intreated by the *Spaniards* to assist them therein also, they encountered one another single, first by two, after increasing their Number, according to the Pleasure of the Judges and Marshals; when they had broken their Staves (or at least done their best to break them) retiring, fell to it again with their Swords, according to the Manner of Barriers, five Blows a-piece. In a Scaffold, directly opposite against the Place wherein the Lords stood, sat the Judges of these Sports, amongst whom the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was intreated by the Magistrates of the Town to be one; which Judges, upon every Encounter, gave Reward to the best Deserver, as, Scarfs, Gloves, Choppimors, Ribbons, and such like, which were, by the Knights, thankfully received, and bestowed as Favours upon their Mistresses; at last the Knights encountered *pell-mell* one another, and, as it seemed, in a very furious Manner. But, the Bar being made in Fashion like a Trough, and many Fire-works being cunningly contrived in the same, it duly took Fire; and so with Flame and Smoke they were parted.

These Sports ended, there was a Banquet carried up to his Lordship, and other the Lords and Ladies, which were in another Room next adjoining, being indeed both plentiful and costly, and served in by the chief Gentlemen of the Country and Town. The Banquet ended, and Night coming on, there were brought into the same Place divers Fire-works; one in the Fashion of a Chariot, another like the Wheel of Fortune, another like a Castle, and such like, guarded and attended with divers Wild-men, with Clubs and Wheels, with several Fire-works; Men riding with Spears in their Hands, all containing Squibs and Fire-works, with which they ran at one another, as in Manner of Tilt. The Diversities of the Fire-works were many, and, for the Strangeness and Manner of Performance thereof, generally commended, and so well liked, as two Hours spent in that Pastime, seemed but a Moment.

Friday, the third Day of *May*, his Lordship, having his Company furnished with convenient Mules for Riding, as also for Carriage of their Trunks and Necessaries,

cessaries, about Eleven of the Clock, accompanied with the Governor and other the Magistrates of the Town, set forward on his Journey : Don *Blasco de Arragon* and Don *Jasper de Bullion*, the chief Harbinger for the King accompanying his Lordship, for the Purposes aforesaid. In the Passage from the Town, the Waits and Shagbots were placed, playing all the while ; at our departing from the Town, and our Leave-taking of the Governor, they gave a small Volley of Shot out of the Town. His Lordship being half a Mile out of the Town, and yet within Sight of the Ships, as they lay at Road, the said Ships took their Leave also of us, with many Pieces of Ordnance.

The said Governor, as before is mentioned, is named Don *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, &c. and is of the Country of *Castile*, but appointed here by the King, as Governor of the *Groyne*, and all the Country of *Galicia* ; a Man of very mild and affable Behaviour, very courteous, and most respectful of the *English* in general, as, by the great Care and good Usage of us, whilst we lodged in the *Groyne*, appeared.

That Night, being, as is aforesaid, the third day of *May*, according to the Computation of *England*, we rode to *Bytaunce*, being distant three Leagues from the *Groyne* ; where his Lordship and his Company were well entertained and lodged.

Saturday, the fourth Day of *May*, we rode from *Bytaunce* to a certain Town called *Villa Alva*, six Leagues, where our Entertainment was such as the Town could afford, by reason of the Means thereof.

Sunday, the fifth Day of *May*, we rode forward to a very fair Town, called *Lugo*, being distant from *Villa Alva* seven Leagues : The Alcaid, and other Officers of the Town, meeting his Lordship, about half a Mile without the Gates, and accompanying us into the Town, the Street being decked with Boughs, and the Walls of their Houses garnished with their best Hangings and Furniture. In the Way coming thither, his Lordship, received Letters of Intelligence and Congratulations from the Conde at the *Groyne*, which he accepted very kindly.

The Messenger being dispatched from *Lugo*, and rewarded with a Chain of Gold of good Value, on *Monday* we rode to a certain Town called the *Terra Castelia*, distant from *Lugo* eight Leagues.

Tuesday, the seventh Day of *May*, we travelled all the Morning up to a high Mountain by the Space of six Leagues, and dined at a little Village called *Cabrera*, where we received such Entertainment, unexpected, as was altogether in an Harbour of green Boughs, made of Purpose, of such a convenient Length, that it received his Lordship and all the better Sort of his Train. And after Dinner we rode to a certain Town called *Villa Franca*, being distant six Leagues, where his Lordship was received with the Townsmen, the Streets, all the Way which

we passed, being garnished with Boughs, and strewed with Herbs and Flowers ; Musick being likewise placed near the House where his Lordship should lodge.

Wednesday, for that the Company were somewhat weary, his Lordship disposed himself chiefly to Rest ; chiefly, for that the Ambassador-Lieger complained of Sickness, as also to relieve the Mules, forbearing to travel in so foul Weather as it fell out to be the same Day.

Thursday, the ninth Day of *May*, we rode by a Town called *Congusta*, to *Beubibre*, to Bed, where his Lordship was lodged in a Castle of the Conde de *Alvalista*, but very old and mean. The Town being so poor, and Men also, as if the Officers of his Highness had not then, as indeed they did, taken more than ordinary Pains and Care, it had not been possible to have lodged half the Company.

Friday, the tenth Day of *May*, we came to *Astorga*, being a City walled and standing in a pleasant and champaign Country, and containing in it many Churches, amongst which one is a Cathedral, two Friaries and two Nunneries. A Mile without the Town we were met with the Alcaid and Officers of the Town ; over the Gates hung divers Guidons and Banners of Silk ; one of them being a large white Banner of Damask, in Fashion of a Guidon, and placed in the Midst of the rest ; Musick likewise playing all the Way as we passed, the Houses garnished with their best Hangings, and the Streets strewed with Herbs and Flowers.

Saturday, the eleventh Day of *May*, his Lordship having had Understanding of the fairness of the Castle there, belonging to the Marquis of *Astorga*, and being desired by Don *Blasco*, to take a View thereof, in passing out of the Town, alighted to see the same : The House, indeed, being a very strong Castle, and having in it a very fair Gallery, with many goodly Pictures and pieces of Painting, both large and costly ; and also a rich Library, with many fine Rarities in the same. After we rode four Leagues to a certain Town called *La Ban'esa*, where, in the Way coming, we were met with divers Gypsies (as they termed them) Men and Women dancing and tumbling much after the *Morisco* or *Moorish* Fashion, which continued till we came to Town.

Sunday, the twelfth Day of *May*, we rode eight Leagues to a Town called *Benavente*, where, a Mile without the Town, the Alcaid and chief Officers of the Town met us, bringing with them a Company of Gypsies likewise, singing and dancing, playing, and shewing divers Feats of Activity, conducting his Lordship to the Conde of *Benavente's* House, where he lodged that Night.

Monday, we rode forward eight Leagues, to a certain Town called *Villa Garcia*, where we were received with a *Morrice* Dance of certain comely Gentlemen, being in Number eight ; as also with eight Boys, attired like Satyrs or Shepherds,

with Shepherds Hooks, who, as they danced, played with the same after the Fashion of *Mattachyna*.

In this Town is a very fair College, wherein is only taught the Rules of *Grammar*, and Grounds of the *Latin* Tongue ; it containeth about fix hundred Scholars : The Church a very fair Church, very richly fet out, with many goodly Pieces of Painting ; the Altar and Quoir exceeding rich and fair. From hence his Lordship received Order, by the King's Officers, to go to a certain Town called *Cimancas* ; which, tho' it was rather further in Distance than *Valladolid*, yet, for that his Lordship should not come late, nor his Company over wearied, this Town was appointed to receive him before our coming to the Court. Other Reasons were given, that is, in the right Way, between *Villa Garcia* and *Valladolid*, a Bridge was lately broken, whereby of Necessity we must have passed ; and also that the King desired we should enter through the high Street, and the best Part of the Town ; which we did, and, therefore, appointed our way by *Cimancas* : Accordingly we came to *Cimancas*, on *Tuesday*, at Night, somewhat late, being overtaken with extraordinary foul Weather, and greatly annoyed with the same.

In the Way between *Villa Garcia* and *Cimancas*, we passed by a very fair Monastery of Monks of the Order of *St. Benedict*, being not long since built but exceeding fair and rich, whereunto there is belonging, inclosed, as much Ground as the Wall thereof, being of Stone, is the Circuit, a League or better ; within which is all Kind of Game Royal, as Pheasants, Partridges, Hares, Conies, and such like. The Church here is very curiously and workmanlike built, and garnished with many curious Pieces of Painting, with Copes very rich and very curiously wrought.

That Night, at Supper, his Lordship had Notice, that it was the King's Pleasure we should rest at *Cimancas* all *Wednesday*, and not till *Thursday* come to the Court.

On *Wednesday*, after Dinner, there came from the Court Don *Juan de Suniga*, eldest Son to the Conde de *Villa Mediana*, Ambassador in *England* ; as also, Don *Pedro de Tassis*, the new appointed Ambassador for *England*, accompanied with divers others ; who, having congratulated his Lordship, staying with him some half Hour or thereabouts, departed.

That Night we understood that it was the King's Pleasure his Lordship should come to Court on *Thursday*, whereupon every one, taking Notice thereof, made Preparation accordingly.

Thursday, being the sixteenth Day of *May*, we staid till after Dinner expecting to receive more particular Directions from Court ; at which Time there came, to attend his Lordship thither, the Marquis of *Camerasa*, Don *Pedro de Suniga*, Don *Juan de Tassis*, Don *Blasco de Arragon*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen.

Gentlemen of the King's House and Chamber, bringing with them divers Coaches, so that his Lordship was entertained by Don *Blasco* and the Marquis in the first Coach ; the Ambassador-Lieger, by some others in the Second ; other Knights and Gentlemen filling as well the other Coaches, which came along from the *Groyne*, as those which were brought from Court by these Lords. After we had travelled about four *English* Miles (for from *Cimancas* to Court it was accounted but six) and having been met with many of the better Sort in their Coaches, his Lordship was moved by Don *Blasco* and the rest, to go into a certain Banquetting-house, which stood upon the Highway, as well to see the Delicacy of the Orchards and Gardens, as to taste of the Variety of Fruits within the same : But we rather suppose, to make Stay for such Nobles, as were appointed by the King to give meeting to his Lordship, and were not, as yet, come forward : During his Lordship's Stay in this Garden, there was a Horse presented unto him from the King, which the King himself used to ride on. After they had staid there, by the Space of a long Hour or more, there came from the Town divers Noblemen, the Chief whereof was the Duke of *Fryas*, Constable of *Castile*, the King's late Ambassador in *England* ; the Duke of *Infantazgo*, the Duke of *Alberquerque*, the Duke of *Cea*, the Duke of *Sesa*, the Duke of *Pastrava*, the Marquis of *St. Germain*, the Conde of *Chincou*, the Conde of *Punion en Restro*, the Marquis de *Lavanessa*, the Conde of *Aguilliar*, the Conde de *Berosa*, the Conde de *Nieua*, the Conde de *Cornua*, the Conde de *Paredes*, the Conde de *Lodosa*, the Marquis del *Carpio*, the Marquis de *Tavera*, the Marquis de *Villa Nueva*, the Conde *Apala*, Conde de *Salinas*, Marquis de *Ceralva*, Marquis de *Fuentes*, Marquis de *Alcanes*, Conde de *Galves*, the Admiral of *Arragon*, and many other Lords and Knights in great Number. His Lordship setting forward in very good Order, accompanied with a great Multitude of Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen, as is aforesaid : The Weather being all that Time extraordinarily hot, suddenly, to the great Disorder of all the Company, there fell so great a Shower of Rain as the like was not seen of long Time before, and continuing till the Company could get to the Town ; notwithstanding which, his Lordship kept still on Horseback, accompanied with many of the Chief of the Company, and riding forward to his appointed Lodging, which was in a very fair House of the Conde of *Salinas*, and not far from the Court ; an infinite Number of People, eight-hundred Coaches, filled with Ladies, were gotten out of the Town to meet and see his Lordship and his Company, all which took Part of this great Shower, to their no little Discomfort.

The Order of our going into the Town was appointed as follows : First rode two Trumpets, all the Sumpter and Carriages being about two Hours before

sent into the Town; after whom followed certain Gentlemen's Servants to the Knights and Lords; as also the Lieger Ambaffador's Servants in Liveries very fair to the Number of fixty: Then followed fix Trumpets of his Lordships in Suits of Damask, holding their Trumpets in their Hands, but not founding. Then came divers Gentlemen of good Sort, with whom also followed his Lordship's Gentlemen and principal Officers in their Liveries of black Velvet, to the Number of thirty: Then followed the Esquires, Knights, and Lords, every one according to their Degree, being accompanied with several *Spanish* Knights and Lords; after whom came his Lordship, accompanied with the Nobles aforementioned; which Order, for that the rain fell so exceedingly, could not be continued as was meant; but, by reason thereof, divers made what haste they could to their Lodging, and yet were thoroughly wet before they could get thither: His Lordship accompanied, as before, and entering into the Town at the Gate, called *La Puerta del Campo*, passed through the chief Parts of the Town and along by the Court-Gate; the King, Queen, and Ladies (as it was said) standing in several Windows to take View of the Company; about Six of the Clock came to the Place appointed for his Lordship's Lodging.

That Night came divers Noblemen; as also the *Mayordomo* to the Queen, to visit his Lordship from her Highness, which was wondered at by the *Spaniards* themselves; for that (if they speak true) they never knew the like Favour done to any Ambaffador whatsoever.

The next Day, being *Friday* the seventeenth Day of *May*, there came to visit his Lordship the Duke of *Lerma*, Don *Francisco Govees de Sandoval*, &c. a Man of especial Regard and Account with the King, accompanied with divers Dukes and Condes.

Thither also, that Day, came the Duke of *Medina de Rioseco*, a Youth of ten Years of Age, Admiral of *Castile* by Inheritance, accompanied with divers other Lords and Men of great Account.

Upon *Saturday*, the eighteenth Day of *May*, in the Morning, the King sent the Conde d'*Guklues*, and divers other of his Privy Chamber, to visit his Lordship the same Day.

The first Audience somewhat before Dinner, his Lordship had Intelligence, that the King's Majesty intended to give him Audience in the Afternoon; whereof the *English* Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, taking Notice, prepared themselves to give their Attendance, although not in so good Fashion as they desired, and would, had they had Understanding thereof over Night: His Lordship therefore staying his Highness's Pleasure, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

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The Constable, accompanied with twenty Noblemen, or more, whereof three or four of them were of the Grandees of *Spain*: and divers other Men of Dignity and Esteem in that Court, bringing with them many Coaches, came to conduct his Lordship, and the Company to the Court; many People were gathered in the Streets to see the Passage of his Lordship, and his Company. The Number of the Coaches was about twenty; but, notwithstanding many of our Noblemen and Knights rode upon their rich Foot-cloths, the King's Guard waited even from the uttermost Gate of the Palace, to the Presence-chamber Door, being all newly suited in coloured Velvet, yellow and red, but in several Habits; that thereby they might be the better distinguished, being in Number Three-hundred, whereof there were One-hundred *Switzers*, One-hundred *Spanish* Horsemen, and One-hundred *Walloons*. At the Palace Gate stood divers Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen, amongst whom was the Duke of *Infantasgo*, the Marquis of *Vellada*, and others, all appointed to receive and give his Lordship Entertainment, and to conduct and guide the Company up into the Presence, where the King sat under a rich Cloth of State, and by him stood eight Grandees of *Spain* covered. The Care these Lords took to give Contentment to the *English* was so great, that we might easily perceive, they spared not to put out of the said Room all Manner of People of what Condition soever, on Purpose to make Way, and give Place even to the meanest of the *English*, which would press to see the King, not keeping out any of how mean Condition soever.

His Lordship having delivered his Mind in Oration, by the Mouth of Mr. *Giles Porter*, his Interpreter, as also the King's Majesty's Letters, into his Highness's own Hands: The King, descending from his Chair gave Entertainment to his Lordship with most kind and affable Behaviour, appointing him to sit down by him, and that very near; which especial Favour was much observed, and reported as a Thing never used to any Ambassador before that Time. Some short Time spent in Conference with his Lordship, his Highness was pleased to take Notice of such Nobles and Gentlemen, as accompanied his Lordship in this his long and painful Journey; and thereupon required they should draw near, which they did, each after other, to do their Reverence, and, as they say, *Besar la manos*, which was only in bowing low to the Ground, without touching either Hand or Foot, or any other Part of his Garments: This done, his Lordship took his Leave, and the King appointed the Constable and others to conduct his Lordship and Company to the Queen's Side; where, in a very fair Presence, sat her Highness, with the Infanta by her, under a rich Cloth of State, accompanied with many Ladies and Maids of Honour, divided

on either Side the same Room, a good Distance each from the other, standing close by the Wall, almost from one End of the Chamber to the other. The Gentlemen, Knights, and Lords going along, and before his Lordship, were received by the *Mayordomo* to the Queen, and so conducted to her Presence.

After some Conference and Compliment, his Lordship taking Leave of her Majesty, for that it began to be late, all the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, were called up to the Queen, as formerly they had been to the King, every one after other, bestowing himself in Obedience, and kissing the Skirt of her Highness's Kirtle, departed; being conducted by the said Dukes and Lords which both brought them to the Court, and accompanied them back again to his Lodging.

Sunday, the nineteenth Day of *May*, the King's Majesty went in Procession, first going into the Church near the Palace, called *St. Paul's*, and after, through the Town, to a Church called *St. Mary's*, in Manner as follows:

First went many Friars singing, bearing among them divers Crosses, Banners, and other Ceremonies, Relicks of the Church, the Sacrament being likewise carried by four Church Officers.

Then followed divers Noblemen, according to their Degrees.

Next, before the King's own Person, went the younger of the Princes of *Savoy*:

Then the King himself in Person: After whom followed the Cardinal being Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and with him the Prince of *Savoy*, the elder Brother. Then followed together the Prince of *Morocco*, the Emperor's Ambassador, the Ambassador of *France*, and the Ambassador of *Venice*; after whom followed divers Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, and the rest of the Train. After Dinner, there was Preparation made for the Christening of the Prince, and, for that the Court stood from the Church, there was set up, on Purpose for a more close and convenient Passage, a very large Scaffold adjoining to the End of a long Gallery, and to the Church likewise, the Timber whereof was all covered with Cloth of Gold very rich, and the Scaffold being high, was a good Means to give Sight to all the People. The Manner of their coming to Church was in this Sort: The King's Trumpets were placed near and before the Church, in several Companies, always founding, and one answering the other: About Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, there appeared, descending by the Scaffold, aforementioned, to go into the Church of *St. Paul's*, which, as is likewise said, adjoins to the Scaffold, the Knights, Lords, and Grandees, going before, and some Dukes of especial Name, bearing divers Ceremonies likewise; as the *Salera* or *Salt* borne by one, the Taper of Wax by another, the Chrism by another;

ther ; then the Crowne borne by the Constable, before whom went the King at Arms. The Prince was borne by the Duke of *Lerma*, in his Arms, but tied to him with a rich Scarf, or Band ; he was assisted by the Prince of *Savoy*, and the Conde of *Miranda*. Then followed the Infanta in a Chair, as it should seem, made for that Purpose, and borne by divers Gentlemen of the King's Bed and Privy-chamber, on their Shoulders, assisted by the younger Prince of *Savoy*. At the Church Door the Cardinal staid for them in his *Pontificalibus*, accompanied with three Bishops, and other special Officers of the Church, the Singing-Men going before, and so conducting them to the Font, which was richly prepared, and covered with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold ; the Cardinal performed all the Ceremonies according to the Order of their Church ; and so with Church-musick, noise of Trumpets, and many other Wind Instruments, they finished their Ceremonies, returning in such Manner as they went, being accompanied also with most of the great Ladies of the Kingdom, and those of the Court.

He was christened *Phillipe Domingo Victor*.

His Godfather was the elder Prince of *Savoy*, of whom he took his Name, *Victor*.

His Godmother was the Infanta, his Sister.

His Lordship was placed conveniently in the House of the Conde d'*Rubadavia*, in the Morning, both to see the Procession, as also the Going of the Prince to Christening: But, so soon as they were passed by, he, with some others, were privately conveyed through a Gallery, on the Back-side of a Monastery, into the Church, to a Place appointed on Purpose for him and the Lords that were of his Company.

On *Monday* in the Afternoon, the Ambassador-Lieger was, by his Lordship, presented to the King, and by him graciously received and allowed. That Day, in the Afternoon, came divers Ambassadors to visit his Lordship ; as first, Don *Francisco de Meschite*, Ambassador for the State of *Venice* : as also the French Ambassador, Monsieur Baron *de Barault Chevalier*, who, after some short Stay, departed. At the Time of the French Ambassador's being there, came likewise the Ambassador Resiaunt for the Emperor. His Lordship ever shewing much Affability and Courtesy, and accompanying them on their Way to their Coaches, this kind Behaviour of his, being greatly observed, caused an extraordinary Respect, and an exceeding Love of all Men towards him.

That Night also, came to visit his Lordship the Cardinal of *Toledo*, being a very stately Prelate, well descended, very rich, in his Carriage very courteous, and in his Expence liberal, as by the Apparelling of his Pages and Servants, and by his rich Sumpter-Cloths, Hangings, and such like, might well appear.

Tuesday,

Tuesday, the One-and-twentieth of *May*, his Lordship was conducted by *Don Blasco* unto the Church called *St. Mary's*, to see the Ceremony and State of the Queen's Churching, whither the King and Queen came together, the King riding on Horseback, and the Queen in a very rich Chariot of Cloth of Gold drawn by four Horses, all trapped and harnassed with Cloth of Gold; in which Chariot, likewise sat the Infanta. Next followed, in another Chariot, the young Prince, in the Arms of an ancient Lady. After followed two other Carroches of black Velvet, wherein sat divers Dutcheffes, Countesses, and other great Personages, Widows.

Then followed four other Carroches, all of one Fashion, wherein sat several Ladies, the Queen's Maids.

This was the first Day of the Queen's going abroad, and, as we counted it her *Churching-Day*.

This Day his Lordship was invited to Dinner to the Constable's, where he was accompanied by the Duke of *Alberquerque*, the Duke of *Cesa*, and others. The Manner of Feasting being not usual in *Spain*, our Company being many, could not all receive that Contentment which the Constable desired to give in general. For, the Country considered, it is much to be marvelled, how they could do what they did; but it plainly appeared, nothing was left undone for want of Cost, and that all Preparation was made, that the Country could any Way afford for their Entertainment.

Wednesday, his Lordship was visited by the Conde *de Lemos*, accompanied with divers Noblemen, and Men of good Quality.

That Day, likewise, and *Thursday*, his Lordship visited as well the Ambassadors, aforementioned, as also divers other Lords and Ladies in the Town.

Friday, the Four and Twentieth Day of *May* *Thomas Knoell*, Esq; his Highness's Servant and Messenger for the Delivery of certain Presents to the King of *Spain*, expecting and attending the King's Pleasure therein, was sent for by *Don Blasco* to come and bring the said Presents into a private Garden belonging to the Duke of *Lerma*, where the King and Queen came in Person to receive the same. The Presents were six Horses (three for the King, and three for the Queen) with Saddles and Cloths very richly embroidered and costly; two Crossbows with Sheaves of Arrows; four Fowling-pieces, with their Furnitures, all very richly garnished, and inlaid with fine Plate of Gold: and one Couple of Limehounds, of an extraordinary Goodness: Which Presents were acceptably received, the King and Queen very much observing and admiring the Richness and Fashion thereof.

On

On *Saturday*, the Five and Twentieth Day of *May*, there came to visit his Lordship the Bishop *Salustius Taernsius*, Bishop of *Montepolitan* in *Hetruria*, and Ambassador for the Duke of *Florence*. After Dinner came, likewise, to visit his Lordship, Don *Juan de Bouch Conde de Figaroa*, President of *Portugal*, with his four Sons. That Day, also, came to visit him, together with the Constable, the Conde *de Olivares*, accompanied with divers Marquisses and Earls. This Conde was one of them that was in *England*, in the Time of Queen *Mary*. The same Day, in the Afternoon, his Lordship visited the Queen, and delivered her a fair rich Jewel, as a Token from the Queen of *England*.

Sunday and *Monday*, his Lordship went Abroad to visit divers Nobles that had formerly been with him, as also spending some Part of the same Time, in concluding with the Council of *Spain*, of Matters concerning his Ambassage; and of all Things necessary for the effecting and performing the same.

Tuesday, the Eight and Twentieth Day of *May*, his Lordship, and all the rest of the Company, were invited to Dinner to the Duke of *Lerma's*, where they were most honourably entertained, receiving there all Contentment that might be; for, besides the Plenty of his Chear, the Manner of the Entertainment could not be bettered. At the Table, his Lordship, was accompanied with the Duke of *Lerma*, the Duke of *Infantazgo*, and the Duke of *Alberquerque*.

They were attended upon at this Feast, by divers Nobles, Marquisses, and Earls, with many Knights and Gentlemen of the King's Privy-chamber, and few others.

And besides the several Sorts of Musick, during the Time of Dinner, his Lordship, and the rest, having received what could be possibly given at the Table, they were carried down into a fair Court, paved with square Stone, in the Midst whereof was a Fountain of clear Water: The whole Court covered with Canvas to defend and keep off the Heat of the Sun, which at that Time shone extremely. In this Court, was, of Purpose, a Stage erected, with all things fitting for a Play, which his Lordship, and the rest, were invited to behold: The King and Queen being in private, likewise, Spectators of that Interlude. To write of every Particular of the Duke's Entertainment, were too much; for he took exceeding Care to perform all Things with the greatest State, as well appeared in this: That, for that the Kitchen was cross a square Court, there were set up high Posts of Timber, with Canvas strained, to cover and defend the same, in the Passage of the Meat from the Dresser; the Ground being likewise covered with Hanging of Leather, that no Dust should arise, whilst the Service passed by. At this Feast, several Healths were drank to the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, and

and to the happy Continuance of the Peace ; begun by the Duke of *Lerma*, seconded by his Lordship, and performed by all the Company at the Table. Many Ladies of great Account came privately to see and observe his Lordship, and the Company, as they sat at Meat, well allowing and applauding the Plenty and Bounty used at this Feast, being, indeed, such a one, as the like was not seen in *Spain* many Years before.

Wednesday, his Lordship concluded with the Constable, and *Alexander Rovida*, Senator of *Millain*, as concerning all Matters touching the Taking of the King's Oath.

Thursday, the Thirtieth Day of *May*, being *Corpus Christi*-Day, the King went in Procession and for that he would be seen by the *English*, the Course was appointed by the Gate where his Lordship lodged. The Manner was as follows :

First, came eight great Giants, three Men, three Women, and two *Moors*, with a Taber and Pipe playing, and they dancing. Then followed certain Pilgrims clad in Blue. After whom came many Crosses, being in Number Twenty-five, or Twenty-six, borne and attended by the Officers of the several Churches to which they belonged. Amongst whom were also mingled divers Pictures of Saints ; as St. *John*, St. *George* killing the Dragon, St. *Michael*, St. *Francis*, St. *Andrew*, St. *Dominick*, St. *Martin*, the Picture of *Christ* in several Forms, *Mary Magdalen*, and our Lady, in divers Fashions also. Many holy and precious Relicks, Friars, Morrice-dancers, in Manner of Gypsies, Beasts with Fire-works, Wild-men, and such-like Toys, as it should seem to draw the People more readily with Admiration. After these followed divers other Church Relicks, Friars *Augustines*. Other Friars of the Order of St. *Francis*, with their Relicks. Many Churchmen with lighted Tapers in their Hands ; the King's Pages bearing Torches : Then the Sacraments borne by four Church-men in rich Copes ; then the Lords and Grandees of *Spain* ; then followed the King, bearing a lighted Taper of Virgin-Wax ; after whom followed the Cardinal, the Emperor's Ambassador, the *French* Ambassador, and the *Venetian* Ambassador ; the Prince of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Morocco*, and others, all bearing their Tapers lighted in their Hands.

The same Day his Lordship staid till Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, until his Highness's Pleasure were known, that he was pleased as that Day to take the Oath formerly agreed on between them. About which Time there came to his Lordship Don *Blasco de Arragon*, who brought Word that the King expected his Lordship's coming to the Court as that Day ; and therefore, for the more convenient Passage of the Nobles and Gentlemen, that were to attend him thither, Order was taken, that all should be supplied with Gennets that wanted, and would send to the King's Stable for the same. Every Man being furnished, his
Lordship

Lordship set forward to the Court, the Constable and *Don Pedro de Suniga*, being sent to accompany his Lordship thither, as also divers other Knights and Lords, whose Names, for the Suddenness of their coming, and the Number of them being so many, could not be had. His Lordship's own Gentlemen were in several Coaches afore, and staid at the Court-Gate, expecting his Lordship's coming thither, where likewise great Preparation was made; divers Noblemen and others staying there to receive his Lordship and his Company. Amongst whom were the Duke of *Lerma* and some other Grandees, and those of the greatest Lords in *Spain*.

His Lordship, being thus received, was conveyed up through a long Gallery into a presence, and so into another inner Room; the Gentlemen, Knights, and Lords ever going before in very good Order. In which Room his Majesty staid for the Coming of his Lordship, receiving him with affable and kind Congratulation, and took him along with him by his Side: The King's Serjeants at Mace going first, after following all the Grandees and Lords of *Spain*, one among another; then the four Kings of Arms in their Coats of Arms; then the Duke of *Lerma*, bearing the Sword naked, wherein one Thing is especially to be noted, that the Duke bare not the Sword upright, as is the Custom of *England*, but bare it lying upon his right Shoulder; so the King and his Lords went together into a very fair Banqueting-House, very lately built, the Ambassador-Lieger, the Lords, and divers others following.

The King sitting in his Estate, his Lordship and the Ambassador-Lieger were placed upon his left Hand; the Grandees and other Noblemen of *Spain* being seated on the other Hand, two Degrees lower. Before the King was brought a little Table, whereon lay the Bible and a Crucifix upon it. The Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath with a reasonable loud Voice; at one Part of the Oath, his Lordship held the King's Hands between his; to which Oath the King swore kneeling, and laying his Hand upon the Book, and afterwards subscribed to the Articles and Agreements drawn and concluded by both Kings.

Friday, the one and thirtieth Day of *May*, his Lordship dined early, for that there was that Day appointed a Sport, which they call *Inego de Toro*, and also *Inego de Canos*; and for that his Lordship and all his Company, from the Meanest to the Highest, should have the Pleasure of the Sights, there were some appointed to see every *Englishman* furnished of convenient Room, which they did, Don *Blasco* himself taking an especial Care and Respect thereof. About the Midst of the Day, came the King and Queen riding on Horseback with many Lords and Ladies on Horseback likewise, after the *Spanish* Fashion, every Lady accompanied with one or other Man of Worth; his Lordship was placed in the Standing with the King and Queen, and the other Lords were placed not far off. There were that Day killed fourteen Bulls; the Manner whereof was in this Sort:

First, the Market-place, being very square and of a great Largeness, was round built with Scaffolds very strong; the Ground covered very thick with Sand, so that they were fain divers Times to bring in many Carts of Water, both to allay the Dust, as also to cool the Reflection of the Sun upon the Place. In which, none were appointed to be but such as were designed to play the Sports. The Bull being turned out, they shot Sticks with Sharp Pins and Pricks, which might stick fast in his Skin, thereby the more madding him; he seemed to be most valiant that durst affray the Bull in the Face, and escape untouched; but some escaped not well, for it cost them their Lives. There was another Manner of striking the Bull in the Face with short Spears, to the which went divers Lords and Gentlemen very well mounted, their Pages following them with divers Hand-spears for that Purpose! wherein many shewed good Valour, and struck the Bull very cunningly and manly; but yet some of their Gennets paid dear for it, being both hurt and killed. To this Sport came two Gentlemen one after another, and, as it was reported, supplying the Places of Champions to the King, riding on Horses blinded, and so taking their Stand, waiting for the coming of the Bull against them, very manly with a Spear of good Length and Strength, struck him in the Head, and escaped without Hurt, though not being without Danger.

After this, began their Sports of *Inego de Canas*, wherein the King himself was an Actor. First came riding twelve Drummers with Kettle-drums playing, then followed thirty Trumpeters all clad in red and white Silk Coats, then followed twelve *Açemulaes*, or great Mules, with Coverings of red Velvet, bearing Bundles of Canes, tied and chained with great Hooks of Silver; then followed the King's Gentlemen and Pages, richly suited, being to the Number of two and thirty or thereabouts. After them were led by several Grooms six and twenty riding Horses richly covered.

For the two Princes of *Savoy* were shewed: First two Pages riding, bearing on their Arms Targets all white; after whom were led three Horses covered with Caparisons of black Velvet, embroidered richly with Pearl; then followed twelve other Horses, clad likewise in black Velvet, but embroidered with Silver.

For the Duke of *Lerma*, were led six Horses with Caparisons of White and Red; the Grooms and Pages attending, and all alike suited.

For the Constable, were led four and twenty Horses of Service covered with White and Green, his Pages and Grooms also alike suited.

The Number of Horsemen that shewed themselves in these Sports. were Four-score, whose Names hereafter follow, according to a Note thereof delivered by one of good Worth, and of especial Respect with the King.

1. *Quadril.*

The King	The Duke of <i>Lerma</i>
Duke of <i>Cea</i>	Conde de <i>Gelves</i>
Marquis of <i>St. German</i>	Don <i>Hen. de Gofeman</i>
Conde de <i>Mayald</i>	Don <i>Petro de Costro</i>
Marquis de la <i>Venessa</i>	Don <i>Garcia de Figueroa.</i>

2. *Quadril.*

Don <i>Diego de Sandoval</i>	Don <i>Antonio de S. Fago</i>
Don <i>Alonso Lopes de Mella</i>	Don <i>Diego de Sebro</i>
Don <i>Lewis de Alcarath</i>	Don <i>Galvan</i>
Don <i>Diego Nino</i>	Don <i>Pedro de Arietta</i>
Don <i>Diego de Lieva</i>	Don <i>Hieronomo de Sandoval.</i>

3. *Quadril.*

Duke of <i>Infantasgo</i>	Don <i>Diego Sarmiento</i>
Conde de <i>Barasa</i>	Conde de <i>Paredes</i>
Conde de <i>Corunna</i>	Conde de <i>Lodosa</i>
Conde de <i>Nieva</i>	Don <i>Juan de Tassis</i>
The Admiral of <i>Arragon</i>	Don <i>Lewis Enriques.</i>

4. *Quadril.*

The Constable of <i>Castile</i>	Marquis de <i>Cuelar</i>
Conde de <i>Aguillar</i>	Marquis del <i>Carpio</i>
Don <i>Barnardino de Velasco</i>	Don <i>Francisco de Velasco</i>
Don <i>Antonio de Velasco</i>	Don <i>Alonso de Velasco</i>
Don <i>Manuel de Cuniga</i>	Don <i>Andreas Velasques.</i>

5. *Quadril.*

The Duke of <i>Alva</i>	Conde de <i>Salinas</i>
Marquis de <i>Villanueva</i>	Don <i>Martin Valerio</i>
Don <i>Pedro de Cuniga S. de flores</i>	Don <i>Manuel de Alencastro</i>
Marquis de <i>Tarara</i>	Don <i>Diego Piementel</i>
Conde de <i>Ayala</i>	Marquis de <i>Cerralva.</i>

6. *Quadril.*

6. *Quadril.*

The Duke of <i>Pastrana</i>	Conde de <i>Cofentagua</i>
Comendador Mayor de <i>Montesa</i>	Don Carlos de <i>Borja</i>
Marquis de <i>Fuentes</i>	Don Lewis <i>Nino</i>
Don Pedro de <i>Fonseca</i>	Don Ferdinando de la <i>Cedar</i>
Don Bernardino de <i>Rozas</i>	Don Juan <i>Vicentela</i> .

7. *Quadril.*

Conde de <i>Alvalista</i>	Don Bernardino de <i>Toledo</i>
Don Ferdinando de <i>Toledo</i>	Don Antonio de <i>Toledo</i>
Don Philipho de <i>Valencia</i>	Don Francisco Congusta.
Don Lewis de <i>Gozman</i>	Don Juan de <i>Gozman</i>
Marquis de <i>Alcanes</i>	Marquis de <i>Fales</i> .

8. *Quadril.*

The Prince of <i>Savoy</i>	The Prior of <i>Ivan</i>
Marquis de <i>Dofte</i>	Don Diego de las <i>Marinas</i>
Don Francisco de <i>Cordova</i>	Don Juan de <i>Heredia</i>
Don Alvard de <i>Mendoza</i>	Don Pero <i>Mune</i>
Don Francisco <i>Finea</i>	Don Pedro de <i>Licamo</i> .

At their first Appearance, they came riding in by Couples two after two, very swiftly, richly attired with their Targets on their Shoulders, holding and shaking long Staffs, such as the *Moors* or *Arabians* are described to use. When they were all come, they divided themselves to Sides, every Side into four Squadrons, every Squadron being Ten in Number; when they were ready, holding their Staffs in their Hands, the King's Side gave the first Charge; the other Side undertaking the same, and charging on them likewise; thus they continued still chacing one another, Squadron upon Squadron, throwing their Canes one after another, by the Space of a long Hour or better: and so their Sports ended.

Saturday, the First of June, his Lordship was invited by the King to see a Muster of armed Men, in a Place called *El Campo*, being Lances, light Horse Men, and Carbines, to the Number of Two-thousand, whereof the Duke of *Lerma* was the General. His Lordship stood with the King and Queen; the rest of the *English* were placed in a Scaffold, built for them of Purpose, which said Soldiers, being divided, made some Shew of Sallies each upon other, very pleasing and Warlike;

Warlike ; and, after a few Skirmishes, drew themselves into a Ring, and, marching along under the Window where his Majesty stood, departed.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday were used as Days of Rest after their great Feasts, and spent only in Visitation and Matters of Compliment with one or other.

Wednesday, his Lordship dispatched Sir *John Trevor* for *England*, with Letters of Intelligence to his Highness, who took with them the *Advantage*, which lay at *St. Anderas* with the rest of the Ships.

Thursday, the sixth Day of *June*, his Lordship was appointed both to dine and sup early, which he did, because both his Lordship, as also all the other *English* Lords and Gentlemen, were invited to see a Mask ; about six o'Clock therefore, came Don *Blasco* to conduct his Lordship and the rest thro' a private Gallery of the King's, which joined to his Lordship's Lodging, to the appointed Place, which was the new-built Banqueting-house formerly spoken of, by them termed the *Gransala* or *Great-Room*, where was appointed very convenient Room for his Lordship and the rest of his Followers. The Room was garnished with three hundred and twenty Wax-lights, all set in Standards of Silver of divers Fashions, some great and some small. After two or three several Songs, sung by divers Voices in Parts, placed severally in the same Hall for that Purpose, the Mask appeared, and began as follows :

First came thirty Musicians, clad in long Garments of Taffaty, garnished well to the Shew, playing on several Instruments ; after whom followed six Virgins dancing, one bearing in her Hand a Sun, another a Branch of Olive Tree, another an Anchor, another a Sword with two Points, on either Point a Bunch of Flowers.

Then followed a Chariot, made of an antique Fashion, being drawn by two live Horses, but exceeding little ; in the upper Part whereof sat the Infanta, with a Scepter of Gold in her Hand, with the Picture of a Dove on the upper End thereof ; at her Feet sat two Virgins, who attended her ; on either Side went divers Pages, bearing Torches of white Wax.

At the upper End of the Hall was appointed a very rich State, all of Mason's Work, ascending up by Degrees, richly gilded and garnished with divers Statues, all gilt over ; in which were planted three Chairs, two great and one lesser, and that between the other two ; in which middle Chair the Infanta, being taken out from her Chariot, was placed ; the two Virgins near her, and the other six upon the Degrees at the Foot of the Estate.

At the nether End of the said Hall stood the Maskers in a Gallery contrived for the Purpose, who, upon the drawing of a Curtain, appeared as it were in Clouds ; the Number of them were eight-and-twenty Knights and Ladies, besides Torch-bearers,

bearers, whereof the King and Queen were two, the rest all Grandees and Men of great Honour, the Ladies were all the Queen's Maids. The said Gallery being built in Manner of an Arch, and fully set with Looking-glasses, with the Light of the Torches shone as if it had been garnished with an infinite Number of Stars; the Music playing, the Maskers descended by four and four at a Time, on a Stage made in Fashion of a Cloud, and so dancing to the upper End of the Hall; before they could return back, other four appeared, and so joined altogether, until the Number came forth, and then danced altogether in good Form and Measure.

After divers Dances and Measures appointed of Purpose for this Shew, the King and Queen, and so likewise all the Company, unmasked themselves; the King and Queen taking their Seats in the Places and Chairs beforementioned, before whom were divers Galliards danced by the several Lords and Ladies unmasked; the Earl of *Perth* and the Lord *Willoughby* were invited, and danced likewise: The King and Queen divers Times sallied out from their Chairs of State, and danced openly. At last they began a calling Dance, which was begun by the Duke of *Lerma*, holding a Torch lighted in his left Hand. The Manner was, every Man called forth two Women, chusing one especial, conducted the other to her Place, and left the Chosen to call out two Men, who, likewise delivering the Torch to one especial, conducted the other to his Seat. Thus it passed to and fro amongst many of the great Lords and Ladies; at last the King was called, and his Lordship the Earl of *Nottingham* likewise; but, the Torch being given to the King, his Lordship was again brought to his Seat. The King called forth the Queen and another, and, after a few Traverses, when the Time came he should have chosen and delivered up his Torch, he delivered it to a Page standing by, and so the Sports ended.

Friday, the Seventh of *June*, his Lordship was appointed to take Leave of the King, and so set forward on his Journey for *England*; therefore taking Notice of his Lordship's Desire of Return, he ordered he should have Audience in the Afternoon. In the mean Time his Highness sent, by Don *Pedro Suniga* and some others, divers Chains of Gold, to the Number of fourteen or thereabouts, to some of the King's Servants, and his Lordship's chief Officers; having likewise before sent, by Don *Pedro Cuniga*, unto the Lords and many other Knights, and especial Men of his Lordship's Company and Train, several Jewels and Chains, very rich. About four of the Clock in the Afternoon, his Highness sent to his Lordship a very rich Present of Jewels, both for himself and his Lady, which were presented to him by Don *Blasco*, and brought by the Masters and Officers of the Jewel-house, who were by him well gratified and rewarded.

Not

Not long after, the Constable and others came to give his Lordship Knowledge of the Conveniency of the Time for our coming to the Court ; whereupon his Lordship, accompanied with the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of his Train, in several Coaches, went to the Court, where they were received by divers Lords and Officers of the Court at the Palace-gate, from whence the King's Guard made a Passage even to the King's Chamber : The King staid to receive his Lordship in a Gallery, which was long, but narrow, with whom his Lordship had Conference in private, for the Space of three Quarters of an Hour ; and, fearing to give Offence by Tedioufness, made Motion to his Highness, that the Lords and others of his Company, might likewise take their Leaves ; the King very well pleased therewith, the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen took their Leaves, being generally well respected of his Majesty. To conclude all, his Lordship took his Leave also, receiving many gracious and kind Words from his Majesty, as also a Ring with a Diamond, said to be of the Value of three-thousand Pounds, which he put upon his Lordship's Finger ; and, as he said, in Token of wedding him in true Love perpetually, commanding the Duke of *Infantazgo* to conduct his Lordship and the rest to the Queen in like Manner, to take their Leave of her Majesty.

Being brought to the Queen, where she sat under a Cloth of State, with the Ladies and Maids of Honour about her, for that it was late, his Lordship made no long Stay ; after a short time spent in Compliment, he took his Leave of her Highness, and also did all other the Lords and Knights of the Train, to whom the Queen most respectfully bowing herself with much Favour and Grace gave them a kind farewell.

His Lordship now thoroughly furnished of all convenient Means for his Journey, about Five of the Clock the same Day, being *Saturday*, and the eighth Day of *June*, set forward, being accompanied in his Coach with the Constable and divers other Noblemen in other Coaches, accompanying his Lordship a Mile or more out of the Town, where they, taking their Leaves, departed. That Night they rode six Leagues, to a Town called *Duenas*. The next day being *Sunday*, we rode nine Leagues, to a Town called *Fromista* ; where, for that Don *Blasco* and others were behind, his Lordship thought good to stay all *Monday*, lest the Weather, being very hot, might too much trouble them in riding Post, and those that were to come after. That Night Don *Blasco* overtook his Lordship at *Fromista*.

Tuesday, the Eleventh of *June*, his Lordship dined at *Oforno*, and somewhat late after Dinner rode to *Herrera* to Bed, where he was lodged in a fair House of the Constable of *Castile*. Within this House are placed divers Pillars, with

Letters engraven after the Manner of the *Roman* Infcription; and so they plainly appear to be Monuments of the *Romans*, and left as Relicks of their being in that Country.

Wednesday, the Twelfth of *June*, his Lordship rode from thence eight Leagues, and lodged at a Town called *Aguillar de Campo*; the Marquis of *Aguillar* being Lord thereof.

Thursday, we rode forward seven Leagues, to a Town called *Rynoso*; a Town seated in the Midst of the Mountains.

On *Friday*, his Lordship rode to *Villa Concha* to Dinner, being three Leagues, and very ill Way, after Dinner, we rode four Leagues furthur, to a Town called *Villa Civil*, to Bed; being the worst Way, and the worst Place of Entertainment we had in the whole Country of *Spain*, being indeed seated amongst Mountains, which harbour many Bears, Wolves, and wild beasts, and wherewith the Country round about is much troubled.

Saturday, the fifteenth Day of *June*, we came to *St. Anderas*, being distant from *Villa Civil* seven Leagues, where his Lordship was received by the Magistrates, and Officers a Mile out of the Town. All the streets were strewed with Rushes and Herbs, and decked with Boughs; and, at his entrance into the Town, they gave him many great Ordnance, with a Volley of small Shot.

That Night the Ambassador-Lieger, *Don Pedro de Suniga*, who accompanied the King to *Burgos*, came also to *St. Anderas*, where during the Time of his Stay, his Lordship expressed his Bounty, by rewarding *Don Blasco* the *Aposentador*, and all the King's other Officers and Servants, with great Chains of Gold, fair Jewels of good Value, and large Sums of Money, to their general Contentment.

Sunday, *Monday*, and *Tuesday*, his Lordship rested at *St. Anderas*, as well for that the Horses sent by the King, his Lordship's own Horses, and the Ambassador-Lieger's Horses, came not till *Tuesday*, as also for furnishing the Ships with fresh Water and Victuals for his Return for *England*: And on *Sunday* in the Afternoon his Lordship invited the *Aposentador*, Mayor, *Don Blasco de Arragon*, and others, A-board the Ships, where he made them a very great Banquet, and, at their going off, saluted them with many Pieces of Ordnance.

His Lordship having, on *Wednesday* the Nineteenth of *June*, with all Expedition that conveniently might be, shipped the Horses, and supplied the Ships with all needful Provisions, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon came A-board his Ship called the *Bear*, lying at a Road a long *English* Mile from the Town, bringing also with him *Don Pedro de Cuniga*, who tarried and supped with his Lordship that Night. After Supper, his Lordship commanded his Barge to convey

convey him to his appointed Lodging, which was in the *Repulse*, where he entered, the Trumpets sounding, and being saluted with many Shot of great Ordnance.

In the same Road his Lordship anchored till *Thursday*, and upon *Thursday* we put to Sea; but, for that the Tide was spent, and the Wind falling out contrary after an Hour or two's Sailing, we were driven to cast Anchor, resting that Night till the next Tide; at which Time his Lordship hoisted Sail and put to Sea, and, with scant Wind, failed *Friday* and *Saturday*. On *Sunday* the Weather fell out very foul and stormy, insomuch as the *Waste-shight* spent in that storm her Main-mast, but escaped further Danger. *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, we failed but with very unconstant Winds, being many Times becalmed. On *Thursday* afternoon the Land was descried, but very far off: That Day and Night we failed within Sight of Land; and, upon *Friday*, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor before *Portsmouth*, but somewhat far into the Sea. That Night also came the *Waste-shight*, who made great Means to come so soon, having spent her Main-mast, as is aforesaid. Some of our Company made hard Shift that Night to go on Shore, enduring the Hardness of the Weather, which fell out all that Evening.

On *Saturday* Morning early, his Lordship went in his Barge to the *Repulse*, wherein Don *Pedro* was, and, knowing that the said Don *Pedro* much desired to be on Land, having indeed endured much Sickness at Sea, took him into his Barge, and so, with the Company of some other Boats and Pinnaces, came on Shore at *Portsmouth*, before Eight of the Clock in the Morning, where they were received with many Shot of great Ordnance from the Castles, Forts, and Walls of the Town. On the Shore stood Sir *Lewis Lucas*, Knight, accompanied with the Mayor and Officers of the Town, ready to receive the said Ambassadors, being, as it should seem, appointed so to do by the King and Lords of the Council. That Day every one hastened to get off their Luggage from the Ships, preparing to go forwards likewise on their Way toward *London*.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, his Lordship rested there, went to the Church, and heard a Sermon publickly.

Monday, his Lordship having, as well by Means of the King's Officers and Servants, who were sent for the Purpose thither, as by his own Care, provided for all Necessaries to supply him in his Journey towards *London*, about Eleven of the Clock, set forward, riding in his Carroch, and taking the said Don *Pedro* along with him; and so came that Night to *Alton*, where they lodged.

Tuesday, the Second of *July*, his Lordship rode from *Alton*, and lodged that Night at *Guildford*, having taken special Care, both that Don *Pedro*, the Amba-

fador-Lieger, whom his Lordship had brought along in Company, should be respectively provided for himself, as was fitting; as also all other his Followers most plentifully supplied for all Necessaries in their Travel, and that freely, without Charge or Expence to any of them.

Wednesday, they rode forward towards *Kingston*, where the *Conde de Villa Mediana* and others staid, expecting the coming of the said Ambassador; and where also his Lordship had bountifully provided for their Entertainment in general.

Thursday, his Lordship having appointed the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, and some others of the better Sort, to accompany the said Ambassador, and the *Conde de Villa Mediana* to *London*, he himself with the rest of his Company, rode for *Windsor* Castle, where as then the King lay, for his Pleasure of Hunting; who, there presenting themselves to his Majesty, were of him most graciously entertained and welcomed. At which Time also his Lordship received further Order from his Highness, when he would be pleased to give Audience to the said Ambassador, and to admit him to his Royal Presence, according to Appointment; which was accordingly performed, at the Court at *White-hall*, on *Sunday*, the fourteenth Day of the said Month of *July* following,

Now, for that it doth not fully appear by this former Relation of his Lordship's Travel and Journey, how honourably and with what Respect he and his whole Company were received and entertained, ye shall understand, That, *first*, upon our Landing at the *Groyne*, the Governor of *Galicia*, as is afore rehearsed, and, as it should seem, by direct Order from his Majesty, upon the former Arrival of certain Ships, wherein were the Horses and other Presents, sent from his Majesty to the King of *Spain*, had drawn together much People, and that of the better Sort of the whole Country, on Purpose to make a Shew both of the Strength of the Country, as also to be the more ready to do Service, in supplying the *English* with all Necessaries; and, for this Purpose also, their greatest Care was, that, during our Abode there, there might appear no Want of any Thing. His Lordship, as is afore said, was lodged in the Governor's House, which of itself was very little, and not able to give Entertainment to so great a Company. Therefore especial Care was taken, that every Man might, according to his Estate, be lodged as conveniently, and as sufficiently, as the Place would give Leave, the Town being much decayed, by Reason of the late Wars, nor as yet re-edified since the Sackage thereof by Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Francis Drake*: But we must acknowledge, that, for the greatest Part, every Man was lodged there, without Exception. The Care for Lodging was not so much, as was their exceeding Care, they had for Provision, Victuals, and Viands to serve the Company, that Country of *Galicia* being indeed very mountainous and unfruitful. And there-

fore, although his Lordship was very sufficiently provided for at the Governor's House, and that since the Room there, being little, could not by any Means supply all, Order was taken, that, in every House, wherein any *Englishman* lodged, Provision of Diet was made for him and his Servants, at the King's proper Cost; wherein of Necessity we must observe both the great Charge, as also the great Care, that was taken to supply all Necessaries in the best Fashion: Notwithstanding which, there was daily provided so large a Table, as conveniently could be, for all such Knights and Gentlemen, as would at their pleasure come to attend and keep his Lordship Company at Meat; this Entertainment beginning the first Day of our Arrival at the *Groyne*, which was the sixteenth Day of *April*, and continuing all the Time of our being in the *Groyne*, which was till the Third of *May* following; what Time we set forward on our Land-journey, being then likewise furnished of Mules, both for Riding and Carriage, all upon the King's Charge.

The Number of Mules, sent to his Lordship for Riding and Carriage, were eight-hundred, or thereabouts, whereof twenty-four were great Afs-mules, of the King's Provision, and appointed for his Lordship's own Carriages; besides the Mules for the *Spaniards* themselves, and their Necessaries, which were esteemed above four-hundred. The Muletters, to regard these Mules were numbered to be above three-hundred.

The Company of *English* were accounted six-hundred and fifty. Besides these, the King sent many of every Office in Court, some with the *Aposentador*, Mayor, aforementioned, as divers others *Aposentadors*, or Harbingers; Stewards, Ushers for the Chambers, Sewers, and Officers for the Table; Officers of the Ewery, Pantry, Cellar, Chaundry; forty of the *Spanish* Guard to serve the Table, Pastry-cooks, and such like. Every of these being particularly furnished with such Necessaries as belonged to his Office, as we might well perceive; for that, through the whole Journey, they were fain to carry by Mules, from Place to Place, all the said Necessaries for their Service; as, Plate, Linnen, Bedding, Hangings, Chairs, Tables, Forms; Pastry-boards, Kitchen-furniture, Racks, Spits, Pans, and such like; as also most of their Provision of Meal, Wine, Oil, Vinegar, Herbs, Fruit, Sweet-meats, and such other: Wherein the said Officers did so carefully and wisely behave themselves, that it appeared there wanted no Will in them, either in Care or Pains, to give Contentment to the whole Company of the *English*. This Charge of the King's endured until the Return of his Lordship to the Ships at *St. Anderas*, with very little Difference, either of Meats, or Service, at any Time. Whither for that the Way from the *Groyne* was by Experience found to be both long and ill, his Lordship had formerly directed,

rected the Ships to go there to abide and stay his Return, being indeed not above Half the Way from *Valladolid*, in Comparifon of his Journey from the *Groyne*. Both in our Going and Return, we might well obferve how joyful our Coming feemed to the common People, both by their Manner of Behaviour, which was curteous, as alfo by their Speeches, which were moft kind; who, for that they found by Experience the ill Reports made heretofore of our Nation altogether untrue, admiring our Civility and good Behaviour, being clean contrary to that which had been formerly preached unto them by their Churchmen and Friars, we received that kind Congratulation and Ufage, that was poffible for them to give, and us, as Strangers and Travellers, to receive. Infomuch as well we obferved, as we paffed, the Country had taken exceeding Care to make the Ways both eafy and pleafing for us to pafs, digging down Hills in many Places, and mending the Ways with Timber, Stones, and Earth, no doubt, to their great Pains and Charge.

By which it moft plainly appeared, with what Joy and Comfort they received the Peace generally, manifefting the fame as well by their Deeds as Words; and, no Doubt, performed much more Thankfulnefs to their King, for procuring it, than they would make Shew of Joy to us, for obtaining it.

And yet, what Words might exprefs, that might we daily hear; for we might obferve, how they preached the fame in Pulpits, and fpake of the fame, even in their open Plays and Interludes, making, as they faid, many Feafts and Joys for the bleffed Peace.

The Bounty of the King in Gifts, as well to his Lordfhip, as to divers other of his Followers, together with the great Charge his Highnefs was at, during our Abode there, gave us not fo good Contentment in general, as did the good Esteem and Behaviour, we found in all, from the Higheft to the Meanef, upon every Occafion miniftered to them to fhew the fame, either in particular, or in general: His Lordfhip receiving all very thankfully, and not without a reciprocal Shew of his Bounty and Good-will again, being indeed of his Purfe not fparing, and (with Pardon be it fpoken) as liberal, in his Degree, as was neceffary: Whofe Carriage and Behaviour, during the whole Journey, being fuch, and, upon good Intelligence, fufficiently known to his Majefty, who employed him, and by him is both graciously allowed and accepted; he himfelf hath Caufe fufficient of Gladnefs, and no other Caufe of Exception in any Sort. So, concluding with the Bleffing of our Saviour, *Beati Pacifici*, let us pray to Almighty God to make his Majefty as carelefs of War, as he, from Time to Time, in his great Judgment, fhall find Peace to be neceffary; his People and Subjects ever obedient to all his Defigns and Appointments, either in War or Peace; and his Majefty himfelf
bleffed

bleſſed with long Life, Health, and Ability to undergo either, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to the Divine Majeſty. *Amen.*

The Hiſtory of the *Gunpowder-Treafon*: Collected from Approved Authors, as well *Popiſh* as *Proteſtant*.

*Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc ſunt, & furias in ipſo jam ſucceſſu ſecuras ſubita ultio excipiat ;
ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel ſpes abſit calamitoſæ virtuti.*

Jo. Barclaii Conſpiratio Anglicana.

Printed 1678.

THERE are no Conſpiracies and Inſurrections more dangerous to States and Governments, than thoſe, that the Name of Religion is made to patroniſe ; for, when that doth head and manage the Party, as it makes it look ſomewhat conſiderable in itſelf, ſo it doth inſpire thoſe, that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate Zeal, and an ungovernable Violence : They then rebel with Authority, and kill with a ſafe Conſcience, and think they cannot do amiſs, as long as it is to do God Service. *The Brother will then deliver up the Brother to Death; and the Father the Child ; and the Children will riſe up againſt their Parents, and cauſe them to be put to Death ;* and the Laws of Nature, which are of themſelves ſacred and inviolable, ſhall, in ſuch a Caſe, be deſpiſed, and loſe their Authority. This, this is it, which, in theſe latter Ages more eſpecially, hath diſturbed Governments, diſpoſed of the Crowns of Princes, and troubled the Peace of the World : From hence ſpring all thoſe Miſchiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this Nation, during the long and fortunate Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* : From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody Deſign of the *Gun-powder Treafon*, in 1605 : Such a Deſign, as the World before never heard of, and which Poſterity will hardly believe, for the Horror of it, ſay the ſoberer of their own Authors : Such a Deſign, as even ſome of the Jeſuits, after it miſcarried, and they ſaw how ill it was reſented by the reſt of Mankind, profeſſed their Detestation of; but how little to their own Vindication, and the Satisfaction of the World, will eaſily appear to any one, that doth impartially inquire into the Hiſtory and the Proceſs of it. For this Deſign was not taken up of a ſudden, and
what

what a small Company of rash and hot-headed Persons did without Consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same Original, and was carried on by the same Counsels and Endeavours, that were in Being in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Principals in which, for their Time, were, *Garnet*, the Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *Baldwin* in *Flanders*, and *Creswel* in *Spain*: These were the great Projectors and Encouragers of that which was called the *Spanisht* *Treason*, in the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth*; and which when defeated in by her Death, and the Peace that issued upon it betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, they were put upon new Counsels, and forced to take other Measures for the Prosecution of it.

It was in *December*, in the Year 1601, that *Thomas Winter* was sent into *Spain*, by the joint Advice of *Henry Garnet* and *Oswald Tesmond*, Jesuits, and of *Robert Catesby* and *Francis Tresham*, Gentlemen of good Quality and Reputation, to try what could be done for *their* Assistance, that were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Catholick Cause; and to assure the King of *Spain*, that, could they but prevail with him to send over an Army, they would have in Readiness Fifteen-hundred, or Two-thousand Horses for the Service. With *Winter* was sent over *Oswald Tesmond*, and by them a Letter to *Treswel*, the Jesuit, then residing there; by whose Mediation the Motion was readily hearkened to, and *Don Pedro Francesca*, second Secretary of State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, did assure them of the King's Furtherance and Help; and, in the Conclusion, the Count of *Miranda* particularly told them, that his Master had resolved to bestow 200,000 Crowns to that Use, Half to be paid that Year, and the rest the next following; and that, at *Spring*, he would, without Fail, set Footing in *England*.

About the latter End of the Year, *Thomas Winter* returns with this joyful News, that they were now busy in preparing for it, and almost every Day expecting the Arrival of these Forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was *March* the Twenty-fourth, 1602. Upon this, one of the *Wrights* is immediately dispatched into *Spain*, to give the King Notice of it; and about the same Time was *Guy Fawkes* sent, with Letters and Commission, from Sir *William Stanley*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Baldwin* the Jesuit (who were then in *Flanders*, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same Design) but that King told them, that he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such Proposals, after he had sent Ambassadors to the new King of *England* to treat of a Peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their Design fall, or to betake themselves to some other Course to effect it: But the former their Temper and their Principles would not permit; and therefore,

fore, since they could not promise themselves Success therein by Force, they did contrive how, without any Noise, or visible and open Preparations, it might be obtained.

That the King or Queen, who is an Heretick, may be deposed or killed, was current Doctrine amongst them, in the Time of Queen *Elisabeth*, and what they had been taught from Father *Creswel*, or whoever was the Author of the Book called *Philopater*, and by *Tresham*, in his Book, *De Officio hominis Christiani*, found with them about this Time. And, though the King was not formally declared and proceeded against, as such, yet it was thought sufficient, by them, that the Pope, on *Maundy Thursday*, did censure and condemn all Hereticks in the General, as *Guy Fawkes* and others of them did confess; and therefore the Question was not so much about the Lawfulness of it, as about the Order that was to be observed, and the Way that was fit to be taken in it. *Catesby*, who was no Novice in these Affairs, and that, from his Acquaintance with *Parsons*, when in *England*, and *Garnet*, and the other Jesuits (to whose Order he and his Family, from *Champion* down to this Time, were particularly devoted) had learned great Skill and Subtlety, quickly contrived this for them; and, when *Percy*, who was of the House of *Northumberland*, and at that Time one of the King's Pensioners, according to the Bluntness of his Temper, did offer himself for the Service, and that he would, without any more Ado, undertake to assassinate the King, this wary Gentlemen replied: That would be too dear a Purchase, when his own Life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; and so acquaints him in Part with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it necessary, that there should be some Care taken to oblige all to Secrecy; for which Purpose, an Oath was devised, that every one should take, and which was accordingly administered to them by *Gerrard* the Jesuit. The Oath was:

“ You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament, you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly nor indirectly, by Word or Circumstance, the Matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you Leave.”

This was taken, and the Sacrament upon it received by *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Christopher Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawkes*, in May 1604.

Upon which *Catesby* communicated the Whole, and told them, that, at the Meeting of Parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair Opportu-

nity to consummate all their Wishes, and without being observed or discovered, by one fatal Blow to destroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once ; for, as long as there were those Branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what Purpose would it be to make away the King? And, as long as there was a Parliament in Being, what should they get, if they could not as well destroy the Branches, as the Root? Therefore his Design was to extirpate at once all the Seeds of Heresy, and, by a Train of Powder conveniently laid under the House, in which at that Time they should all be assembled, to blow them up and their Cause together. This was what the Confederates very well approved of, and now they united Counsels and Endeavours to carry it on.

The first Thing to be considered was the Hiring of the House, and this *Percy* undertook, and, having, not without some Difficulty, persuaded the present Tenant, *Ferris*, to quit it, he became immediate Tenant to *Whinyard*, Keeper of the Wardrobe ; at whose Disposal it was, in the Intervals of Parliament. The House was committed to the Care of *Fawkes*, as being least known ; who, the better to conceal himself, changed his Name to *Johnson*, and gave himself out to be *Percy's* Servant. Whilst they were thus busy in contriving and carrying on their Plot, the Parliament was prorogued till *February* the Seventh, upon which they dispersed themselves into several Countries ; but, to lose no Time, did think of taking in some other Persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some Help from. *Catesby* was sensible, that he had given *Thomas Bates*, a Servant of his, that attended him, too great Cause of Suspicion, and upon Examination found him to have observed somewhat from his Proceedings, and therefore invited him into the Undertaking ; but he, somewhat surpris'd at the Horror of it, began to decline it, till his Master referred him for Advice to *Tesmond* ; unto whom imparting it in Confession, the subtle Priest both invited him to it, as a Work of great Merit, and obliged him to Secrecy and Fidelity therein. Then were *Robert Keyes*, and the other *Wright*, Gentlemen, and *Ambrose Rockwood*, and *John Grant*, and *Robert Winter*, Esquires, admitted into the Number. In *Michaelmas*-Term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a Storehouse for the Timber which they should use in the Mine that they intended to make, and for the Powder and other Materials ; from whence they might fetch it, as Occasion served. And such a Place they found and took at *Lambeth*. *December* the Eleventh, they began to work ; but, what from the Difficulty of the Work (the Wall, that they were to make their Way through, being three Ells thick) what from their Want of Skill in it, and of being used to such kind of Labour, they found that their Time would be too short

short for their Enterprize, and they began to despair of Success in it. But, when under this Irresolution and Discouragement, their Hopes were revived by two unexpected Accidents: For, *first*, the Parliament was adjourned to the Fifth of *October* following; by which Means they should have Time before them. And, then, they had an Opportunity of hiring a Vault much more for their Turn, than the Mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the Knowledge of, upon this Occasion: As they were one Day busy at their Work, they were not a little frightened by an unusual Noise on the other Side of the Wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their Weapons with a Resolution of dying upon the Place. But *Fawkes*, who was sent out to make Discovery, returns with Joy to tell them that it was only the Removing of Coals, that were laid in the adjoining Vault or Cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire; thither they brought their Stores. By this Means they gained a double Advantage: *First*, that their Business was brought into a less Room, which was more for their Ease and Safety; and, *then*, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon such a Cause, to them intolerable Labour; for this was a Mine, as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the Royal Throne, that they could not have chose any Thing more commodious. And now they were at Leisure, not so much to think of this Design (for that was brought to its Head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other Part of it. The King and Prince *Henry*, they did not doubt, would fall in the common Calamity; but the Duke being but four Years old, they thought, would be absent; of him, therefore, *Percy* took the Charge, and said he would attend about the Chamber till the Blow was given, and then in a Trice convey him away, with the Help of two or three, that should be ready on Horseback: Which they might the more easily do, as many of the Court would be that Day upon Attendance, and perish with the rest; and the others would by it be put into Confusion, and unprovided to make any Opposition. As for the Lady *Elisabeth*, she might be reserved, and her Name made Use of by them in stilling and composing the Minds of the People, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her Authority in; and her they might the more easily gain into their Hands, as she was now at the Lord *Harrington's*, at *Comb-Abbey* in *Warwickshire*, whereabouts they might securely be, under the Pretence of an Hunting-match, and with the first News there surprize her.

In the mean Time, was Care taken to give Notice Abroad, whom they might trust; and, in *March* 1605, is *Fawkes* sent over to Sir *William Stanley* and

Hugh Owen, and with Letters from *Garnet* to *Baldwin*, the Legier Jesuit in *Flanders*. Sir *William* was absent, but, having first administered the Oath of Secrecy to *Owen*, he acquaints him with the Plot; who promised to give his utmost Assistance, and to dispose Sir *William* to it (whom he thought it not fit, for the present, to communicate it to, for Fear he might be discovered, and fail in a Design that he was then about, in the Court of *England*.)

To the twenty Barrels of Powder, laid in at first, they added, in *July*, twenty more with Bars of Iron and massy Stones, and at the last made up the Number thirty-six; over which they laid a thousand Billets and five-hundred Faggots. And, at a Meeting at the *Bath* of *Percy* and *Catesby*, it was agreed, that *Catesby* should take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir *Everard Digby*, that promised to advance fifteen-hundred Pounds towards it; and Mr. *Francis Tresham*, that gave him Assurance of two-thousand Pounds.

All Things thus being in a Readiness, the Parliament was again prorogued till the Fifth of *November*; upon which they retired, with a Promise of meeting about ten Days before: At which Time, *Catesby* being informed by *Winter*, at a House by *Enfield-chace*, that the Prince was not likely to be present with the King, there was another Plot laid to surprise him, if it should so happen.

The Time drew very near, and they, that had past so long without Discovery, seemed now to be above the Fear of it. All Things had so happily concurred to further their Design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their Success, than to fear it. But God, that had a Reserve of Favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the Wise in their own Craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the Detection and Overthrow of it might appear to be more from his, than Man's Providence. When *Catesby* first thought of this, the great Difficulty, with him, was about the Lawfulness of destroying the Innocent with the Guilty: For the Blow would know no Difference betwixt the Catholick and an Heretick, betwixt a Friend or a Foe. When the Nobles and the Commons, those that were a Part of that Assembly, and those that came to be Auditors and Spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the House; when no less than Thirty-thousand must perish at once by it (as *Barclay* saith it was computed) it must needs be, that many, whom they wished well to, and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their Cause, must be Part of the Sacrifice. What an Havock would thirty-six Barrels, or nine or ten thousand Pounds of Powder make, loaded thus with Bars of Iron, massy Stones, and great Pieces of Timber? How would it tear the Foundations of the strongest Buildings, throw down all the Tops of the neighbouring Houses, and bury all
within

within the Ruins of both? What would become of their Friends and Allies, those that they had received much Kindness from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an Injury? How many Families must they undo, by the Loss of Relations, Estates, and Records which were there deposited? This, and much more, was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some Kind of Horror, if they had but one Spark of Humanity left untouched by their unnatural Religion. What must therefore be done? To whom should he resort for Counsel, but to his fast Friend, Father *Garnet*? To him he opens the Case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this Manner:

“Whether, for the Good and Promotion of the Catholick Cause (the Necessity of Time and Occasion so requiring) it be lawful, or not, amongst many Nocents, to destroy and take away some Innocents also?”

To which the Jesuit replies, That, if the Advantage was greater, on the Side of the Catholicks, by the Destruction of the Innocent with the Nocent, than by the Preservation of both; it was doubtless lawful; further explaining himself by this Comparison: That, if at the Taking of a Town possessed by the Enemy, there happen to be some Friends, they must undergo the Fortune of War, and the general and common Destruction of the Enemy.

With this Answer *Catesby* was satisfied, and with this Answer he satisfied others; telling them it was the Resolution of the Case given by the Provincial.

But yet, though this did thus compose their Minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, yet there wanted not one that, having a Kindness for the Lord *Monteagle*, eldest Son to the Lord *Morley*, sent this Note to him, by the Hands of one of his Foot-boys, that was abroad in the Evening of the *Saturday* was Se’night before the appointed Time for the Meeting of the Parliament.

My Lord,

“Out of the Love, I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preservation: Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your Life, to devise some Excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire yourself into your own Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety: For, though there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be
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contemned,

contemned, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm ; for the Danger is past, as soon as you shall have burned this Letter ; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make good Use of it ; to whose Holy Protection I commend you."

The Letter was without Date or Subscription ; and the Hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the Contents of it so perplexed, that the Lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came : But yet, however, since it respected more than himself, he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to *Whitehall*, and put it into the Hands of the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State. The Earl commended the Lord for his Care and Fidelity, and told him, that though there seemed to be little in it, yet because of the Reports he had received from Abroad, that the *Papists*, this Session of Parliament would be very busy and insolent in their Demands for Toleration, upon some Prospect they had of being in a Condition to command it ; and also that, because nothing, that concerned the Safety of his Majesty, and Peace of his Government, ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his Majesty's Council about it. Accordingly, he shewed it to the Lord Chamberlain (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all Places, where his Majesty either lived, or to which he did resort) to the Lord High Admiral, the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton* ; who all were of the same Mind with the Secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the King at his Return from *Royston*, when he came from Hunting, and from whence he was expected, the *Thursday* following.

On the next Day after his Return, the Earl presented him with it, and told him how it came to his Hands. After the Reading of it, the King made a Pause, and then, reading it again, said, That there seemed somewhat in it *extraordinary*, and what was by no Means to be neglected. The Earl replied, That it seemed to be written by a Fool, or a Madman ; for who else could be guilty of saying, " The Danger is past, as soon as you have burned the Letter ? " For what Danger could there be in that, which the Burning of the Letter would put an End to ? But the King, considering the Smartness of the Stile, and, withal, what was said before, " That they should receive a terrible Blow, " and yet should not see who hurt them," did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the Gallery, that the Danger must be sudden, and like the Blowing up by Gunpowder ; for what else could the Parliament be in Danger of ? Or, what Rebellion and Insurrection could there be, and yet there be no Appearance of Stir therein ? Or, how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see
who

who hurt them ? And, as for the Phrase, which the Secretary particularly offered at, he said, To him it seemed to be of a quite different Signification, and that thereby was to be understood the Suddenness and Quickness of it, which should as soon, or as quickly, be done, as that Paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the Sense of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no Fool, as appears by the other Parts of the Letter ; and yet the Discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common Construction, far from what any other did apprehend by it ; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse Party have looked upon, as God's Inspiration. So *John Barclay* intitles his little Book, that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Paricidii*, &c. And *Spondanus*, Ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the King, that *divinitus evasit*.

The Secretary admired the King's great Sagacity ; and, though he seemed to differ from him, whilst in his Presence, yet presently conferred with the Lords about it, and on *Saturday* it was resolved, that the Houses and Rooms thereabouts should be searched. The Care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed on *Monday* to make the Search ; which accordingly he did, that Evening, being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, that was very desirous of seeing the Event. Having viewed this House, they found in a Vault under Ground, great Store of Billets, Faggots, and Coal, brought thither (as Mr. *Whinyard* told them) for the Use of Mr. *Percy*, and espied *Fawkes* standing in a Corner of the Cellar, who said, that he was Mr. *Percy*'s Servant, and left there by him for the Keeping of his House. Upon the Naming of *Percy*, the Lord *Montagle* told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. *Percy* to be the Author of that Letter, both from his Inclination to the *Romish* Religion, and the Intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that Lord's Conjecture was, I know not, (for Bishop *Goodman*, in his Answer to Sir *Anthony Weldon*'s Court of King *James*, saith, that *Tresham* sent it.) But that Circumstance, with what they had discovered, so much increased the Suspicion, that, when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the Presence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, it was resolved, that farther Search should be made, what was under that great Pile of Fuel, in such a House, where *Percy* had so little Occasion to reside. But, what for avoiding the Report of too much Credulity, and easiness to receive Informations of that Kind ; what from the Care of doing any Thing that might redound to the Blemish of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose near Relation and great Confident this *Thomas Percy* was, it was resolved to do it under the Pretence of making Inquisition for some of the King's Hangings, that were stolen out of *Whinyard*'s Custody. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the King's Privy-chamber,

was

was employed in it, being a Person in publick Office, as a Justice of Peace, and of great Prudence. At Midnight he repaired thither, and found *Fawkes* standing at the Door, booted and spurred, whom he presently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the Barrels: Upon which, causing *Fawkes* to be searched, he found about him three Matches, a Tinder-box, and a dark Lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the Fact, he both confessed and defended it; adding, “That, if he had happened to be within the House, as he was without, he would, by putting Fire to the Train, have put an End to their Enquiry.” Sir *Thomas*, having had such happy Success, immediately returns with Joy to the Palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain and Earl of *Salisbury* with it, who went to the King’s Bed-chamber; and, with as much Haste as Joy, the Chamberlain told the King, that all was discovered, and the Traitor in safe Custody. This was about Four of the Clock in the Morning. As soon as the Council met (who were immediately sent for) the Prisoner was taken into Examination, and, to the Amazement of all, appeared no more dashed by their Presence, or the Questions put to him, or the Condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, “That he was not at all sorry for what he had designed, but only that he failed in the Execution of it; and that the Devil, and not God, was the Discoverer.” So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any Accomplices, but that he alone was the Contriver, and should have been the sole Executor of it; and that he was induced to this for Conscience-Sake, as the King (*being an Heretick*) was not his lawful Sovereign, but an Usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue, till he was brought to the *Tower*, and shewed the Rack; upon the Sight of which he began to relent, and, after some Days Examination, disclosed the Whole.

The News of this Discovery flew like Lightning, it was what rejoiced the Heart of every good Subject, and daunted that of the Rebels; and therefore those of them, that were in Town, no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to Flight.

Catesby was gone the Night before towards the Place appointed for their Rendezvous; and *Percy* set forward at Four of the Clock in the Morning, much about the Time that the Discovery was made. But one of the *Winters*, and the two *Wrights* that had staid behind, staid to hear of their Defeat and Disappointment; and so made all the Haste they could to overtake and meet their Confederates, that they might consult what was to be done in so great an Exigence.

In the mean time, there was nothing wanting on their Part, who were to contribute their Endeavours in the Country. Sir *Everard Digby* came to *Dun-*
church,

church, according to Appointment ; and so confident were they of Success above, that one *Grant*, a Gentleman in those Parts, on *Monday* Night, much about the Time that *Fawkes* was apprehended, with other of his Associates, broke open the Stables of one *Benock*, a Rider of great Horses, and took away all that he found for their own Service ; and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their Hopes were soon blasted by the sad News, which they quickly received from those that had made their Escape. Desperation begets Resolution ; and now they are lost, as well as their Cause, if they do not speedily find out a Remedy ; and therefore, with all the Haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their Assistance, and to represent to them the Greatness of the Danger, that they, and their Religion is in, unless they appear in its Defence. This *Tesmond* (alias *Greenwel*) the Jesuit, did particularly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up Arms, and to unite their Forces ; and for this Purpose rode as far as *Lancashire*. This Riding to and fro made a Noise in the Country, and awakened the People ; the Loss of *Benock's* Horses came quickly to the Ears of some of those Gentlemen, that had put them into his Hands to manage and fit them for their Service. And, for one reason or another, the Country was presently up in Arms, and upon Pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken Prisoners, and others of them pursued, by Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwickshire*, to the Borders of that County ; but they kept on their Course, till they came to *Holbeach*, in *Staffordshire*, the House of *Stephen Littleton* ; thither Sir *Richard Walsh*, Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, followed them, and, by his Trumpeters, commanded them, in the King's Name, to surrender ; assuring them, that, upon their so doing, he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their Pardon. But they, that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the News had not yet spread so far, nor the King's Proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him Defiance, and sent him Word, That he must have a greater Force, than what he had then the Command of to reduce them. But, whilst the one was preparing for the Assault, and the other for their Defence, God himself seemed to decide the Quarrel ; for, by the same Means, which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer : For, having laid some Powder to dry before the Fire, a Coal, upon the Mending of it, flew into the Pan, and set Fire to the rest ; thereby not only blowing up Part of the Roof, and a Bag of Powder of seventeen or eighteen Pounds, that they underfet the Pan with, which was carried unfired into the Court, but so wounding *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rockwood*, and several of the Conspirators, that they were unable to make any further Defence. By this Time also Fire was set to the House, and their Case

grew so desperate, that they opened the Doors, and exposed themselves to the Weapons and Fury of the People. The three principal of them, *viz.* *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, joined Back to Back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one Shot; *Catesby* dying upon the Spot, and *Percy* not outliving him above two or three Days, The two *Wrights* were slain at the same Time; *Digby*, *Rockwood*, *Thomas Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates* were taken Prisoners, and sent up to *London*; *Robert Winter* and *Littleton* endeavoured to conceal themselves in the Woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the *Tower*. *Tresham* continued in *London*, and seemed ready to find out the Traitors, and by that Means thought at first to remain undiscovered, but being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same Place. Thus suddenly was that Design discovered, which had been so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had been some Years in Contriving: therein verifying that of the Psalmist: *The Ungodly are sunk down into the Pit that they made; in the Net, which they hid, is their own Foot taken. The Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the Wicked is snared in the Work of his own Hands.*

These Persons thus apprehended were carefully examined (in the doing of which were spent twenty-three Days) and from their several Confessions was drawn sufficient Matter not only for their own Condemnation, but also for Detection of others.

The most considerable of which was *Garnet*, the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, *Hall*, *Greenwel*, *Gerard*, and *Hammond*, Priests of the same Order. The Respect that *Garnet* had to the Reputation of their Society, and his own Safety, had made him to act with so great Caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this Matter, but those that were of his own Order; or *Catesby* his trusty Friend. And, therefore, much of the Evidence against him fell with that Conspirator. But yet there appeared such Presumptions by the Acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and Letters that were found, that there was a Proclamation issued out, for the Apprehension of him and his Brethren, declaring it Treason for any to harbour and conceal them. *Garnet*, when the Time drew near, and all Things were ripe for their Design, took a Journey to *Coulton* in *Warwickshire*, nor far from the Place of the general Rendezvous, where he preached a Sermon, and in which he exhorted his Auditors to pray for the Success of a great Action, to be undertaken in the Behalf of the Catholics, at the Beginning of the Parliament, as is acknowledged by his Apologist, and was confessed by *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn*. Whilst at that Place he received a Letter, *November* the Sixth, from *Catesby*, to let him know that their Design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his Interest in stirring up the Catholics in *Wales*, to arm and defend

defend themselves: But the wary *Jesuit* provided for his own Safety, and, sending *Greenwel* to them for their Assistance and Direction, he himself with *Hall* fled to Mr. *Abington's* House, at *Henlip* in *Worcestershire*, where *Hall* had found a safe Retreat for sixteen Years together, as an Author of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for some Time, but at the last were discovered to be in that Place by *Littleton*, one of the Conspirators, as the same Author relates, *pag.* 314, who further saith, that, though the Help of Carpenters and Bricklayers was used, yet they were many Days before they could find them out, being in a Vault, the Way to which was in an upper Room, through the Half-pace before the Hearth, whose wooden Border was made like a Trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courses and Order again, as we are told by an Author of our own.

Hence they were brought to *London*, and committed to the *Tower*.

On *January* the Twenty-seventh, the other Prisoners were brought to their Tryal at *Guild-hall*. The Prisoners arraigned were *Robert Winter*, Esq; *Thomas Winter*, Gent. *Guy Fawkes*, Gent. *John Grant*, Esq; *Ambrose Rockwood*, Esq; *Robert Keyes*, Gent. and *Thomas Bates*, Servant to *Catesby*. By another Indictment was arraigned Sir *Everard Digby*.

They generally acknowledged the Fact, and spake little in their own Vindication. *Rockwood* pleaded, " That it was the intire Affection he had for Mr. *Catesby*, which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his first Fact, some " Mercy would be shewed him." Sir *Everard* said the same with Respect to *Catesby*, and added, " That he had undertaken it for the Zeal which he had to " the Catholick Religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those Calamities, which he understood that the Parliament was prepared " to bring upon them of his Persuasion." *Keyes* said, " That his Fortunes were " sunk, and as good now as at another Time, and for this Cause rather than " another."

They seemed resolved to vindicate the *Jesuits*, or at least, to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the Plot with any but such and such particular Persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When *Tresham*, not above three Hours before his Death, in the *Tower*, did declare upon his Salvation, that he had not seen *Garnet* in sixteen Years before; whereas it appeared, both by the Confession of *Garnet*, and Mrs. *Anne Vaux*, *Garnet's* Bosom-Friend, that they had been frequently together the two last Years past.

On the *Thursday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, and *Bates* were, according to Judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the

West-end of St. *Paul's* Church. And on the *Friday*, the other four, viz. *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rockwood*, and *Fawkes*, were executed in the Palace-yard at *Westminster*.

Now were *Garnet* and *Hall* had in Examination, and that several Times, from the First of *February* to *March* the Twenty-sixth. In all which *Garnet* shewed by the Wiliness of his Answers, and the Confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the Place of Provincial of the *Jesuits*, being so well versed in all the Practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

The King from the first was resolved to forbear the Severity of the Rack, much practised in other Countries, in the Examination of notorious and perverse Criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident Author of their own, That *Garnet* was kept waking six Days and Nights together to bring him by that new Kind of Torment (as he calls it) to a Confession of his Crime; and that *Hall* was put to extreme Torture for fifteen Hours Space together in the *Tower*, for the same Reason. But a greater than he, (*Thuanus*) one of their own Persuasion, doth assure us, that the King, to avoid Calumny, did purposely forbear any Thing of that Kind of Rigour, and *Garnet* himself did publickly own at his Tryal, that he had been used, whilst in Prison, with great Lenity. We know not what Effect the Rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of Tryal he had not been exercised in; but that Course which they took, by frequent and cross Examinations, by Expostulations, and Arguments, he was so much a Master of, that, in all the twenty-three Days spent in it, they would have gained but little Information, had they not had some greater Advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a Loss. And, therefore, to prevent any Misunderstanding betwixt him and others in Custody, that their Answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to *Hall* and Mrs. *Vaux*, to let them know after what Manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what Replies to make to some particular Enquiries; as if he should be charged with his Prayer for the good Success of a great Action, &c. he would say, It was for the Prevention of those severe Laws, which those of their Church expected would be made against them by that Parliament. But it happened that these Letters, that were writ by him, came into other Hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse Injury than any Account that his sworn Friends could have likely given of the same Actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his Adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own Weapons. For, when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the Defence of his Innocency, they took another course to find him out: *First*, A Person was employed as a Keeper, that

that should profess himself to be a *Roman Catholick*, and that should take a great Liberty to complain of the King's Severity, and of the Sufferings their Party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty Insinuations he grew to be a Familiar of *Garnet's*, and at last was entrusted by him with a Letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in Appearance but what any one may see, filling up the void Places with other more secret Matters, written indeed, but written with the Juice of a Lemon. By this Means they found out, that it was not so much his Innocency, as the Want of Proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that *Greenwel* and he had conferred together about the Plot.

There was also another Calamity that befell him by the same Contrivance ; for now, thinking himself sure of his Keeper, he let him know what a great Desire he had of conferring with *Hall*. The Decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a Way for it. This was done, and they had that Freedom ; but at the same Time there were placed within Hearing two Persons of such known Credit, that *Garnet*, at this Tryal, had nothing to object against them, who took Notice of what was said, and made it known to the Council. The next Day Commissioners came to examine them, and in Discourse charged them severally with those Things that passed betwixt them the Day before. This *Hall* did acknowledge, being convinced by the Particulars that they produced ; but *Garnet* did deny it *upon the Word of a Priest*, and with reiterated Protestations. And when they told him, that *Hall* had confessed it, he said, *Let him accuse himself falsely, if he will, I will not be guilty of that Folly*. But, at the last, when he perceived that the Evidence was not to be gain said, begged their Pardon with no little Confusion, and owned the Particulars they charged him with ; and, a little to save his Reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but *Greenwel* could accuse him ; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the Help of *Equivocation*.

Now they had gained good Evidence against him ; his Letters first, then his Discourse with *Hall*, and lastly, his own Confession, were a sufficient Ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do within two Days after, *viz.* *March* the Twenty-eighth.

The great Thing charged upon him, was, That he was privy to this Conspiracy, that he held a Correspondence with *Catesby*, and by him and *Greenwel* with the rest. And the chief Part of his Defence was : *That what he did know of it was in Confession, and what was told him, in that Way, he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any Mischief that might follow it ; he might dissuade Persons from it, but, whether they would be persuaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it.*

After a long Time spent in his Tryal, there was but little taken by the Jury to give their Verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the Treason; and accordingly he received Sentence, and was executed the third of *May* following, at the West-end of *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

This is the Man whom the *Jesuits* extol to the Clouds, and who is put into the Catalogue of their Martyrs, as it is to be found at the End of *Alegambe's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*. This Person, who was a perfect Master of the Art of Disimulation, that could by Equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one of them bestows this Character upon, That there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, & Candor animi minime suspicacis*. This Man, who had not the Heart to die, and who at the Time of his Execution was so divided betwixt the Hopes of a Pardon, and the Fear of Death, that he could not attend to his own Devotions, but one while cast his Eyes this Way, and another that; now at his Prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that Discourse which he overheard: This Man, I say, is said by *Alegambe* to go to his Death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obtestans, &c.* without any Fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that Death which would be an Entrance to an immortal Life.

The Conclusion of all which is, that no *Jesuit* can be a Traitor, and none suffer for Treason but he must be a Martyr.

The Case of *Hall* was much the same with that of *Garnet*; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at *Caughton*, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the Treason to *Humphrey Littleton*. The Excuses, the Discourse, the Confessions, were much one and the same, but only that *Garnet* was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. Now, because as this Treason was hatched, and to be executed in the Main at *London*, so because Part of it was also to be done in the Country, and the Chief of the Conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to *Worcester*, and there executed, *viz. Humphrey Littleton, John Winter*, and this *Hall*, with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that Reason, and not because his Adversaries were ashamed to have his Cause heard at *London*, as a bold Author of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these Men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the World is against them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a King is a good Subject, and one, that stirs up his Subjects in Rebellion against him, is a Friend to him.

These were the Persons that were taken and suffered for this bloody Treason. Others of them escaped beyond Sea; of which one, when *Dominicus Vicus*, Governor

vernor of *Calais*, “ assured them of the King’s Favour, and, tho’ they lost their
 “ own Country, they might be received there,” replied, “ The Loss of their
 “ Country was the least Part of their Grief; but their Sorrow was that they
 “ could not bring so brave a Design to Perfection.” At which the Governor
 could hardly forbear casting him into the Sea, as *Thuanus* relates from *Vicus*’s own
 Mouth. Others there were, whom the Government had a great Suspicion of, as
Henry, Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward*, Lord *Stourton*, who, not appearing upon
 the Summons to Parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some In-
 telligence that they received, were fined in the *Star-chamber*, and to be imprison-
 ed during the King’s Pleasure. The like Sentence did *Henry*, Earl of *Northum-*
berland, undergo, for having admitted *Thomas Percy*, his Kinsman, to be a Gentle-
 man Pensioner, without administering to him the Oath of Supremacy, when he
 knew him to be a Recusant or Papist.

This was the End of that Plot, and of the Persons concerned in it. And it
 would be happy if they had left none of their Principles or Temper behind them,
 a Generation whom no Favour will oblige, nor Kindness retain; whom nothing
 but Supremacy will content, and the most absolute Authority can gratify.
 Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient Power, or great Industry, or
 constant Watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a
 Branch of our Thankfulness to God, but also as a Caution to ourselves, that this
 Deliverance should be celebrated, and the Memory of it perpetuated. I shall
 end with what is said by a great Person of our own, some Years since.

Two great Deliverances in the Memory of many of us hath God in his singu-
 lar Mercy wrought for us of this Nation, such as I think, take both together
 no *Christian* Age or Land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign Invasion;
 another, since then, of an hellish Conspiracy at Rome. Both such, as we would
 have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet,
 as if this Land were turned oblivious, the Land where all Things are forgotten,
 how doth the Memory of them fade away, and they, by little and little, grow
 into Forgetfulness? We have lived to see Eighty-eight almost forgotten (God be
 blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant that
 we nor ours never live to see *November* the Fifth forgotten, or the Solemnity of it
 silenced.

The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors, with a Relation of the other Traitors, which were executed at *Worcester*, the Twenty-seventh of *January* last past. Printed 1606.

The following Tract contains a short Narrative of the Behaviour of these Men at the Gallows, who were executed for the Gun-powder Plot, of which I know not whether there is any other Protestant Relation, and therefore have preserved this, though not very valuable either for its Elegance or Decency, for it is written in a Strain of Merriment and Insult, which the Religion, professed by the Author, does not teach.

However, as one Extreme is naturally opposed to another, this Pamphlet in which the Cause and Sufferings of these Wretches are treated with Scoffs and Derision, may be justly placed in Contrast against those Writings of their own Church in which they are revered as Martyrs.

A brief Discourse upon the Arraignment and Execution of the eight Traitors, *Digby*, the two *Winters*, *Grant*, *Rockwood*, *Keyes*, *Bates*, and *Johnson*, alias *Fawkes*, four of which were executed in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, in *London*, upon *Thursday*, being the Thirtieth of *January*; the other four in the Old Palace-yard in *Westminster*, over-against the Parliament-house, upon *Friday* next following.

NOT to aggravate the Sorrow of the Living in the Shame of the Dead, but to dissuade the idolatrously Blinded, from seeking their own Destruction, in the Way to Damnation, I have here briefly set down a Discourse of the Behaviour and Carriage of the eight Persons before named, from the Time of their Imprisonment, to the Instant of their Death; the Nature of their Offence, the little Shew of their Sorrow, their Usage in Prison, and their Obstinacy to their End. *First*, for their Offence, it is so odious in the Ears of all human Creatures, that it could hardly be believed, that so many Monsters in Nature should carry the Shapes of Men: Murther, oh, it is the crying Sin of the World, and such an intended Murther, as, had it taken Effect, would have made a
World

World to cry ; and therefore the Horror thereof must needs be hateful to the whole World to hear of it.

Men, that saw them go to their Execution, did in a Sort grieve to see such proper Men, in Shape, go to so shameful an End ; but the End was proper to Men of so improper Minds, who, to satisfy a blinded Conceit, would forget their Duties to God and their King, and unnaturally seek the Ruin of their native Country : They are said to be born unhappy, that are not some Way profitable to their Country ; and then, How accursed are they born, that seek the Destruction of the whole Kingdom ?

Papists will perhaps idly say, it was a bloody Execution ; but in Respect of their Desert, in the Blood they intended to have shed, it was a merciful Punishment : For, if *Jezabel* a Queen, for seeking the Murther of one private Man, was thrown out of a Window, and fed upon by Dogs : How can these People be thought to be cruelly used, that could intend and practise so horrible a Villainy, as the Death of so gracious a King, Queen, and Prince, so noble Peers, and the Ruin of so flourishing a Kingdom ?

But since my Intent is chiefly to make Report of the Manner of their Deemeanors, from the Prison to the Arraignment, and from thence to Execution : I will truly set down what I have gathered, touching the same. After their Apprehension in the Country, and being brought up to *London*, upon the Appearance of their foul Treason, before his Majesty's most honourable Council, they were, by their Commandment, committed to his Majesty's *Tower of London*, where they wanted nothing, that, in the Mercy of a Christian Prince, was thought fit, and, indeed, too good for so unchristian Offenders.

For in the Time of their Imprisonment they seemed to feel no Part of Fear, either of the Wrath of God, the Doom of Justice, or the Shame of Sin ; but, as it were, with seared Consciences, senseless of Grace, lived as not looking to die, or not feeling the Sorrow of their Sins ; and now, that no subtle Fox, or rather Goose, that would fain seem a Fox, shall have Cause to say or think, that the Justice of the Law hath not been truly ministred, according to the Rules of the Divine Will, behold here a true Report, as I said before, of their Behaviour and Carriage, from their Apprehension to their Imprisonment, and from Condemnation to their Execution. In the Time of their Imprisonment, they rather feasted with their Sins, than fasted with Sorrow for them ; were richly apparelled, fared deliciously, and took Tobacco out of Measure, with a seeming Carelessness of their Crime, as it were daring the Law to pass upon them ; but the Almighty, and our most merciful good God, first revealed them.

His Majesty's and his Council's careful Head apprehended them, the Law plainly did descipher them, Justice gave Judgment on them, and Death made an End of them ; but to come to their Arraignment, and to deliver the Manner of their Behaviour, after they went from the *Tower* by Water, and came to *Westminster*, before they came into the Hall, they made some half Hour's Stay, or more, in the Star-chamber, whither being brought, and remaining till the Court was all ready to hear them, and, according to the Law, to give Judgement on them, it was strange to note their Carriage, even in their very Countenances : Some hanging down the Head, as if their Hearts were full of Doggedness, and others forcing a stern Look, as if they would fright Death, with a Frown, never seeming to pray, except it were by the Dozen upon their Beads, and taking Tobacco, as if Hanging were no Trouble to them ; saying little but in Commendation of their conceited Religion, craving Mercy of neither God nor the King for their Offences, and making their Consciences, as it were, as wide as the World ; and, to the very Gates of Hell, to be the Cause of their hellish Courses, to make a Work meritorious.

Now being come into the Hall, and upon the Scaffold at the Bar, standing to answer to their Indictments, they all pleaded Not Guilty, but were all found Guilty. *Digby*, without craving Mercy or Favour, of either God, or the King, made only five worldly Requests, that his Wife might have her Jointure, his Children the Lands intailed by his Father, his Sisters their Legacies in his Hand unpaid, his Debts paid, and for his Death, to be beheaded, and not hanged.

Robert Winter, in like Manner thinking himself already half a Saint for his whole Villainy, said little to any Purpose, that either made Shew of Sorrow, or sought Mercy, but only made a Request to the King for Mercy towards his Brother, in Regard of his Offence, as he said, through his only Persuasion.

His Brother said little, but, with a guilty Conscience, swallowed up a concealed Grief, with little Shew of Sorrow for that Time.

Grant, stubborn in his Idolatry, seemed nothing penitent for his Villainy, asked little Mercy, but, as it were careless of Grace, received the Doom of his Desert.

The young *Winter* said little, but, to excuse the Foulness of his Fact, in being drawn in by his Brother, and not of his own Plotting, with little Talk to little Purpose troubled the Time the lesser while.

Rockwood, out of a studied Speech, would fain have made his Bringing up, and Breeding in Idolatry, to have been some Excuse to his Villainy ; but a fair Talk

could not help a foul Deed, and therefore, being found guilty of the Treason, had his Judgment with the rest of the Traitors.

Now, after their Condemnation and Judgment, being sent back to the *Tower*, there they remained till the *Thursday* following; upon Sledges and Hurdles they were drawn into *St. Paul's Church-yard*, four of them, *viz. Everard Digby*, the elder *Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, of whom I forgot to speak, having no great Matter to speak of, but only that, being a Villain, and hoping for Advancement by the same; he had the Reward of a Traitor.

Now these Four being drawn to the Scaffold, made on Purpose for their Execution: First went up *Digby*, a Man of a goodly Personage, and a manly Aspect, yet might a wary Eye, in the Change of his Countenance, behold an inward Fear of Death, for his Colour grew pale and his Eye heavy; notwithstanding that he enforced himself to speak, as stoutly as he could, his Speech was not long, and to little good Purpose, only, that his belied Conscience, being, but indeed, a blinded Conceit, had led him into this Offence, which, in Respect of his Religion, *alias*, indeed Idolatry, he held no Offence, but, in Respect of the Law, he held an Offence, for which, he asked Forgiveness of God, of the King, and the whole Kingdom; and so, with vain and superstitious Crossing of himself, betook him to his *Latin* Prayers, mumbling to himself, refusing to have any Prayers of any, but of the *Romish* Catholicks; went up the Ladder, and, with the Help of the Hangman, made an End of his wicked Days in this World.

After him went *Winter* up to the Scaffold, where he used few Words to any Effect, without asking Mercy of either God, or the King, for his Offence; went up the Ladder, and, making a few Prayers to himself, staid not long for his Execution.

After him went *Grant*, who abominably blinded with his horrible Idolatry, though he confessed his Offence to be heinous, yet would fain have excused it by his Conscience for Religion; a bloody Religion, to make so bloody a Conscience; but better that his Blood, and all such as he was, should be shed by the Justice of Law, than the Blood of many Thousands to have been shed by his Villainy, without Law or Justice; but to the Purpose, having used a few idle Words to ill Effect, he was, as his Fellows before him, led the Way to the Halter; and so, after his Crossing of himself, to the last Part of his Tragedy.

Last of them came *Bates*, who seemed sorry for his Offence, and asked Forgiveness of God, and the King, and of the whole Kingdom; prayed to God for the Preservation of them all, and as he said, only for his Love to his Master, drawn to forget his Duty to God, his King and Country, and therefore was now

drawn from the *Tower* to *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and there hanged and quartered for his Treachery. Thus ended that Day's Buſineſs.

The next Day, being *Friday*, were drawn from the *Tower* to the *Old Palace* in *Westminster*, over-againſt the Parliament-houſe, *Thomas Winter* the younger Brother, *Rockwood*, *Keyes*, and *Fawkes* the Minor, juſtly called, *the Devil of the Vault* ; for, had he not been a Devil incarnate, he had never conceived ſo villainous a Thought, nor been employed in ſo damnable an Action.

The ſame Day, being *Friday*, were drawn from the *Tower*, to the *Old Palace* in *Westminster*, *Thomas Winter*, *Rockwood*, *Keyes*, and *Fawkes*, where *Winter*, firſt being brought to the Scaffold, made little Speech, but ſeeming, after a Sort, as it were, ſorry for his Offence, and yet croſſing himſelf, as though thoſe were Words to put by the Devil's Stoccadoes, having already made a Wound in his Soul, of which he had not yet a full Feeling, proteſting to die a true Catholick, as he ſaid ; with a very pale and dead Colour, went up the Ladder, and, after a Swing or two with a Halter, to the Quartering-block was drawn, and there quickly diſpatched.

Next him came *Rockwood*, who made a Speech of ſome longer Time, confeſſing his Offence to God, in ſeeking to ſhed Blood, and aſking therefore Mercy of his Divine Maſteſty ; his Offence to the King, of whoſe Maſteſty he likewise humbly aſked Forgiveness ; his offence to the whole ſtate, of whom in general he aſked forgiveness, beſeeching God to bleſs the King, the Queen, and all his Royal Progeny, and that they might long live to reign in Peace and Happineſs over this Kingdom. But laſt of all, to mar all the Pottage with one filthy Weed, to mar this good Prayer with an ill Concluſion, he prayed God to make the King a Catholick, otherwiſe a Papiſt, which God for his Mercy ever forbid ; and ſo, beſeeching the King to be good to his Wife and Children, proteſting to die in his Idolatry, a Romiſh Catholick, he went up the Ladder, and, hanging till he was almoſt dead, was drawn to the Block, where he gave his laſt Gasps.

After him came *Keyes*, who like a deſperate Villain, uſing little Speech, with ſmall or no Shew of Repentance, went ſtoutly up the Ladder ; where, not ſtaying the Hangman's Turn, he turned himſelf off with ſuch a Leap, that with the Swing he brake the Halter, but, after his Fall, was quickly drawn to the Block, and there was quickly divided into four Parts.

Laſt of all came the great Devil of all, *Fawkes*, alias *Johnson*, who ſhould have put Fire to the Powder. His Body being weak with Torture and Sickneſs, he was ſcarce able to go up the Ladder, but yet with much Ado, by the Help of the Hangman, went high enough to break his Neck with the Fall : Who made no
long

long Speech, but, after a Sort, seeming to be sorry for his Offence, asked a Kind of Forgiveness of the King and the State for his bloody Intent ; and, with his Crosses and his idle Ceremonies, made his End upon the Gallows and the Block, to the great Joy of the Beholders, that the Land was ended of so wicked a Villainy.

Thus have I ended my Discourse upon the Arraignment and Execution of these eight Traitors, executed upon *Thursday* and *Friday* last past, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and the *Old Palace* at *Westminster*.

Now there is certain Report of the Execution done on *Monday*, being the Twenty-seventh of *January*, in the City of *Worcester*, upon one *Perkins*, and his Man, for the Receiving of Traitors. God be blessed for it ! And continue the Justice of Law to be executed upon all such rebellious and traitorous Wretches, as either Plot such Villainies, conceal such Treasons, or relieve such Traitors ! For, since the Betraying the Lord of Heaven and Earth, was there ever such a hellish Plot practised in the World ? If the Pope were not a very Devil, and these Jesuits, or rather *Jebusites* and *Satanical Seminaries*, very Spirits of Wickedness, that whisper in the Ears of *Evahs*, to bring a World of *Adams* to Destruction, how could Nature be so senseless, or Reason so graceless, as to subject Wit so to Will, as to run all headlong to Confusion ? Is this a Rule of Religion ? Or rather of a Legion ? Where the *Synagogue* of *Satan* sat in Council for the World's Destruction, for the Satisfaction of a lousy Humour, or bloody Devotion, or Hope of Honour, or to make Way to some mad Fury to bring the most flourishing Kingdom on the Earth to the most Desolation in the World ; to kill at one Blow, or with one Blast, King, Queen, Prince, and Peer ; Bishop, Judge, and Magistrate, to the Ruin of the Land, and utter Shame to the whole World ; and left naked to the Invasion of any Enemy : Is this a holy Father, that begets such wicked Children ? Is this Religion, where is no Touch of Charity ? Or, is there any Spark of Grace in these Priests, that so poison the Souls, and break the Necks of so many People ?

Ignorance in the Simple, and Idolatry in the Subtle, take Ceremonies for Certainties, Superstition for Religion, Envy for Zeal, and Murder for Charity. What can that Church be, but Hell, where the Devil sings such Masses ? *Servus Servorum*, says he, that would be *Dominus Dominorum* ; Servant of Servants, that would be Master of Masters : Is not he a cunning Herdsman, that can make one painted Cow, or printed Bull, give him more Milk, than many a Herd of better Kine ? Are not these sweet Notes to be taken in the Nature of the Popish Government ? Kill Princes, sow Seditions, maintain Bawdy-houses, blind the Simple, abuse the

Honest,

Honest, bereave the Innocent, swear and forswear, so it be for the Pope's Profit, the Church will absolve you; and, if you miss the Mark to hit the Mischief you shoot at, you shall be a hanging Saint, till you be taken down to the Devil. Oh fine Persuasions! That infinite Sins by numbered Prayers, inward Curses by outward Crossings, an Offence against God by a Pardon from Man, should be believed to be helped! A Child cannot conceive it, a wise Man cannot digest it, and surely none, but either blind Women, or Madmen, can believe it. If a Man would but a little look into their Idolatries, he should see a World of such Mockeries, as would make him both laugh at their Fooleries, and abhor their Villainies. Their Kissing of Babies, their Kneeling to wooden Ladies, their Calling to Saints that cannot hear them, their Praying by the Dozen, their Taking of Penance, their Pilgrimages to Idols, their Shavings and their Washings, their Confessions and their Crossings, and their devilish Devices to deceive the Simple of their Comfort: These, with a World of such Tricks, as would make a Jackanapes a fine Jugler. He, that could see them with that clear Eye, that can Judge betwixt Light and Darknes, would, if they were his Friends, be sorry for them; if his Enemies, laugh at them; and, howsoever, or whatsoever, leave them, and say, as he may say, that *Papistry* is mere *Idolatry*, the *Pope* an incarnate Devil, his Church a Synagogue of *Satan*, and his Priests the very Locusts of the Earth.

But let us leave them to their loathsome Puddles, and let us be thankful to Almighty God for the clear Water of Life, that, in his holy Word, we receive from the Fountain of his gracious Mercy; and let us a little look into the Difference betwixt the traitorous *Papist*, that dieth for his Villainy, and the faithful *Protestant*, that dieth for the Truth of his Conscience in the Belief of the Word of God.

The traitorous *Papist* will pull down Princes, and subvert Kingdoms; murder and poison whom they cannot command: The faithful *Protestant* prayeth for Princes, and the Peace of the People; and will endure Banishment, but hate Rebellion: The proud *Papist* will shew Intemperancy in Passion, while the humble *Protestant* will embrace Affliction with Patience: The *Protestant* cries to GOD for Mercy for his Sins; the *Papist* gives Authority to Sin, when, before the Offence, the Pardon is purchased.

I say, Was it not a strange Speech of *Digby*, through the Blindness of his bewitched Wit, "That, to bring the Kingdom into the *Papish* Idolatry, he cared "not to root out all his Posterity?"

Oh

Oh the Misery of these blinded People ! Who forsake the true God of Heaven and Earth, to submit their Service to the Devil of the World ; be Traitors to their gracious Princes, to serve a proud, ungracious Prelate ; lose their Lands and Goods, beggar their Wives and Children, lose their own Lives with an open Shame, and leave an Infamy to their Name for ever, only to obey the Command of a cunning Fox, that, lying in his Den, preyeth on all the Geese that he can light on ; and, in the proud Belief to be made Saints, will hazard their Souls to go to the Devil !

But how many Millions hath this Devil enchanted ! And how many Kingdoms hath he ruined ! And how many Massacres hath he plotted ! And how many Souls hath he sent to Damnation ! God for his Mercy cut him off, or open the Eyes of all them Christian Princes, that they may agree together and pull him down : For, during his Pride, Princes, that are of his Religion, will be but as Copyholders to his Countenance ; Soldiers, that fight not under his Banner, shall be as Shake-rags to his Army ; Lawyers, except they plead in his Right, shall have but Curses for their Fees ; Divines, if not of his Opinion, shall be excommunicated out of his Church ; Merchants, that bring not him Commodities, shall keep no Shops in his Sanctuary ; nor Beggars, that pray not for his Monarchy, shall have any Alms in his Basket. And therefore I hope that God will so wipe off the Scales from the Eyes of the Blind, that both one and other, Soldier and Lawyer, Divine and Layman, Rich and Poor, will so lay their Heads, their Hearts and Hands, and their Purfes together, that, whereas he hath been long in Rising, and could not sit fast, when he was up, he shall take a Fall of a sudden, and never rise again, when he is down : To which Prayer, I hope, all true Christians will say, *Amen.*

The MARIAGE of Prince FREDERICK, and the King's Daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH, vpon *Shrouesunday* last. With the SHOWES on Land and Water, before, and after the Wedding, as also the Masks and Reuells in his Highnes Court, with the running at the Ring, by the Kings Maiestie, the PALSEGRAUE, Prince CHARLES, and diuers others of the Nobilitie.

Now the Second time Imprinted, with many new additions, of the same TRYUMPHERS, performed by the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court in the Kings Pallace of White-hall.

At London, Printed by T. C. for W. Barley. 1613.

BEING desirous to giue satisfaction to certaine of my acquaintance in the countrey, most willing to vnderstand the manner of the tryumphes holden at the royall marriage of his Maiesties daughter, Princeesse *Elizabeth*,

I haue made meanes for the true intelligences thereof, and I hope according to the content of the Reader, I haue set forth here a true discourse of the same.

First, of the shoues and Fire workes vpon the waters before the mariage performed, vpon *Thursday* night, being the eleuenth of *Februarie*.

Then the imitation of a Sea Fight vpon *Saturday* following.

Also of the royall and Princely passage of Prince *Palsegraue* with his renowned bride, to his highnes chappell at *White-hall*, where in the presence of his Maiestie and the noble state, they were married, to make vs reioice, with a wished happines, with maskes and reuells following, shewes of more royalty, then euer in this age was seene in the court of *England*.

Therefore let the Reader hereof, prepare himselfe, to entertaine them with extraordinary ioy, and receiue the good will of the writer, for a tribute, to be paide as a dew to his countrey.

The manner of the fire workes shewed vpon the Thames vpon the Thursday before the wedding.

To begin these tryumphant sports, his highnes, the Queenes Maiestie, Prince *Charles*, Prince *Frederick*, with the Princes *Elizabeth* his royall bride, and the rest of the nobilitie of *England*, vpon *Thursday* the eleuenth of *Februarie* in the euening, being placed in the galleries and windowes about his Highnes Court of *White-Hall*, where in the sight of thousands of people, many artificiall conclusions in Fire workes were vpon the *Thames* performed, and that the pleasurable fights on the water, might equall the sumptuous shewes on the land, thus they proceeded.

First, for a welcome to the beholders, a peale of ordinance like vnto a terrible thunder ratled in the ayer, and seemed as it were to shake the earth, and mounted so high into the Element that it dazeled the beholders eyes to look after it.

Secondly, followed a number more of the same fashion, spredding so strangely with sparkling blazes, that the skie seemed to be filled with fire, or that there had beene a combate of darting starres fighting in the ayre, and all the time these continued, certaine cannons planted in the fields adioyning made thundering musicke, to the great pleasure of the beholders.

After this in a most curious manner, an artificiall fire worke with great wonder was seene flying in the ayre, like vnto a dragon, against which another fierie vision appeared flaming like to Saint *George* on Horsebacke, brought in by a burning Inchanter, betweene which was then fought a most strange battell continuing a quarter of an hower or more: the dragon being vanquished, seemed to rore like thunder, and withall burst in peeces and so vanished, but the champion with his flaming horse for a little time made a shew of a tryumphant conquest, and so ceased.

After this, was heard another ratling sound of Cannons, almost couering the ayre with fire and smoake, and forthwith appeared out of a hill of earth made vpon the water, a very strange fire flaming vpright like vnto a blazing starre: After which flew forth a number of rockets so high in the ayre, that we could not chuse but approue by all reasons that Arte hath exceeded Nature, so artificially were they performed; and still as the Chambers and Culuerines plaide vpon the earth, the fire workes danced in the ayre, to the great delight of his Highness, and the Princes.

Out of the same mount or hill of earth flew another strange peece of artificiall fire worke, which was in the likenes of a hunted Hart, running vpon the waters so swiftly, as it had bene chased by many huntsmen.

After the same, issued out of the mount, a number of hunting hounds made of fire burning; pursuing the aforesaid Hart vp and downe the waters, making many rebounds and turnes with much strangenes: skipping in the ayre, as it had bene a vsuall hunting vpon land.

These were the noble delights of Princes, and prompt were the wits of men to contriue such Princely pleasures.

Where Kings commands be, Art is stretcht to the true depth, as the performance of these Enginers haue been approued.

But now again to our wished sports, when this fiery hunting extinguished, and that the Elements a little cleared from fire and smoake, there came sayling vp, as it were vpon the Seas, certaine ships and gallies bravely rigd with top and top gallant, with their flagges and streamers wauing like men of warr, which represented a Christian Nauie opposed against the *Turkes*, where after they had a while houered, preparing as it were to make an incursion into the *Turkish* countrey, they were discouered by two Towers or Castles of defence, strongly furnished to intercept all such inuading purposes, so sending forth the reports of a cannon, they were brauely answered with the like from the gallies, banding fire and powder one from another, as if the God of battels had beene there present.

Here was the manner of a Sea Fight rightly performed: First by assailing one another, all striving for victorie, and pursuing each other with Fire and Sword, the Culuerines merily plaid betwixt them, and made the ayre resound with thundering Ecchoes, and at last, to represent the ioyes of a victorie, the Castles were sacked, burned and ruinated, and the defenders of the same forced to escape with great danger.

During the time of all these triumphant exercises, there was not a man vnbusied but every one laboured, some on Land, some on Water, some one way, some another, to moue his Highnes, and the rest of his princely friends a pleasing content, which he and the other Princes with a gracious acceptance, applauded, to the great comfort of the performers, and no little ioy to the beholders.

The next morning, being *Fryday*, his Highnes, not intending to grace the following sports with his presence, gaue cause of forbearance, with some rest to the Enginers for their great toyle the night before.

Moreouer, it was thought conuenient that a whole dayes preparation should be made, in prouiding against the *Saturdayes* pastimes, which moued a more longing
desire

desire in the hearts of his subiects to see the same, which at the time appointed was in this manner accomplished.

The manner of a Sea Fight, shewed vpon the Thames, vpon the Saturday before the wedding.

BETWEENE the howers of two and three of the clock the same day in the after noone being *Shroue-saturday*, the King's Maiestie, accompanied with the Queene, and the rest of the Princes and Peeres of estate, to adde the more glory to these pretended showes, placed themselues in great royaltie vpon the priuie staires of *White-Hall*, where after a while expecting the beginning of the desired fire workes, the Lord Admirall sent forth two or three gentlemen in a whirrie, with a flagge or banner to signifie the King, and the Nobilities tarriance for the representations, which was answered with an Intelligence by the report, from a great cannon, whereupon a certaine *Venetian* man of Warr, and a ship called a *Caruell*, came proudly with their flagges and colours sayling up, in the sight of seuentene Turkish gallies which lay houering vpon *Lambeth* side, betwixt whome was a most royal and praise worthy Imitation of a sea fight in such sort performed, as if the danger of such an Enterprise had bene by true action attempted, all which explains the honors of martialists, and made his Majestie, with many thousands of people of all sorts, and of many Nations, eye-witnesses of the true manner of such like incounters. But not to be troublesome in my discourses, I will briefly explaine the incounters as they passed.

There was a barre or kind of artificiall fence made vpon the riuer *Thamès* with Barges and Lighters chained together, to keep passengers, which otherwise with much vnruines would haue hinderde the pastimes, and much troubled the performers, but being thus hemde in, as it were vpon the maine Seas, the two *Venetian* shippes, as I said before, falling within danger of the Turkish gallies, indured a fresh encounter, and long most worthily defended themselues, but by reason of the number of the gallies, they were at last boarded, taken, and carried as boot and prize vnder the commaund of a Turkish Castle, which represented and bare the name of the castle *Argeir*, Furnished with 22. well approued great peeces of Ordinance which was contriued and built vpon *Lambeth* side, at a place named *Stand-gate*, inuironned with craggie Rocks as the said Castle is now scituate in *Turkie*.

After the Gallies had taken those *Venetian* ships, and deliuered them into the Turkish Admiralls commaund, they had sight of another Argosay or Galliaza, which seemed to be of *Spaine*, which likewise after a fierce conflict they made

prize of and with much tryumph rendred the same up also to the Turkish Admirall.

After this, upon a suddaine there was a thundring of Ordinance or Chambers placed in *Lambeth Marshe*, wherevpon the Scouts and Watches of the Castle, discouered an *English* Nauie, to the number of fifteene Saile of the Kings Pinnaces making vp towards the point, with their red crost Streamers most gallantly wauing in the Ayre, to the great delight of all the beholders, which as then seemed to couer ouer the *Thames* in Boates and Barges.

Near vpon this place stood a high built watch Tower, or Beacon of the Turkes, which at the first sight of the *English* Nauie was set on fire, as the manner is at all such incursions, which blazing Light (as it seemed) gaue notice to the Castle and caused a readines in some for defence: In the meane time, the Kings Pinnaces and the Turkish Gallies ioynde, betwixt whome were showne many strange attempts, euen as they had ventured their very liues for their countries safeties: they spared neither powder nor pollicie, to sacke one another, but on both sides bestird themselves so brauely, that his Highnesse with all the rest of his attendants were therewith much delighted: At last the Gallies being ouercharged with long and forward incounters of the *English* Nauie, for refuge and shelter made now vnto the Castle, which began likewise to play brauely vpon the *English*, and with their thundering ordinance made as it were the ground to shake.

The Kings Nauie to answer them was not backward in a performance, but made the ayre gloomie with fire and smoake roeing from their lowde mouthed Cannons.

The fight for a time continued fiercely, the victorie leaning to neither side, either of them attempting to assault and board each other, but at last the Gallies being sore bruized and beaten, began to yeeld, wherevpon the *English* Admirall fell down and cast anker before the Castle, and then spared not in the best manner to thunder off their Ordinance, whereat the Turkes yeelded both Castle and Gallies, and submitted to the conquest of the *English* Admirall, who fiered many of the said Gallies, sacked the Castle, and tooke prisoner the Turkes Admirall, with diuers Bashawes and other great Turkes, and also recouered the *Venetian* and *Spanish* Shippes, before taken by the Gallies. After the performance of all these aforesaid, the *English* Admirall, in a most tryumphant manner carried as a prisoner, the Admirall of the Gallies attired in a red Jacket with blew sleeues, according to the Turkish fashion, with the Bashawes, and the other Turkes, guarded to his Highnes priue staires of *White-Hall*, where his grace, Prince *Palsegraue*, and his Lady remained, which prisoners were led by Sir *Robert Mansfield*, to the

Lord

Lord Admiral, and by him they were conueyed to the Kings Maiestie, as a representation of pleasure, which to his Highnes moued delight, and highly pleased all there present.

All these aforefaid pastimes were most nobly performed betweene the howres of three and fixe in the after noone, to the great content as well of foraigne nations as of our owne country people, whereof in one place, and at one time, hath bene feldome seen a greater number.

Also for a Farewell to this dayes pleasures, a traine of Chambers were discharged in Saint Georges Field of a long continuance, and of such an Ecchoing thunder, that they euen amazed the hearers. Thus ended Saturdayes shewes upon the waters, being the eue of this great Marriage day.

The Manner of the Marriage vpon Shroue-funday, with the Royall Passage of Prince FREDERICKE, and his Bride to his Maiesties Chappell at White-hall.

BUT now to relate and make knowne the royall passage of the renowned Bride-groome and his faire Bride, (for the satisfying of many thousands) as they entered into his Highnes Chappel at *White-hall*: the next day being *Sunday*, euen ouercomes me with a reioycing description.

The Court being placed full of people of many Estates, fortes and Nations, and their eyes and hearts fixed to behold the pompious glory of this Marriage in great Royaltie.

First came the *Palf-graue*, from the newe built Banquetting-House, attired in a white Satten sute, richly beset with Pearle and Gold, attended on by a number of young gallant Courtiers both *English*, and *Scottish*, and *Dutch*, all in rich manner, euery man struiuing to exceed in sumptuous habilliaments, fitte for attendants of a princely Bride-groome. After came the Lady *Elizabeth*, in her Virgin-robes, clothed in a gowne of white Satten richely embrodered, lead between her royall brother Prince *Charles* and the Earle of *Northampton*: vpon her head a crown of refined golde, made Imperiall (by the Pearles and Diamonds thereupon placed,) which were so thicke beset, that they stood like shining pinnacles, vpon her amber-coloured haire, dependantly hanging plaighted downe ouer her shoulders to her Waste, betweene euery plaight a role or liste of Gold spangles, Pearles, Riche stones, and Diamonds, and withall, many Diamonds of inestimable value, imbrothred vpon her sleeue, which euen dazeled and amazed the eies of the beholders: her traine in most sumptuous manner, carryed vp by fourteene or fifteene Ladies, attired in white Satten gownes, adorned with many rich Jewells.

After

After went a traine of Noble-mens Daughters, in white Vestements, gloriously set forth: which Virgin Bride-maides attended vpon the Princeesse, like a skye of Celestial starres, vpon faire *Phæbe*. After them, came another traine of gallant young Courtiers, flourishing in feuerall Sutes, Embrothered and Pearled, who were Knights, and the sonnes of great Courtiers: After them, came foure Herolds at Armes, in their rich coats of Heroldrie, and then followed many Earles, Lords, and Barrons, as well of *Scotland* as *England*, in most noble manner, then the King of Herolds, bearing vpon his shoulder a Mace of golde, and then followed the honourable Lords of his Highnes privie Councell, which passed along after the Traine towards the Chappell, and then came foure reuerend Bishops of the Land in their Church Habilliaments: After them foure Sargiants of the Mace in great state, bearing upon their shoulders four rich Enammelled Maces.

Then followed the right Honorable the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying the Kings Sword: And the great Royaltie the Kings Maiestie himselfe in a most sumptuous blacke sute, with a Diamond in his hatte of a wonderful great value: Close vnto him came the Queene, attired in white Satten, beautified with much embrothery, and many Diamonds: Upon her attended a number of marryed Ladies, the Countesses, and wiues of Earles and Barrons, apparelled in most noble manner, which added glory vnto this triumphant time and Marriage.

These were the passages of our States of *England*, accompanying the princely Bride and Bridegroome to his Highnes Chappell, where after the celebration of the Marriage, contracted in the presence of the King, the Queen, Prince *Charles*, and the rest aforefaide: they returned into the banquetting house with great ioy.

The Lady *Elizabeth* being thus made a Wife, was led backe, not by two Batchellors as before, but by the Duke of *Lineux*, and the Earle of *Nottingham*, in a most reuerend manner, before the *Palfegraue*. At his returne from the Chappell, went fixe of his owne Country gallants, clad in crimson Veluet, laide exceedingly thicke with gold lace, bearing in their hands fixe siluer Trumpets, who no sooner comming into the Banquetting house, but they presented him with a melodious sound of the same, flourishing so delightfully, that it greatly reioyced the whole Court, and caused thousands to say at that instant time. *God giue them ioy, God giue them ioy.*

Thus preparing for dinner, they passed away a certaine time, and after fell to Dancing, Masking, and Reuelling, according to the custome of such Assemblies, which continued all the day and part of the night in great pleasure.

The order of the Mundayes shewes, with the Kings running at the Ring with the Nobilitie of the Land.

THE next day (being *Shroue-munday*) by the King and Nobilitie of *England* was spent in great honour where their rich Robes of Estate seconded the day before, with many commendable graces : for the whole Court so gloriously shined with Imbrothered Habilliaments, that it made euen a smiling cheerefulnes sit upon the countenance of many thousand beholders.

For the King's Maiestie in his owne person, accompanied with his braue spirited sonne Prince *Charles* of great *Brittaine*, the Royall Bride-groom, Count *Pallatine*, the Duke of *Lineux*, with diuers other of the Earles and Barrons of *England* and *Scotland*, together with the praise-worthy Peers of the Netherland Prouinces, performed many famous races at the Ring, an exercise of much renowne and honour, and the Knightly sports, and the Royall delights onely befitting the dignitie of Kings and Princes, and of the chiefeft Nobilitie.

First, about the rayles or lifts in the Tylt-yard adioyning to *White-Hall*, were placed many Herolds at Armes, to beautifie the honourable atchiefements of these knightly Potentates, all in new liueries with their staues of office, to abate the too forward vnruines of many disordered people, which otherwise would haue much troubled the Turnaments, and as an ayde vnto them, many of his Highnes Yeomen of the Guard were attendant in the listes, and withall, most of the Kings Trumpetters in their rich imbrothered coates, the pensioners and Knights of his graces household with his Knightly followers.

The Queenes Maiestie, with her daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, attended on by many of the greatest Ladies of the Land, being placed in the Galleries and windowes of the Banquetting house, in the presence of many thousands of his Subiects, the King mounted vpon a Steed of much swiftnes, was the first that began the honourable pastimes, and like a most noble martialist tooke the Ring vpon his speare, three severall times together, whereat the trumpets still sounded to the great ioy of the beholders.

After him the Illustrious Prince, Count *Palatine*, vpon a horse of that braue courage, which seemed to stand vpon no ground, where with a spirit of much forwardnes, he tooke the Ring vpon his speare twise together, so lightly, and so nimbly, that the whole assembly gave him high commendations.

After him, the braue young flower, and hope of *England*, Prince *Charles*, mounted as it were vpon a *Spanish* Iennet, that takes his swiftnes from the nature of the winde, most couragiously, and with much agillitie of hand, tooke the

the Ring clearly foure times in fve courfes, which was in the eye of the Kings Maieftie and the Nobilitie, there prefent, a fight of much admiration, and an exceeding comfort to all the land.

The Duke of *Lineux*, the Earle of *Arundell*, the Earle of *Dorset*, the Lord *Haddindon*, with diuers other Barrons of *England* and *Scotland*, afterward in honour of this magnificent mariage, performed many worthy races, and many times tooke the Ring with much ftrangenef, a pleafure fo princely, that it euen made the beholders hearts to leape with ioy.

The Queenes Maieftie, with her daughter the Princes, all the while ftanding in the windowes, as eye-witneffes to thefe noble delights, fmiled with much cheerfulness, graciously thanking them all for their loues, but efpecially the new married Bride, in honour of whole marriage all thefe courtly paf-times were performed.

Of the Masks and Reuells prefented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, vpon the Monday night.

THE proceeding night, fports were as fumptuous, as the paffed dayes, and in as gallant a manner performed: whereof to fatisfie the defirefull Reader, I muft thus fpeake of.

The Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, in the beft and rareft manner they could deuife, prepared Maskes and Reuells in the Court, that night to be prefented: and about the houres of eight or nine, they paffed from the *Roles* in *Chancery-Lane*, to *White-Hall*, in as royall manner as euer gallants did to the Court of *England*.

First, there rode fome three-fcore braue fpirited Gentlemen vpon great Bard-horfes, moft richly trapped with imbrothered furnitures, themfelues attired in cloth of golde and tiffue, moft gloriously fhining, lighted by a number of torches, to beautifie the fhowe with more Eye-pleafing delights.

After them, fome fixe and thirtie Maskers, diuided by twelues, in moft ftrange Anticke futes, in a moft admirable and ftately manner. Likewise vpon costly trapped fteedes, each of them hauing a Blackamore Page attending on Horfe-backe, with torch lights burning in their hands.

After them followed three Charriots of Maskers and Reuellers, in garments of a meruellous fafhion, fo artificially difguifed, that they moued much wonder. Vpon them attended a number of Footemen, bearing burning torches, and with-all, many trumpets founding melodiously, which was a fight both to Eye and Eare, of an exceeding glorie: Thefe performed many delightfull dances in his
Highnes

Highnes prefence, and other pastimes of pleasure, to the great comfort of all the beholders, and to the high honours of this magnificent Marriage.

Of the Tryumphs and Reuells vpon the next night following, being Shroue-tuesday.

THE next day being *Shroue-tuesday*, a day of pleasure, and Iollitie by custome, but farre more delightfull by reason of this magnificent marriage, which moued many occasions of mirth in his Highnes court, for euery day in feuerall attires, were the Nobilitie of the land seene flourishing in the chamber of prefence, and much was the cost spent in banqueting of forraigne estates, as well Princes Embassadors, as the Peeres and Nobles attending vpon the *Pallegraue*, which vpon this day was as royally performed, as vpon the former.

The bountie of his Maiestie exceeded, for his Highnes court was free for all people of fashion, as well Citizens as others, and few came thither that departed without kind entertainment for liberalitie, with spreading armes kept open household, whereby the time may well be recorded for a time of Princes pleasures, by reason Princes were the maintainers thereof.

The night proceeding, much expectation was made of a stage play to be acted in the great Hall by the Kings Players, where many hundred of people stood attending the same: but it hapned contrarie, for greater pleasures were preparing, which in this manner were performed, as vpon the night before a most famous maske came to court, by the Gentlemen and students of the law, from the Roles Office, by land, so some three hundred Gentlemen more, of the same estate and calling, by water, to equall them in statelines, came likewise vp the *Thames* by water, with a maske to *White-Hall*, at whose setting forth from *Winchester-house* in their Barges, a peale of ordinance placed on the backside, seemed as it were thunder, the Barges were beautified with many flagges and Streamers, lighted with a number of burning cressets and torches, attended on by Drums and Trumpets, which founded all the way most melodiously, the Gentlemen and maskers, had most glorious and rich suits of cloth of gold and siluer, with other Robes of much delight and pleasure, the entertainments in Court were gracious, and their performance as curious as the skill and Art of wit could deuise, at which the King and all the royall assembly there present, took high contentment.

The Kings Maiestie, in the royaltie of his minde, and in regard of these rare deuises of the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, (being most of them sonnes to great states of the land) inuited them all within few daies after, to a royall banquet, where not onely by his Highnes but by the *Pallegraue* and his Bride, they had most kind and friendly thankes.

D d

And

And now to conclude my discourse, the ioyes hereof were declared in manie places, as well *Citie* as *Court*: for the *Belles* of *London* rung generally in every *Church*, and in euery street *Bonfires* blazed abundantly, there was neither cost nor paines spared by his Highnes subiects, that any way might give signes of ioy, for the Marriage of his princely daughter to her royall Husband, whom *God* bleffe with long happines, and Throanes of *Angelles* keep and defend. *Amen.*

The Life and Death of our late most Incomparable and Heroique Prince HENRY, Prince of *W A L E S*. A Prince (for Valour and Vertue) fit to be imitated in succeeding Times. 1641.

Written by Sir CHARLES CORNWALLIS, Knight, Treasurer of his Highnesse's Household.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

To the High and Mighty Prince CHARLES, Prince of WALES, &c.

S I R,

FINDING this Manuscript, amongst others, I could not passe by it, as I did the rest: The Subject thereof being so rare a Prince, as it may seeme worthy your Highnesse's Perusall: In reading Him, you may read Your selfe; His Titles of Honour were the same with Yours: Your Titles of Virtues the same with His: He was, as You are, the Mirrour of the Age; which, that You may still continue, shall ever be the Prayer of

Your Highnesse's most humble Servant,

N. B.

S I R,

S I R,

YOUR imposed Taske, when with the Eyes of my Mind I considered, I found such a Multitude of Letts and Rubs herein, that it seemed unto me a Thing impossible to dare to looke after, much more to adventure to write any thing touching the *Life* and *Death* of our late most noble, and ever renowned Prince, whose high soaring Thoughts, because the World was not able to containe, the Heaven of Heavens vouchsafed to entertaine ; for both his farre every where renowned Fame thorowout this Isle, and the whole World being so great, that who should adventure to say any more, should but in vaine adde Water to the Sea : As also the Numbers of others neerer unto him, of most assured Knowledge, and better Judgement, all which knew him a great deale better than I, being able to give the World and you more full and absolute Satisfaction ; together with the Multitude and divers Sorts of religious, wise, grave, judicious, learned, criticke, and curious Censurers ; all who, if it should happen but once to peepe into the World, for the welbeloved Subject thereof, would gredily entertane and welcome the same, with their divers Humours, and piercing Judgements. These, and many more, with the Conscience of my Unworthiness, and Insufficiencie to performe so high a Task, (which rather would become some *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, or rather some one in whom all their Excellencies are combined, to performe aright) like Mountaines appeared at first in my Way ; yet because (as one saith) *In magnis voluisse sat est*, rather than it should not be done at all, and with the Losse, the Remembrance also perish, how and in what Manner we lost so brave a Prince. Sometime the Expectation of the World, and that it might for ever be knowne unto it, and you both, how exceeding great this last Duty is, which I owe to the Dead, as also how absolutely you may command him, whom your Love long since hath strictly bound to be perpetually yours, in Place of a better, I have adventured upon these ensuing Conditions, to launch out my fraile Barke, into that great Ocean of Sorrow, even from the Cradle to the Grave, whence storme-beaten as you see, I have with much adoe, recovered my desired Haven. First, that whatsoever Distaste you finde therein of any thing, you would not impute it to any Presumption of mine, but rather to my Frailty and Ignorance, which (rather than to offend you) I have herein bewrayed : Next, that whatsoever is here written of his late Highnesse, not content herewith, you would only use the same as a Ladder to mount up your Thoughts to a far more excellent Meditation of his Vertues : Further also, that you would not be too busie upon this Report to censure any of your Phisitians, or any other ; all whom, I protest, I have endeavoured to please, with-

out Partiality, so farre, as in my Judgement, the Truth would suffer me, rather imputing the Blame unto my Relation, than any of their Actions. As also, that with your accustomed Patience, you would delay to censure me for this Letter, untill with mature Judgement you have thoroughly perused the same, considering how much more easie it is to censure others, than to doe well ourselves. Again, that since the Way by which I must passe, is through a long, darke, silent, solitary, untrodden Path, leading even to the Chambers of Death, fraught altogether with Sorrow, ending in Tears, wherein I cannot chuse (but by the Excesse thereof) many Times fall, stumble, and misse of my Way, you would with your gentle Excuses reach out your Hand of Love to helpe me up againe, rather expecting what is entended, than done. Lastly, that you, with my other discreet Reader, who hereafter shall see the same, would onely use it as a Hunter's Baite, to stay your Stomachs a little, until some others of better Knowledge, and sounder Judgement, doe feed you with a better Dinner.

KNOW then that the King's Majestie and the Queene lying at the Castle of *Striveling*, (a Place famous for Antiquitie, faire for Building, pleasant for Sci-tuation) on *Tuesday* the 19. of *February* 1594, about Three a Clocke in the Morning, his Highnesse was born, to the great Joy of all the whole Isle, and all forraigne true hearted Princes and People, his Majestie's Wellwillers, and Confederates, but chiefly the Phœnix of her Age, great matchlesse ELIZABETH, to shew the exceeding Love to his Majestie, did not onely send the Right Honourable the Earle of *Suffex*, with rich Presents to the Christening, but also by him, and for Her, did give unto his Highnesse the Name of HENRY, most renowned and victorious ; after which, by speciall Appointment from his Majestie, he was resigned to the Custody and Keeping of the Earle of *Marre*, assisted also by the continuall and vigilant Care of the venerable and noble Matron his Mother, unto whom the chief Charge of his Highnesse's Person by his Majestie was given : She also, for many Yeares before, being his owne great happy Nurse, with whom he no lesse prospered in all Things, than his Royall Father before him did in the selfe same Place and Keeping. Thus continued the Strength of his Father, and the Glory of his Mother a great while in the Hands of Women, giving in this his tender Age, by his wonderfull Courage, infallible Tokens of a *Noble and Heroick Spirit*, no Mufick being so pleasant in his Eares, as the Sounding of the Trumpet, the Beating of the Drumme, the Roaring of the Cannon, no Sight so acceptable, as that of Pieces, Pistols, or any sort of Armour ; all which evidently shew, that (if he had lived) *Mars* himselfe would not one Day have dared to looke him in the Face.

Thus

Thus he remained untill the 5. or 6. Yeares of his Age ; at which Time his Majestie thought it expedient he should no longer want a Tutor. Whereupon Master *Newton* (afterwards his Secretary) was by his Majesty thought fittest for the said Place, who presently with all Care possible did begin to teach his Highnesse the Grounds of Learning, with the Introductions leading to the same.

A little after, the Women being put from about his Highnesse, divers of good Sort were appointed to attend upon his Person ; amongst whom, as chiefe, was the Right Honourable the Earle of *Marre*, together with Sir *David Murray*, Knight, first and onely Gentleman of his Highnesse's Bedchamber, to lye therein, (continuing so alwaies untill his Death) assisted also by fundry Lords, Barons, Knights and Gentlemen : At which Time, in the 7. 8. and 9. Yeares of his Age, leaving those childish and idle Toyes, usuall to all of his Yeares, he began to delight in more active and manly Exercises, learning to ride, sing, dance, leape, shoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to tosse his Pike, &c. Whereof all these Things in young Yeares, to the Admiration of all, chiefly Strangers, he did wonderfully performe ; and that with such a Grace, as it seemed incredible to forraigne Nations ; save that those of their owne, who were Spectators of the same, did assure them thereof.

Now beganne those Sparks of Piety, Majesty, Gravity, &c. which before were true, though small, to flash out bigger every Day, using a milde and gentle Behaviour towards all, chiefly to Strangers, before whom he used (if they were of good Sorts, and Nobles) to shew these Exercises, wherein he excelled all those of his Age, thereby filling their Hearts with Love, and all their Sences with Delight, departing exceeding well pleased, that they had seene Prince *Henry*.

Meane while swift winged *Time*, the Mother of Change (whilst we expected no such Alteration) joyning with the eternall Decree, which pittying that ELIZABETH, now overcloyed with earthly Joyes should any longer be detained in this Vale of *Misery*, did send the blessed Angels to change her corruptible for an incorruptible Crowne. The News whereof (in a shorter Time than ever was posted so great a Journey) was brought unto his Majestie by the honourable Sir *Ro. Carey*, Knight, who out of the Abundance of his Love, preventing all others, was the first Newes-bringer, not onely of so lamentable Death, but also of the sudden ensuing Joy, of his Majestie's right, lawfull, lineall, proclaimed Succession : who shortly after was seconded by the honourable Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Percie*, and Sir *Thomas Somersett*, Knights, with a Letter from the right honourable, the Peeres of *England*, and Lords of her late Majestie's most honourable Privy Counsell, presenting Heapes of all Sorts of dutifull Services, from so loving Subjects to

so beloved a King; withall wishing a hastie Dispatch of his Affaires, that they the sooner might enjoy his royall Prefence, which being with Speed performed, they also, (out of their great Love) longing for the rest. The Queene with his Highnesse took their Journey from *Edenborough* the first of *June*, 1602. the last of the said Moneth comming to *Windsor*, where, what Joy was at so loving a Meeting, and so long wished, I leave for you to imagine.

His Majestie lying at this foresaid Towne, his Highnesse and some other Lords, were installed Knights of the most honourable and noble Order of the Garter; after which (the Sicknesse increasing) his Highnesse removed from thence to *Oatlands*, where by Appointment from his Majestie, he tooke House by himselfe, having so many to attend upon him in every Office, as was thought fitting for his Yeares. A little after removing to *Nonfuch*, and from thence being sent for to *Winchester* by his Majestie, he againe returned to *Oatlands*, where he began to ply his Booke hard for two or three Yeares, continuing all his princely Sports, Hawking, Hunting, Running at the Ring, Leaping, Riding of great Horses, Dauncing, Fencing, Tossing of the Pike, &c. In all which, he did so farre excell as was fitting for so great a Prince; whereby, together with his continuall Trauaile, being ever in Action, he came to have a very active and strong Body; so that then he would many Times tyre all his Followers before he himselfe would be weary.

Much about this Time, being thirteene Yeares of Age, he began to know himselfe a little better, and finding himselfe to be a Prince indeed, began not onely to strive for Vertues answerable, but also to chase away the Reliques of childish Imperfections naturall to all, increasing every Day in Favour with God and Man.

In the 14. and 15. Yeares of his Age, he began to be very juditious, almost in every Thing, drawing neerer to a majestique Gravity; to be a reverent and attentive Hearer of Sermons, to give Commendations to the same, to have Boxes kept at his three severall standing Houses, *Saint James*, *Richmond*, and *Nonfuch*, causing all those who did swear in his Hearing, to pay Moneyes to the same, which were after duly given to the Poore; he beganne now also to be of an excellent Discourse, putting forth and asking strange Questions and Suppositions, both of this and forraine States, and desiring to know, and to be resolved almost of every Thing, whereby at length he attained to have a reasonable Insight and Judgement, in State-affaires; now also delighting to shoot in great and small Field-pieces, to levell them to the White, and see them shot off.

The 16. Yeare of his Age, being to come to the Time of his Investment in the Principalitie of *Wales* and *Cornewall*; he did advance his owne Title and
Right

Right so farre, as with Modestie he might: which presently was gently and lovingly entertained, and granted of his Majestie, with the Consent of the Right Honourable, the High Court of Parliament: The fourth of *June* following, being appointed for that solemne Action, the *Christmas* before which, his Highnesse not onely for his owne Recreation, but also that the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy, under the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the *Isles*, (an ancient Title due to the first borne of *Scotland*) did in his Name. by some appointed for the same Purpose, strangely attired, accompanied with Drummes and Trumpets in the Chamber of Prefence, before the King and Queene, and in the prefence of the whole Court, deliver a Challenge to all Knights of *Great-Brittaine*, in two Speeches; the Relation whereof were out of Purpose, but the Summe was:

That *Meliades*, their noble Master, boyling with an earnest Desire, to trie the Valour of his young Yeares in foraigne Countreyes, and to know where Vertue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to espy the same, who after their long Trauailes in all Countreyes, and Returne; shewing, how no where in any Continent, save in the fortunate Isle of *Great-Brittaine*, they had found his Wishes; which ministring Matter of exceeding Joy to their young *Meliades*, who (as they said) could lineally derive his Pedegree from the famous Knights of this Isle, was the Cause that he had now sent to present the first Fruits of his Chivalrie at his Majestie's Feete. Then after, returning with a short Speech to her Majestie, next to the Earles, Lords, and Knights, excusing their Lord in this their so sudder and short Warning: and lastly, to the Ladies; they after humble Delivery of their Chartle, concerning Time, Place, Conditions, Number of Weapons, and Assailants, tooke their Leave, departing solemnly as they entred.

Now began every where Preparations to be made for this great Fight, and happy did he thinke himselfe who should be admitted for a Defendant, much more Assailant: At last, to encounter his Highnesse, with his six Assailants, 58 Defendants consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, were appointed and chofen, eight Defendants to one Assailant, every Assailant being to Fight by Turnes, eight severall Times fighting, two every Time with Push of Pike and Sword, twelve Stroakes at a Time; after which, the Barre for Separation was to be let downe until a fresh Onset.

The great Night of this Solemnity now approaching, his Highnesse in his owne Lodging, in the *Christmas*, did feast the Earles, Barons, and Knights Assailants, and Defendants, untill the great Twelfth appointed Night, on which this great Fight was to be performed; which being come, his Highnesse, to the great Wonder of the Beholders, did admirably fight his Part, giving and receiving that

Night, 32 Pushes of Pikes, and about 360 Stroakes of Swords, which is scarce credible in so young Yeares, enough to assure the World, that *Great-Britaine's* brave HENRY aspired to Immortality.

Against the Morrow, after the same said Fight, was also prepared a magnificent Feast at his Highnesse's House at Saint *James's*, at which his Majestie, his Highnesse, his Brother and Sister, with all the other Earles, Lords, and Knights of the Court were present; where after Supper (according as before they had beene judged) his Highnesse gave three Prizes, to the three best deserving, *viz.* to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Montgomery* one, and to Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Robert Gourdon*, Knights, the other two.

The Barriers finished, and Prizes won, judged and delivered, shortly after began Preparation every where to be made for his Highnesse's *Creation*, every one from the highest to the lowest (to shew their exceeding Love) striving who should exceed in Bravery, untill fast-posting *Time* at length brought forth the long wished for Day; before which, his Highnesse then lying at *Richmond*, a House situate on the Rivers Side, seven Miles from *Westminster*, the Place of his *Creation*, the Custome being to be brought from such a Place, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the worshipfull Aldermen his Brethren, accompanied with thirtie six severall Companies of Citizens of divers Callings, in so many severall Barges, and all Citie-like braverie possible, with their severall Flagges, Banners, Colours, Armes, Trumpets, Drummes, and Phyfes, with other such Provision, came from their mighty and renowned City, up the Silver-streamed River, to welcome, meet and accompany his Highnesse, towards the solemne Action, where having encountred with his Highnesse's Barges with all the Joy, Love, and Kindnesse possible, to the Wonder of the World, all Eyes were bent towards so joyfull and desired a Sight: they came altogether rowing downe the proud River, which for two or three Miles together, seemed to be covered with Pinnaces, Barges, Boates, and Oares unto *Whitehall*-bridge at the Court, where he was also received, and welcommed by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsell, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his Majestie, where he remained until the Time of his *Creation*, which being the next Day, he was in Presence of the Right Honourable the High Court of Parliament, Lords Spirituall and Temporall, by his Majestie, the King his Father, created *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornwall*, *Great Earle of Chester*, &c. with a full Investment in all the ancient and great Liberties, ever possessed by any of his famous Predecessors, and with the Joy and Approbation of the whole House.

His

His Highnesse being now absolute of himselfe, did take up House with a full Addition of high Officers ; Sir *Thomas Challener* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasurer, and Sir *John Hollis* Comptrouler of his House ; making good and strict Orders through the same, both above and below Staires, more like a grave, wise, and ancient Counsellour, surveying, disposing, and dispatching his Affaires, then so young and great a Prince : Now were allotted unto him certaine Lands for his Revenues, which he was so farre from diminishing, that he left the same encreased, by Thousands a Yeare ; his Servants did now begin to looke which Way to helpe themselves, since his Highnesse was every Day more and more able to give : yet he being very sparing to give any Thing, did onely give Grants unto some, with Promises, Hopes and Delayes unto others, because he would not (he said) dispose of any thing, untill with the Gift he might perpetrate the same, which could not be, untill either Yeares, or the High Court of Parliament should enable him ; but this Time as yet not being come, he went on his owne frugall Courses, suffering almost nothing to passe in his House, or other Affaires, which he himselfe did not oversee.

At last, bethinking himselfe that *Wales* and *Cornwall*, &c. his Principalitie, had a long Time beene without a Prince of their owne, he thought he might the rather shew his Authority in renewing and avoyding Leases ; wherefore having first by a Writ, called *Scire facias*, avoided and annihilated all their former Rights and Leases, he brought them unto a generall Submission to compound, take and hold new of him ; which they were all ready to performe, a little before his Death : Whereupon Surveyors, and Commissioners were appointed, and dispatched to survey all his Lands, and to returne a true Certificate of the whole Value ; untill which, (being but a little before his Sicknesse and Death) he deferred all manner of Suits, because he would first be informed truely, what, and how great their Demands were.

In the 17. and 18. Yeares of his Age he began not onely to be a Man in Stature, but also in Courage and Wisdome, to the Admiration of all, and with the Eyes of his Spirit surveying the mighty Inheritance whereunto he was Heire apparant, he did also straine to be the better furnished (if ever his shoulders should undergoe so great a Burthen with Furniture befitting the same, it being Wisdome, in the Time of Peace, to prepare for the same, knowing that Peace is the Harbinger of Warre, (chiefly in Ships, counted the brazen Wall of this Isle) he in the Time of our Security thought thereof : and therefore did not only intreate his Majestie to cause his Officers of the Navy to build him a Ship, called the *Prince*, (then the fairest of this Isle) but also to advance the Affaires of the Navy, to his Power, now and then got leave of his Majestie to goe in Person to

view the Ships, and Store-houses, which divers Times he did. Not content herewith, he did also practise Tilting, Charging on Horsebacke with Pistols, after the Manner of the Wars, with all other the like Inventions. Now also delighting to conferre, both with his owne, and other Strangers, and great Captaines, of all Manner of Wars, Battailes, Furniture, Armes by Sea and Land, Disciplines, Orders, Marches, Alarmes, Watches, Stratagems, Ambuscadoes, Approaches, Scalings, Fortifications, Incampings, and having now and then Battailes of Headmen appointed both on Horse and Foot, in a long Table; whereby he might in a Manner view the right Ordering of a Battaile, how every Troope did aide and assist another, as also the placing of the Light Horsemen, Vauntguard, Maine Battaile, with the assisting Wings, and Rerewards, &c. which are out of my Element to speake of. Neither did he omit, as he loved the *Theoricke* of these Things, to practise the same, entertaining in his House a *Dutch* Captaine, sent unto him by his Excellence (*Grave Maurice*) a most excellent Engineer, in all Manner of Things belonging to the *Wars*; causing also, from Time to Time, new Pieces of Ordnance to be made, learning to shoot, and levell them right to the White: No lesse provident was he to have great Horses, and those of the best, which were sent unto him from all Countryes; so that I may truely affirme, no Prince in Christendome did exceed him therein. Thus in these, and other worldly Pleasures, which stooped for Acquaintance unto Greatnesse, did he spend the Yeares past.

In the 19. Yeare of his Age, whether by his continuall Toile of Body, and Minde, or some internall unknowne Causes (I know not) where before he was of somewhat a full round Face, and very pleasant Disposition, his Visage began to appeare somewhat paler, longer and thinner than before, he himselfe being also more sad and retired than usuall, yet without any Complaint of him, or Jealousie of his Followers, save that some halfe a Yeare after, he would now and then complaine of a small Kinde of giddy, lumpish Heavinesse in his Forehead; the Paine whereof moved him (as I thinke) for the most Part, ever before he would put on his Hat, to stroke up with his Hand his Brow and Forehead; he did also use to bleed at the Nose often, and in great Quantitie, wherein he found great Ease, untill a little before his Sicknesse, (the Passages being stopped) this Helpe, to his further Griefe, left him; he was now subject to many strong and extraordinary Qualmes, so that for Danger and Celerity they were forced many Times to fetch him againe with strong Waters, which being onely by Intermission now and then, were let passe as they came, without any Suspition of so suddaine Sorrowes.

Much

Much about the Beginning of this Summer, there could almost be no Newes heard, but of his Sister's Marriage, of which many Speeches went currant, according to the divers Affections of Protestants and Papists; some wishing her to be married to the King of *Spaine*, some to the Prince of *Savoy*, some to the young *Landgrave*, and some to his Highnesse the *Palsgrave* her now Husband. But he following the Streame of his Father's well settled Affections, for *Great-Britaine's* eternall Felicity, and Terrour of all Papists, did onely fancy the *Palsgrave's* Motion, shortly after advancing the same by all Meanes possible at the Coming of the Right Honourable the Count *Hannaw*: the *Palsgrave's* great Ambassadour, whose Errand as the Speech went, was to knit up this Match, unto whose Suite his Highnesse did not onely give Way, and second the Businesse, but also in Signe of Love, entertaine, and countenance the said Count (next unto his Majesty) more than any, never resting untill all was agreed (as Thankes be to God) it is now finished.

Matters now being at Rest, the Duke of *Bovillon*, and Count *Hannaw* having returned home againe, his Highnesse removed to *Richmond*, where he lay untill the Progresse; the Pleasure of the River running close by the House, inviting him now and then to swimme, which he endeavoured to learne in the Evening, to the Dislike of many, who did see him swimme after Supper, his Stomack being full, affirming it to be full of Danger, and that it was needlesse for him to adventure himselfe in the Water; but no Remedy, he would needs continue the same, and did untill his removing from thence. He did now also delight many Times to walke late at Night by the River's Side in Moone Light, to heare the Trumpets sound an Eccho, which many suspected, because the Dew then falling did him small good.

But the Time of the Progresse now approaching (when as he was commanded) he must needs meet the King his Father at *Beaver Castle*, in *Nottinghamshire* the second *Saturday* after the Beginning of the same, which now drawing neere, his Highnesse neither considering the Strength of his Body, the Greatnesse of the Journey, (being neere fourescore and sixteene Miles) nor the extreame and wonderfull Heat of the Season, and notwithstanding my Persuasions to the contrary, determined to ride that great Journey in 2 Dayes, according to which he set forth on *Fryday* by one of the Clock in the Morning from his House at *Richmond*, comming to *Finchingbrooke* besides *Huntingdom*, a House pertaining to Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Knight, Master of his Game, by tenne of the Clock in the Morning, which as they say is threescore Miles, in nine Houres posting, where he remained all that Night, the next Day having six and thirty Miles to *Beaver Castle*, where he met with his Father just at the Time prefixed.

But the Time of one Thing, I had almost forgot to tell you, how before his Comming from *Richmond* in intending to feast the Court at his Mannor of *Woodstock* about the End of this Progresse (it being the first Time of their generall Meeting there, since the House became his) had given Order to his Officers to provide a most magnifque Feast against their Comming to the foresaid House ; withall having ordained a great Summer-house of greene Boughes to be built in the Parke wherein the great Supper should be, all which was with Speed performed : meane while, although the Season was exceeding hot, his Highnesse did ride many and extraordinary Journeyes in the same (which as was thought) did much incline his boyling Bloud towards Inflammation.

At last, their Journies being towards an End, to *Woodstock* they came, where his Highnesse (according to his former Intention) did feast the Lords and Ladies at a long Table, neere which he himselfe did beare them Company from the *Wednesday* Night of their Comming, untill the *Sunday* Night, which (unknowne to him) he had appointed for the last great Farewell unto all his Friends ; by this Time the appointed Night for this great Feast being come, his Highnesse did himselfe in Person come into the banqueting House, to see all Things in good Order, for great was his Care to give Contentment.

At last, the King and Queene being set at a Table by themselves at the upper End of the Roome, his Highnesse with his Sister, accompanied with the Lords and Ladies, sitting at another Table of thirty Yards long and more, by themselves, there was to be seene one of the greatest and best ordered Feasts as ever was seene, nothing wanting which any Way was fitting to adorn such a solemne Meeting ; all which, to the generall Joy of the whole Court, his Highnesse, like to the Princely Bridegroom chearing and welcoming his Guests, there appeared an univerrall Contentment in all ; but little knew he, that it was his last great Farewel to his Father, Mother, Sister, yea, unto the whole Court, that it was his last Feast of Feasts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke back unto the same, therein beholding his Highnesse's cheerefull Carriage, the Time, Order, State, Magnificence, and Greatness thereof, we may behold somewhat ominous therein.

The *Monday* after, the Court removing from thence, his Highnesse, after Leave obtained, hasted Home againe to *Richmond*, because of the Newes of the *Palfegrave's* Approach, whom he intended to grace with all possible Honour. Being returned, he began to give order for every thing, and to dispatch all Affaires both of his owne, and concerning the following intended Triumphes, for his Highnesse the *Palfegrave's* better Welcome : He now also of himselfe (I know not by what Motion) considering the great Paines, Deserts, and small Meanes of
a Number

a Number of his Followers, who had spent much, and got nothing in his Service, did give order for a Number of severall Pensions, according to his Discretion, to some of them, promising also, after a while (that none should be discouraged) to remember the rest.

But now, whether the continuall Violences of his Exercises, or his too frequent Eating of Abundance of Grapes, and other Fruits, or some settled Melancholy, engendred by some unknowne Causes, I cannot determine, yet did he looke still more pale and thinne, from Day to Day, complaining now and then, of a cold, lasie, Drowsinesse in his Head, which (as I think) moved him many Times to aske Questions of divers about him, and concerning the Quality, Cure, and Nature of the Fever, called (for the strange Diversitie) *The new Disease*; belike, fearing some such like Thing by his Indisposition. He also used before this, now and then, and in his Sicknesse to sigh often, whereof being sometimes demanded the Cause by his Phisicians, Doctor *Hammond*, and others neere him, he would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without Cause.

At the beginning of *October*, his continual Head-ach, Lazinesse, and Indisposition increasing, (which notwithstanding because of the Time, he strove mightily to conceale, (whereas oft before, he used to rise early in the Morning to walke the Fields, he did lye a-bed almost every Morning untill Nine of the Clocke, complayning of his Lazinesse, and that he knew not the Cause; during which Time (belike jealous of himselfe) he would many Mornings before his Rising, aske of the Groomes of his Bed-chamber, How doe I looke this Morning? And at other Times the same Question againe; which they, fearing no Danger, to make his Highnesse laugh, would put off with one Jest or other.

But he still continuing ill, the Tenth of the aforesaid Moneth, he had two small Fits of an Ague, forcing him to keep his Chamber; which his Highnesse finding, had some Speech with Doctor *Hammond*, his Phisician, willing belike to have taken some strong Phisicke, the sooner to have removed the Cause. But he not daring to be too bold with his Highnesse's Body, without a further Consent, did onely give unto his Highnesse a softening Glister, which had its owne good Effects, stirring the Humours.

On the Morning, being *Tuesday*, the Thirteenth of *October*, he having (as was thought) taken Cold, had a great Loosenesse, his Belly opening 25 Times, avoiding a great deale of Choller, Flegme, and putrified Matter toward the Ende, yet for all this, on the Morrow, he finding himselfe (as he said) reasonable well; because of the *Palsgrave's* Comming, he hasted from thence to Saint James's,

James's, whereupon he gave Order, and would needs remove on *Thursday*, the Thirteenth of the same Moneth, notwithstanding any Perswasions whatsoever to the contrary, neither was it without great Danger (as they all shewed him) to hazard himselfe abroad so soone, his Body being yet open: but he affirming himselfe to be very well, would needs go on with his former Determination.

At last to Saint *James's* he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that fundry did speake suspitiously of his Lookes, fearing some Distemper in his Body: yet so strong was his Minde, that complaining of nothing, he did beare out the Matter very bravely in Shew, being so well, that he gave his Physitian (who had waited a long Time) Leave to goe Home to his House; meane while his Indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have beene perceived in him a sudden great Change, for he began to be displeased almost with every thing, and to be exceeding curious in all Things, yet not regarding, but looking, as it were, with the Eyes of a Stranger upon them, for fundry Things shewed him, which before he had wonted to talke of; aske Questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to looke upon, turning them away with the Backe of his Hand, and departing, as who would say, I take Pleasure in nothing; yet was he wonderfully busie in providing, and giving Order for every thing belonging his Care, for his Sister's Marriage, advancing the same by all Meanes possible, keeping also his Highnesse the *Palsgrave* Company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count *Henry* his Excellencie, *Grave Maurice* his Brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a Noble and Heroicke Disposition, which he saw in him, fitting his Humour, with whom he used to play often at Cardes, and Tennis, delighting much in his Company; and above all the rest, one great Match they had at Tennis, on *Saturday* the 24. of *October*, the Day before his last Sicknesse, where his undaunted Courage, negligently, carelessly, and wilfully (neither considering the former weake Estate of his Body, Danger, nor Coldnesse of the Season) as though his Body had been of Brasse, did play in his Shirt, as if it had beene in the Heate of Summer; during which Time, he looked so wonderfull ill and pale, that all the Beholders tooke Notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared: But he (the Match being ended) carried himselfe so well, as if there were no such Matter, having all this while a reasonable good Stomack to Meat; yet this Night, at his going to Bed, complaining more than usual of his Lazinesse and Head-ache.

But oh whither goe I now? must I againe launch out into a Sea of Sorrowes, adding more Griefes unto our yet bleeding Wounds? Oh Death! was there no Remedy? When wilt thou make an End? Shall the Grave devour alwayes?

Was thy Charge so strait that thou could'st shoote neither at great nor small, but at the *Prince* of our *Israel*? Doe sweete smelling Flowers so much delight thy grisly ghastly Senses Appetite, that thou wouldst gather none but our fairest well beloved, scarce blown, Rose? Why didst thou so soone robbe us? I know (but that thou, who scornest to reason with thy Captives, disdainest to answer thy Slaves) thou couldst give us many Reasons: Wherefore I leave to reason with thee, and turning againe to my dolefull Relation, will begin, &c.

Quanquam animus meminisse horret, luctusque refugit ;

For, ——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrimis ? &c.

On *Sunday* Morning the five and twenty of *October*, 1612. the Morrow after his Highnesse's violent Play at Tennies, it was told him (the Custome of his House being to have the Sermon betimes in the Morning, for the most Part where the Court lay so neere; because he used after his owne, to heare the King's also) that Master *Wilkinson*, one of his Father's Chaplaines, was ready, and did present his Service to preach that Morning (if it pleased his Highnesse to heare him) which he no sooner heard, but contrary to his late usuall Custome of long Time (although that Morning he found himselfe somewhat drousie and ill) addressed himselfe to be made ready, for he wonderfully delighted to heare the said Master *Wilkinson*; ever since the Time (long before) in which he heard him preach a Sermon of Judgement, which he did so well like of, that many Times he did speake of the same, affirming it to have beene so excellent, that he in a Manner did shew them the same; long it was not ere his Highnesse was ready and gone to the Chappell to heare him.

But ere I proceed, give mee Leave I entreate you, to admire the wonderfull Providence and Goodnesse of God, which did so provide for him a Sermon of *Mortification*, or Preparation, which you will: For the Time, Text, powerfull Delivery, *Method*, &c. were also fitting to our following unthought of *Funerall*, as though an Angell had come the whole Weeke before from Heaven, prefixing unto him the Time, Necessity, Text, Order, and Amplifications thereof, so truly did he thunder out the mortall Misery of Mankind, but chiefly of *Princes*: The Text was out of *Job* the 14. and 1. Verse, *Man that is borne of a Woman, is of full short Continuance and of Trouble*. From which he shewed 3 Things; first, our miserable Entry into the World, and short Continuance; lastly, our miserable *Pilgrimage*, and Endurance in the World full of Trouble; in which
the

the Misery and Troubles of all Estates were well shewed, but chiefly those of great Ones. Sermon being ended, his Highnesse did commend the same, being very attentive all the Time thereof; presently thereafter going into *Whitehall*, where he also did heare another Sermon with the King his Father; which being also done, to dinner they went, his Highnesse in outward Appearance eating with a reasonable good Stomack, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghastly dead Eyes perceived of a great many.

The first Day.

After Dinner, for all his great Courage and Strife to over-master the Greatnesse of his Evill dissembling the same, the Conqueror of all, about 3 a Clock in the Afternoone began to skirmish, with a suddaine Sicknesse and Faintnesse of the Heart (usuall unto him) whereupon followed shortly after a Shaking, with a great Heat and Headache, which from henceforth never left him; his Highnesse finding himselfe thus suddainely taken, was forced to take his Leave, departing Home unto his Bed; where being laid, he found himselfe very ill, remaining all this Evening in an Agony, having a great Drought (which after this could never be quenched but with Death) his Eyes also being so dimme, that they were not able to endure the Light of a Candle; for which that Night was ordained unto him a Cordiall of cooling *Ptisane* for quenching of his Thirst, with a moistning Broath to be given at the Ending of the Fit. This Night he rested ill.

The second Day.

On the Morrow after, being *Monday* the six and twenty of the Month, and the second of his Sicknesse; his Highnesse felt small or no Ease of his Headache, continuing bound in his Belly, his Pulse beating exceedingly, his Water being crude, thinne, and whitish, which moved Doctor *Mayerne*, his Majestie's chiefe Phisitian, to appoint for him a softening Glister, which accordingly to their Desire did worke very well. After which his Highnesse finding Intermission (which continued all that Day) did arise, and put on his Clothes, playing at Cards that Day, and the next also, with his Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, and Count *Henry*: meane while there were many Messages sent from the Court, and every where else, to know how Things went, all which (no Creature surmising the least Danger) were answered with good Hopes, yet his Highnesse for all this looked ill and pale, spake hollow, and somewhat strangely, with dead funk
i Eyes,

Eyes, his Drineffe of Mouth and great Thirst continuing, for the which that Night were ordained unto him by the aforefaid Doctors, sharpe, tarte cordiall, and cooling Juleps, prepared with all kind of Cordials and Antidotes poffible, his Brothes and Gellies being with the fame Care ordained: yet his Drought and Head-ache continuing (which could not be ftayed) he remained ftill very ill, this Night refting quietly.

The third Day.

On *Tuesday* the feven and twenty, the third Day of his Sickneffe, he found fome Eafe in the Morning, fo that they were all in good Hope that it would have proved but fome Tertian, or baftard Tertian at the moft, notwithstanding that his Highneffe, ghafly rowling uncoath Lookes, did put them in fome Feare.

This Day his Majesty did fend Master *Nafmith*, his Surgeon, to attend his Highneffe during his Sickneffe; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highneffe's Sickneffe, and the Danger of the fame; Doctor *Mayerne* did fay, that, in his Judgement, the fureft Way for his Highneffe's Safety was bleeding (as was thought) very fubftantially proving from the very dangerous forenamed Accidents and Indications of this Tertian, which he feared to be venomous, by reafon Humours feated in the natural Parts, inclining, by reafon of the Quantity, to a continuall; that Bleeding chiefly, and that in great Quantity with Reiteration (if Need fo required :) Now whileft his Highneffe was ftrong, naturall Heate not being decayed, nor too much oppreffed, before that Fever turned continuall, and he weaker, and leffe able to endure hereafter, would prove the fureft Way for his Safety. But the fame his Opinion, not being allowed of the reft (whom by Conference, when he named, or fpoke of Blood) he found directly oppofite; there was as yet no Confultation for Blood-letting, nor any Inclination that Wayes.

This Morning he did rife and put on his Cloathes; but his Fit comming about Noone, firft with a cold, then a great Heate, without any Sweat, continuing untill Eight a Clock at Night, he was forced to go to Bed againe, this Night refting quietly.

The fourth Day.

On *Wednesday* the eight and twentieth, and fourth Day of his Sickneffe, in the Morning, came Master *Butler*, the famous Phyfitian of *Cambridge*, a marvel-

lous great Scholler, and of long Practise, and singular Judgment, but withall very humerous ; who (whatsoever he thought) comforting him with good Hopes, that he would shortly recover, and that there was no Danger ; yet secretly unto others, did not let to speake doubtfully, (as they say, his Humour is) that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same ; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with divers other like Speeches ; neither could he be perswaded, all the Time of his Highnesse's Sicknesse, to stay any longer with him than one Houre, or thereabouts, every Morning ; and so in the Afternoone, to give his Counsell and Advice with the rest : what moved him I know not, whether he did mislike the *French Doctors Company*, or because the Cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and misliking his Highnesse's Disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the Cure (which I rather imagine ;) or whether his Health or Humour impeached the same, I dare not judge ; the curious may best learne from himselfe ; yet having at his Comming enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the Continuance of the same Proceedings, untill a further Judgement might be given of the same Event : yet did his Highnesse finde small or no Ease, but his Fever, as yet not being continuall, he did rise and put on his Clothes, they all as yet conceiving reasonable good Hopes.

The former Daies and this, his Stomack was not quite lost, but he would now and then take some such Meate as the Phisitians thought fitting ; yet the Doctors, *viz. Mayere, Hamond, Butler*, all considering the Greatnesse of the Danger, and the Strangenesse of the Disease, the Water in no Way shewing the same, which made them the loather to meddle, untill the *Crisis* were seene, his Highnesse remaining in the same Estate, the many dangerous forenamed Accidents, with the Good of the former Evacuations, his Belly now being hard bound, &c. would willingly have had more Doctors called for Consultation ; which his Highnesse altogether refusing to allow of, because of the Confusion, They by a generall Consent (his Highnesse then having Intermission of his Fever) under all their Hands, did by their owne Report, give unto him a Purgation of *Sena* sod, and *Rhubarb*, infused in Cordiall and cooling Liquors, with Syrupe of *Roses* loosing, which working seven or eight Times, brought away great Store of putred Choler, and in the End Phlegme, the Urine inclining somewhat towards Concoction. But his Highnesse after the Working thereof, found not that Ease that was expected ; yet was still fed with Hopes of his Recovery. But Night being come, (towards which, during all his Sicknesse, he grew worse than in the Morning, wherein he was more sober alwaies than in the Evening)

his Headache, Droughts and other Accidents, continuing, though not with Extremity, he rested ill, and unquietly.

The fifth Day.

On *Thursday* the nine and twentieth, and fifth Day of his Sicknesse, Hopes began a little to diminish, howbeit that Morning his Headache was somewhat lessened, his Breath also (which before was short) being longer, which moved him to put on his Cloathes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before; but his Head being so giddy, that he was not able to stand alone, he was forced to betake him to his Bed againe, from henceforth ever keeping his Bed: Neuertheless the tingling of his Eares, the Leapings and Boundings continuing alike; as also a small Fit coming upon him, with a little Coldnesse, the Fever thereafter being continuall, with many small Intermissions, and small and great redoublings, the Violence whereof caused his Tongue to become black and drie, the Leapings, and Boundings, and ringing of the Eares encreasing. Many neere unto him, jealous of so bad Signes without Amendment, feared the worst, his Highnesse now being forced to keep his Bed continually, his Head being so giddy, that he could not stand upright, his Eyes also so dimme, that he could not indure the Candle Light; yet still the Doctors, by Reason of his extraordinary Patience (not fully knowing the Danger which afterwards appeared) not willing nor daring to be too bold, untill some certaine further Knowledge, delayed to conclude of any Thing, save that his Highnesse should still be plyed with all Sorts of Cordiall Juleps, which Art, or Experience could thinke of. Master *Butler's* Advise, they say, was the same, that Cordials externall, and internall, the Restoratives and Diet begun, should be continued.

Thus no other Course as yet been thought of, still expecting the Successe of new Daies; Delaies bred Danger, his Highnesse remained ill, having no Evacuation by Sweat, neither was it expedient (as was thought) to force the same, still expecting Nature's owne Time, which deceived them.

This Evening there appeared a fatall Signe about two Houres or more within the Night, bearing the Colours and Shew of a *Rainbow*, which hung directly crosse and over Saint *James's* House, it was perceived about Seven a Clock at Night, which I my selfe did see, which divers others looking thereupon with Admiration, continuing untill past Bed-time, being no more seene: This Night was unquiet, and he rested ill.

The sixth Day.

On *Friday* the thirtieth, and sixth Day of his Sicknesse, he remained in the same Estate, no Creature knowing what to say or make of his Sicknesse, some fearing one Thing, and some another, the Doctor's still attending the Issue of the eighth Day, but for all that his Highnesse's Fever remained continuall, with all the former cruell Accidents, for which this Morning was given him a Glister for washing of his Bowels, in which he found some Ease.

About Three a Clock in the Afternoone came his lesser Doubling; during which his Breath became short, his Face very red, his Pulse beating very swiftly; in which Fit his Nose began to bleed (as some thought about two Ounces) then after staying of it selfe, whereby he found some Ease, not having bled (as his Custome was) of a great while before.

From this Time forth, chiefly Doctor *Mayerne*, with Master *Nasmith*, his Majestie's Chirurgian, began to propound the Necessity of Bleeding, as heretofore they had done, whereunto Nature now invited, the Fever remaining continuall, with a great abounding Fulnesse, in a Constitution excessively hot, in a Body which had much used bleeding, deprived of that Benefit for some Moneths before, yet the rest being sparing and loath to heare of the same, there was nothing done, this Day also passing as the rest; all this while the excessive Paine of his Head continuing, as also his Heate and Thirst, for which his Mouth and Tongue were continually washed; yet for all this his Highnesse and the rest were still encouraged, that he should shortly recover, although indeed he became still worse and worse. This Night he rested ill, being alwayes somewhat better in the Morning.

The seventh Day.

On *Saturday* the last of the Moneth, and seventh of his Sicknesse, there appeared no Amendment, his Highnesse continuing in a wonderfull excessive Heat, after which came the great redoubling, raving as he was awake, with Blacknesse, Drines, and Clifts in his Tongue, was continually applied with all Things needful, but to no Purpose, save a little Ease for the present, as also the tingling of the Eares, Leapings and Boundings became greater, the Urine's more crude, yet no Way shewing the Danger of the Disease all this while, untill a little before his Death; over and above all other Griefes he found his Head exceedingly pained, a Thing lying as it had been a Lumpe in his Forehead, which together with the Ulceration of his Throat, made him loath to speake, but
when

when he must needs, and then not without great Pain, the Extremity, as it were, of the Evill overcomming and stupifying the Vitals and Senses, striving to subdue naturall Heat, and oppressing the Heart, notwithstanding the doubling and trebling of the Cordials to withstand the same.

This Day also, Nature (as the Day before) though not in Quantity, did (as was said) shew the Necessity of Bleeding, for which Cause it was with more Instance againe propounded, and urged, than ever, as the onely Meanes, under God, to save his Highnesse; at length after much adoe *pro & contra*, Doctor *Mayerne* urging, and Master *Butler* chiefly withstanding the same, mistaking the first Beginning of his Highnesse's Sicknesse, in the End, the three Doctors, *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, and *Butler* did agree, that on the Morrow being *Sunday* (the eighth broken, and the seventh whole Day of his last Sicknesse) a Vaine should be opened; all this while untill his Bleeding was past, they conceived good Hope of his Recovery, yet he remained dangerously ill; you must imagine that all this while of his Sicknesse, the whole World did almost every Houre send unto Saint *James's* for Newes; the better Sort who were admitted to visit him; or acquainted with those neere unto him, knowing the Danger, the rest fearing nothing, imagining it onely to have beene some common Tertian, for which Cause in many Places neere unto the City he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerously sick. This Night was more cruell and unquiet unto him than any other.

The eighth Day.

On *Sunday* the first of *November*, and the eight Day of his Sicknesse, according to their former Agreement, after much adoe, Master *Butler* resisting to consent that he should be let Bloud, because (as he said) it was the eighth Day, preferring to have left them, untill he was forced to stay and give his Consent; Doctor *Hamond* and others proving unto him, that it was not the eighth Day, his Highnesse being ill of a long Time before, (howsoever he strangely with a wonderfull Courage and Patience concealed the same;) his Highnesse being still after one, in the Prefence of the foresaid Doctors, and divers others of very good Worth, in the Morning was drawne out of the *Median* of his right Arme, seven or eight Ounces of Bloud, during which Time he fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to stoppe the same, finding some Ease as it were upon the Instant: The Bloud being cold, was seene of all to be thinne, corrupt and putred, with a cholerick and blewish Water above, without any *Fibres*, or small Strings, therein, scarce congealed.

This

This Day, after his Bleeding, he found great Ease, infomuch as since the Beginning of his Sicknesse he had not found himselfe so well, his Pulse inclining towards a more gentle Motion, missing his former wonted cruell Doublings, and his former Accidents being lesse and more mild. This Afternoone he was visited by his Royall Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the *Palsgrave*, with divers others of the Court; all which conceiving good Hopes, departed from thence reasonably cheerefull. Yet that Night (though better than others) he passed unquietly.

The ninth Day.

On *Monday* the second of *November*, and ninth of his Sicknesse, he became worse than ever, the great redoubling comming upon him, accompanied with Rednesse of Face, Shortnesse of Breath, Increase of Drought, Blacknesse of his Tongue, with excessive Heat, somewhat lesse than it was the seventh Day, and Benumbings, which now, with the Encrease of all the former Accidents tormented him; briefly, so many evill Signes appeared, that some of the Doctors then plainly affirmed, that by violence of the Disease, the Bloud and Humours were retired in Abundance, with great Violence towards the Braine, filling the Veins abundantly (as afterwards in the opening did appeare) by reason whereof the Paine of his Head was extreame great, his Spirits being as it were overcome.

This Morning Doctor *Atkins* (a Phisitian of *London*, famous for his Practice, Honesty, and Learning) was sent by his Majesty to assist the rest in the Cure; whose Opinion (as they said) was, that his Highnesse's Disease was a corrupt putred Fever, the Seat whereof was under the Liver in the first Passages, the Malignity whereof, he thought, by reason of the Putrifaction (in almost the highest Degree) was venomous.

This Day and the next, he was visited by the King his Father, and others of the Court, whose exceeding Sorrow I cannot expresse; yet were they still fed with some good small Hopes of his Recovery. All this while, although he grew every Day worse and worse, yet none discouraged him with any Speech of Death (so loath they were to thinke of his Departure) he himselfe being so tormented with this, and the next Dayes Sicknesse, that he could not thinke thereof; or if he had, yet the Physitians Courage, and Hope of Life, which good Opinion (his unspeakable Patience not any way complaining, so that he could not have beene knowne to be sicke, but by his Lookes) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no Danger, dashed the same.

This

This Night came upon him greater Alienations of Braine, Ravings and idle Speeches out of Purpose, calling for his Cloathes, and his Rapier, &c. saying, he must be gone, he would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great Griefe of all that heard him, whose Hopes now began to vanish.

The tenth Day.

Tuesday the third of the Moneth, and the tenth of his Sicknesse, he became worse than before, all his former Accidents encreasing exceedingly, his Boundings being turned into convulsions, his raving and benumbing becomming greater, the Fever more violent; whereupon Bleeding was again proposed by Doctor *Mayerne*, and the Favourers thereof, who still affirmed, that he did mislike the too sparing Proceeding with his Highnesse; alledging, that in this Case of Extremity, they must (if they meane to save his Life) proceed in the Cure, as though it were to some meane Person, forgetting him to be a Prince, whom they had now in Hand, otherwise he said, (for ought he saw) because he was a Prince he must die, but if he were a meane Person, he might be saved. But this his Opinion being disallowed of most, they continued and increased their Cordials, giving unto him a Glyster, which brought away Aboundance of corrupt and putred Matter, together with some Raysons, which (as was thought) he had eaten twelve Dayes before.

This Day also, for easing of the extreame Paine of his Head, the Hair was shaven away, and Pigeons and Cupping Glassees applyed to lessen and draw away the Humour, and that superfluous Blood from the Head, which he endured with wonderfull and admirable Patience, as though he had beene insensible of Paine; yet all without any good, save perhaps some small seeming Hope of Comfort for the present.

Now began the Pilots, who guided this fraile Barque of his Highnesse's Body, almost to despaire, to escape the ensuing Tempests; some of whose Lookes did now more than ever discourage the rest. For this Night he became very weake, the Fever augmenting, the Raving becomming worse than ever, in which he began to tosse and tumble, to sing in his Sleepe, profering to have leaped out of the Bed, gathering the Sheets together, the Convulsions being more violent: In which Extremity, his Tongue, Mouth, and Throat being more dry than ever, yet called he not for any kind of Moisture, complaining of Thirst, which evidently shewed, that the Vehemencie of his Disease had overcome the Seat of Reason, otherwise he could not but have complained, as he did before.

The

The eleventh Day.

On *Wednesday* the fourth of *November*, and the eleventh Day of Sicknesse, all Hopes of Recovery were lesse than ever, the Physitians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries beginning to be dismaied, but that like stout Pilots, they did beare it out bravely, so long as was possible ; yet (as Men perplexed in such an Extremity) the most Part were of Opinion, that the *Crisis* was to be seene, before a finall Resolution, of which there was as yet small Appearance : all the former Accidents meane while encreased, the whole World beginning to be afraide. This Day a Cocke was cloven by the Backe, and applyed unto the Soles of his Feet, but in vaine ; the Cordials also were redoubled in Number and Quantitie, but without any Profit.

This Afternoone his Majestie hearing of his undoubted Danger (although more sober than at other Times) came to see him ; but being advertised how Matters went, and were likely to go, and what Addition of Griefe it would be unto him, to see his best beloved Sonne in that Extremity, he was at last perswaded to depart without Visitation, yet giving Order and Command before his Departure, that from thenceforth (because his Highnesse was continually molested with a Number, which out of their Love came to visit him) no Creature should be admitted to see him, save those who of Necessitie must tend upon him until the Event and Issue of his Disease was seene, which was accordingly done ; his Highnesse for his more Ease, being removed into another longer and quieter Chamber. But now all Things appearing to be out of Frame, and confusedly Evill, without Hope of Amendment, whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hearing, he made so much the more Haste unto his Highnesse, whom after some Discourse fitting that Time, seeing so much Care to be taken for the mortall Body, the immortall Soule being neglected ; he asked his Highnesse, whether there had been any Prayers said in his Chamber, since his Sicknesse, or no ? To whom he answered, that there had not : aleaging the Cause to have beene, the continuall Toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries, and Surgeons about him ; and further, that untill now, he was not put in Minde thereof. But that, for all that, he had not failed to pray quietly by himselfe, which his Answer pleased them well ; the Archbishop againe demanded, if his Highnesse would now from thenceforth be contented to have Prayers said in his Chamber, which he willingly assented unto, asking which of his Chaplaines were there present ; amongst whom, finding that Doctor *Milborne Deane* of *Rocheſter* was there present, he willed the said *Deane*

to be called, as being one, whom for his Learning, good Carriage, and profitable Preaching, above all the rest he ever affected and respected.

The Archbishop meane while not willing too much to disquiet his Highnesse, called for to say Prayers that Evening at his Highnesse's bed-side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered Eares, his Highnesse willed him to speake aloud, thereafter repeating the Confession of his Faith Word by Word after him; from henceforth the foresaid Deane continued to pray dayly with him at his Bed-side untill his Departure. This Night was unquiet as the rest.

The twelfth Day.

On *Thursday* Morning the fifth of *November*, and twelfth of his Sicknesse, *Newes* was sent unto his Majesty of the undoubted Danger, and that there now remained no Hopes or Means of his Highnesse's Recovery, but with desperate and dangerous Attempts, which his Majesty considering, gave Leave and absolute Power to Doctor *Mayerne* (his chiefe Phisitian) to doe what he would of himselfe, without Advice of the rest, if in such an Extremity it were possible to doe any Thing for his Highnesse's Safety; but he weighing the Greatnesse of the Cure and Eminency of the Danger, would not for all that, adventure to doe any Thing of himselfe, without Advise of the rest (which he alwayes tooke) saying, that it should never be said in after Ages, that he had killed the King's eldest Sonne; his Majesty meane while (whose Sorrow no Tongue can expresse) not willing, nor being able to stay so neere the Gates of so extreme Sorrow, more like a dead, than a living Man, full of most wonderfull Heavinesse, removed to *Theobalds* (a House twelve Miles from *London*) there to expect the dolefull Event.

Meane while amongst the Doctors *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, *Butler*, and *Atkins*, Bleeding was now the third Time proposed; some of them (as I thinke Doctor *Mayerne*) affirming, that the Bloud, which by the Vapours being violently thrust upwards, filling the Braine, did cause by the maligne Acrimony and Quantity thereof, Ravings and Convulsions; which Accidents (although without seeming Paine, because the Spirits were oppressed) did put his Highnesse in imminent Danger, more than the Benumings, the Cause whereof was within the Ventricles of the Braine, as also the said hot and cholerick Bloud in the Membranes; all which considered, and that his Highnesse was yet of sufficient Strength of Body, his Pulse also able to endure, they said, the Opening of a Vein was in their Judgement the onely Meanes left: But the rest of the Counsell misliking

this Advise, did conclude to double and treble the Cordials, making a Revulsion from the Head with a Clifter, whose Working was to small Effect; save that his Highnesse became more sensible thereafter: In the meane Time the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hearing of the Danger, came unto his Highnesse in great Haste; where finding him in extreame Danger, he thought it now more than high Time to goe about another Kind of Cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilfull Phisitian, first trying the Humour of his Patient, before he would proceed in the Cure, he addressed himselfe gently and mildly to aske how his Highnesse found himselfe since his Departure; at whose Reply, seeing every Thing amisse, he began againe further to feele his Mind, first preparing him his Antidote against the Feare of Death, that the Preparation thereunto, Meditation, and thinking thereof, could, nor would bring Death the sooner, but the contrary rather, arming himselfe so much the more against it; withall putting him in Mind of the *Excellency* and *Immortality* of the *Soule*, with the unspeakeable Joyes prepared for *God's Children*; and the Basenesse and Misery of the Earth, with all the vaine, inconstant, momentary, and fraile Pleasures thereof, in respect of heavenly Joyes; with many other most excellent Meditations against the same Feare of Death.

Having thus prepared him to heare, he went further, putting him in Mind of the *Exceeding great Danger he was in*; and that although he might recover (as he hoped he should) yet he might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable Necessity that *All must once die*, late or soone, (Death being the Reward of Sinne) he asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himselfe to the *Will of God*; to which he answered, yea withall his Heart. Then the Archbishop went on demanding Questions of his Faith; First of the Religion and Church wherein he lived; which his Highnesse acknowledged to be the only true Church, wherein onely, and without which there was no Salvation; Then of his Faith in Christ onely, by him, and in him, without any Merits of his owne, being assured of the Remission of all his Sinnes; which he professed he did, hoping and trusting onely therein; Then of the Resurrection of the Body, Life Everlasting, and the Joyes of Heaven; all which he confessed and beleaved, hoping with all Saints to enjoy the same.

This Conference, with a great deale more, the Archbishop had with him to this Purpose; (which may also give unto you absolute Satisfaction of his Soules Health, if thereunto his Life be considered.) After which, fearing he should too much disquiet him, with many good Exhortations, he tooke Leave for that Time;

This

This Day being the fifth of *November*, a Day of everlasting Remembrance and Thanksgiving for our Deliverance from the Powder Treason, was Order given every where unto all Churches, to pray for his Highnesse, untill when, the great Danger was unknowne to the Commons, which was effectually as ever, untill his Death performed.

This Day, and at fundry other Times since his Confusion of Speech, he would many Times call upon Sir *David Murray* Knight (the onely Man in whom he had put choise Trust) by his Name *David, David, David*; who when he came unto his Highnesse, demanding his Pleasure, in Extremity of Paine, and Stupefaction of Senses confounding his Speech, sighing, he did reply, I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it; which Forme he still used, so long as he had any perfect Sense or Memory.

This done, also (but too late) to assist the rest, came Doctor *Palmer*, and Doctor *Giffard*, famous Physitians for their Honesty, Learning, and Physick, who with the former foure went all six to a Consultation, what now remained finally to be done; wherein by some (as they say) was againe propounded the Necessity of Bleeding; the Opportunity whereof, by the Evacuation of his Belly, was now over passed.

In the End, the Doctors (long before this despairing of his Recovery) did at last agree upon *Diascordium*, as the onely Meanes (under God) now remaining, which tempered with cooler Cordials, was given him in the Presence of many honourable Gentlemen, about Tenne a Clock at Night, the Operation whereof was small or none; neither all this while did Nature of it selfe incline towards Sweating, and to force the same they thought it to no Purpose. This Night was unquiet as the rest, his Accidents remaining in the same Sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that he could not be understood.

Among the rest this Night, about Midnight, Master *Nasmit* his Majestie's Surgeon, sitting on his Bed-side, his Highnesse pulled him unto him by the Hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the rattling of his Throat, that he could not be understood; which his Highnesse perceiving, giving a most grievous Sigh, as it were in Anger turned him from him; thereafter (unlesse he were urged) never speaking unto him, or any.

In this Extremity Sir *David Murray* (who in this one Death suffered many) came unto him, intreating him, and asking him, that if he had any Thing to say which troubled him, that he would betimes make knowne his Mind; but his Spirits being overcome, and Nature weake, he was not able to say any Thing, save that of all other Businesse, he gave Order for the burning of a Number of

Letters in a certaine Cabinet in his Closet, which presently after his Death was done.

Not long after (as I thinke) on *Friday* Morning about Three a Clock, his Back-bone, Shoulders, Armes and Tongue, by reason of the horrible Violence of the Convulsions, disjoyntingly deviding themselves, the Effect shewing that the retentive Power was gone, the Spirits subdued, the Seat of Reason overcome, and Nature spent; in which Extremity, Fainting and Swooning, he seemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which Time there arose wonderfull great Shouting, Weeping, and Crying in the Chamber, Court, and adjoyning Streets, which was so great (together with something else which they used) that they brought him againe.

This Crie was so great, that all those in the Streets thought he had beene dead; whereupon it went for the most part current, in the City and Countrey, that he was gone.

I am not able to expresse the unspeakeable Sorrow which every where was for this woefull Newes, chiefly in that dolefull House, you may imagine no Thought can thinke the Greatnesse thereof, nor Understanding conceive the same, this little which I have said, overlading my Weaknesse.

Thus given over of all into the Hands of God, did his Highnesse lie in extreame Paine; during which, still now and then (till two or three Houres before his Death) looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speake, which for Confusion and Extremity of Paine (being so neere gone) could not be understood, all the World were ready in this Despaire, to bring cordiall Waters *Diaphoretick*, and *Quintessentiall* Spirits to be given unto him; amongst which, one in the Afternoone was ministred; which set that little Nature remaining, on worke, forcing a small Sweat, which, too late, was the first he had, Sir *Walter Raleigh* also did send another from the Tower, which whether or no to give him, they did a while deliberate.

After the Operation of the first, his Highnesse rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former Extremities; whereupon (as the last desperate Remedy) with the Leave and Advise of the Lords of the Counsell there present, the Cordiall sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* (after it had beene tasted and proved) was given unto him; but in vaine, save that forcing that Sparke of Life that remained, it brought him againe into a Sweat; after which, as before, he had some Rest for a little while. But, no Remedy, Death would needs be Conquerour; in vaine did they strive against the Streame, for he shortly after became wonderfull ill againe; Sight and Sense failing, as also all the infallible Signes of Death approaching; In which Extremity, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being there

there present, who seeing it was now the Time of Times, before the last Gaspe, to minister some Comfort unto his Highnesse (if as yet there were any Sence remaining) came unto him, first speaking aloud ; putting him in Mind of all those Things which he had spoken unto him the Day before in his perfect Sense, calling aloud in his Eare, to remember CHRIST JESUS, to beleeeve, hope, and trust onely in him, with assured Confidence of Mercy, to lift up his Heart, and prepare him to meete the Lord JESUS, with many other divine Exhortations : Thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his Eare, Sir heare you mee, heare you mee, heare you mee ; If you heare mee, in certaine Signe of your Faith, and Hope of the blessed Resurrection, give us for our Comfort a Signe, by lifting up of your Hands, which he did, lifting up both his Hands together : Againe he desired him yet to give him another Signe, by lifting up his Eyes ; which having done, they let him alone ; for the Archbishop had with Streames of Teares, powred out at his Bed-side, a most exceeding powerfull passionate Prayer.

All this while also, from three a Clock in the Morning untill Night, there was continuall Prayer in the House, and in every Place where the Danger was knowne ; by which his Time growing neerer and neerer, and he weaker and weaker ; thus did he lie, patiently striving betwixt Death and Life, unavoidable Necessity, and God's Will forcing Patience, and againe invincible Courage and Magnanimity (loath to be overcome) shewing some Indignation and Contempt of Death : yea Death it selfe (for all his Cruelty) stood a long while hovering in Doubt what to doe, so did his Highnesse's young Yeares, his Triumphes at Hand, the Teares, and exceeding Sorrow of Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the howling Cries of his Servants, and of the whole Land (who said, her Losse, above all was most unspeakable) move his hard Heart to Pitty : But a greater Crie before this, having outcried those Cries (even the Crie of our Sinnes) there was no Remedy : for Death (although unwilling) not being able to resist the forepassed Decree, must needs strike the cruell Stroke ; many Times did he from that Morning untill Night offer to shoote and thrust in his Dart a little, yet pulling it presently backe againe, as it were of Purpose delaying the Time, expecting some mercifull Message from Heaven, untill at last the cloudy Night bewraying the irrevocable Doome, by Nature's Decay, the Excesse of Paine having taken away the Sense thereof, of meere Pitty, that thereby he might open unto him the Doore of Heaven for his Passage into Glory, being loath that the Angell, (who had long attended to convey his Soule unto Heaven, should make any longer Stay) he thrust his Dart quite thorow ; after which, his Highnesse quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a Quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a Clocke at Night, yielded

yielded up his Spirit unto his Immortall Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven, with as many Prayers, Teares, and strong Cries, as ever Soule was, on *Friday* the sixth of *November*, 1612. The Corps shortly after (as the Custome is) was laide along upon a Table on the Floore, being the fairest, clearest, and best proportioned, without any kinde of Spot or Blemish, as ever was seene.

On the Morrow after came the Lords of the Councell, by Appointment from his Majestie, to give Order for the Opening of his Body, &c. which was the same Night effected, about Five a Clocke in the Evening, in Presence of the Physician of the Prince *Palatine*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, in the Chamber where he dyed, by the Chyrurgeons of his Majestie, and his late Highnesse, under all their Hands, as followeth.

The Skinne, like that of a dead Man, blacke; but no Way spotted with Blacknesse, or pale Markes, much lesse marked with Purples like Flea-bites, which could shew any contagious or pestilentiall Venome. About the Place of his Kidneys, Hips, and behind the Thighes, full of Rednesse; and by reason that with great Paine he had a long while lien upon his Backe, his Belly somewhat swollen and stretched out, by reason of the Windinesse which issued out of the smallest Opening made in the Navill, somewhat high naturally, incontinently the Belly falling; the Stomacke whole and wholsome within and without, having never all his Sicknesse Time beene troubled with Vomitting, Loathings, or Yealpings, or any other Accident which could particularly shew that it was attainted. The Liver without, in his highest Parts, marked with small Spots, and in the lower with small blackish Lines, paler and blacker than was fitting: The Gall, and Bladder, void of any Humour, full of Wind: The Spleen on the top, and in the lower End blackish, filled with a blacke heavy Blood: The Kidneys faire, and without any Blemish: The Midriffe under the Filme, or Membrane, containing the Heart (which contained a little Moisture) spotted with blacke, as it were a leadish Colour, by reason of the Bruising: The Lungs almost for the greatest Part blacke, the rest all spotted with blacke, all imbrewed, and full of adust Blood, with a corrupt and thicke Serocitie, which by a Vent made in the Body of the Lungs, came forth foaming in great Abundance; in which doing, and in cutting the small Skinne which invironeth the Heart, to shew the same, the Surgeon by chance having cut the Trunck of the great Veine, the most Part of the Bloud issued out into the Chest, leaving the lower Veines empty; upon Sight whereof the Company did draw Consequents of an extreame Heat and Fulnesse, the which yet appeared more evident in this, that the Windepipe with the Throat and Tongue were covered with a thicke Blackenesse; and amongst
other

other Accidents, the Tongue cleft, and dry in many Places : The Heart sound and dry, in all Appearance, good in all his Quallities.

The hinder Veines, which are in the inmost Filme of the Braine, called *Pia mater*, swolne and stufte with Abundance of Blood, a great deale more than naturall, the Substance of the Braine faire and cleare, but the Ventricles thereof full of a cleare Water, which after the Incision ranne forth in great Abundance : One Part of which Accidents (as they thought) was ingendred, onely by reason of the Fever maligne, by reason of the Putrifaction of divers Humours gathered together of a long Time before, his Highnesse not being subject to any dangerous Sicknesse by Birth ; the other Part, by reason of the Convulsions, Resoundings, and Benummings, which by reason of the Fulnesse, choaking the naturall Heat, and destroying the Vitals, by their Malignitie, have conveyed his Highnesse to the Grave, without any Token or Accident of Poyson.

Thus (or very neere thus) lost we the Delight of Mankind, the Expectation of Nations, the Strength of his Father, and Glory of his Mother, Religion's second Hope : Foolish People imagine, that they have done enough, when they have railed upon the Physitians, as though they could have altered Providence, by prolonging his Life, never truly beholding the Omnipotent Power bereaving him, which although in his Sicknesse, untill the Blow was given, could not be seene, yet now (even of the Blind) may be easily discerned. And I pray you, if we narrowly looke upon the Practise of the Meanes, what Omission of the Duty shall we find therein ? Some neere his Highnesse, together with Doctor *Mayerne*, at first called and wished he might bleed ; others againe, misliked the same ; both learned.

The Physitians, although jarring at first in their Propositions and Reasons, at last did every Thing by a common Consent under all their Hands ; nothing was wanting, which either Art or Experience could thinke thereof, whatsoever they did, they always thought most safest and best. They toiled continually Day and Night, and if it pleased not God to give a Blessing to the Meanes, must they therefore be blamed ? You know *Paul* may plant, and *Apollos* may water, but it is God that giveth the Increase. But imagine, there had beene any such Strife amongst them, the Physitians, as it is reported, what should we thinke thereof, but that the God of Order will sometime have his Will brought to passe, by a Kind of Confusion, as he overthrew the Tower of *Babel*, with the Hosts of *Midian*, &c. So in Phisicke, when his Will must be done, if it please him to breake and take away the Staffe of Bread, not blessing the Meanes ; who, I say, can lett him (whose Will must be our Law) to doe whatsoever he will.

Indeed,

Indeed, his Highnesse's great and extraordinary Patience, striving so long to over master, and hide the same in his Health, in my Judgement, did much wrong the Physitians, who by Reason of his Patience, never dreamed of his Danger; as also his most wonderfull and matchlesse Patience all the Time of his Sicknesse, shewing no Kind of froward Disposition; lying in Shew (for any Complaints were heard of him) as though he had never been sicke nor sore. As also the Urines, which untill a little before his Death, shewed no such Danger; with the dangerous unknowne State of his greatest Griefe closely rooted in his Head (as in the Opening hath beene seene) which could not at first be fully knowne, untill too late; the Picture of Death by a strange extraordinary Countenance, having from the Beginning possessed him: vaine Rumors also have beene spreade Abroad, that he was poysoned: But if the former Discourse be well considered, his Death, in my Judgement, will appeare to have beene naturall, grounded upon very urgent Causes. For the Physitians in Opening found no such Cause in his Internalls, upon his Skinne being no kinde of Spot, or any such Suspition. To surmise, as some have done, that he was poisoned by a *Sent*, considering the Premises, mee thinkes were great Folly, contrary to the Opinions of all the learned, who upon this Relation to his Majesty, proved him free from any such Infection: For my Part, my Skill reacheth not to determine of any Thing; onely I think it best to hold, that he died in the Rage of a malicious and extraordinary burning Feaver, wherein his Vitals and Senses were from the Beginning so over-pressed, stupified, and amazed, chiefly the Heart and Head, which notwithstanding all Cordials and other Helpes used (God not blessing the Meanes) could never be releevd.

The *Monday* after, the Right Honourable the Lords of the Privy Counsell of his Majesty, with exceeding Care came to Saint *James's*, to give Order for all Things belonging to so wofull a Businesse; according to which, the whole House, Chappell, great Chamber, Prefence, Lobby, Privy Chamber, and Bed Chamber, were all hung in Black with all Things fitting, thick Set with Scutcheons of his Highnesse's divers Armes, which being done, under the State in the Chamber where he first sickened, appointed for the Coffin, there was a Place erected above an Ell in Heigth, where it was to stand to be watched untill the Funerall; Threescore and Tenne Gentlemen of his Servants, ordinary and extraordinary (which were all he had) being appointed Night and Day to attend the same, tenne at a Time, it being so ordered that the tenne who watched in the Night, did constantly wait the third Day after; Meane while was Order given that the Funerall should be solemnized on *Monday* the 7. of *December* following; untill which Time, I will not renew Grietes in remembring the unspeakeable Sorrow which was in that wofull House, now longing to doe their last Duty.

The Time of the Funerall now approaching, on *Thursday* the Third Day of *December* the Coffin was removed from the Chamber where it stood all this while, unto the Privy Chamber, there being watched for that Night. On the Morrow it was removed from thence to the Presence Chamber, where it remained all that Night untill the next Day, being *Saturday* at three a Clock in the Afternoone, at which Time his Crowne and Cap of State were set upon a Cushion at the Head of the Coffin; after which the Heralds marching before the same, the Coffin was removed by the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber unto the great Chamber, where his Guard attended, in which it was set downe for the Space of a Quarter of an Houre; thereafter being lifted againe by the foresaid Gentlemen, it was brought downe Staires towards the Chappell, where againe for a pretty while it was set downe in the Court; where being lifted againe, the Gentlemen of his Majestie's Chappell singing mournfull Ditties before them, it was brought into the Chappell, and there placed under a Canopy set with great Armes of the Union at full, chained with divers other Scutcheons and severall Armes; there to remaine untill the Funerall Day; This *Sunday* at Night before the Funerall, his Representation was brought (made in so short Warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with Cloathes, having his Creation Robes above the same, his Cap and Crowne upon his Head, his Garter, Coller, with a *George* about his Neck, his golden Staffe in his Right Hand lying crosse a little; briefly, every Thing as he was apparelled at the Time of his Creation; which being done, it was laid on the Back on the Coffin, and fast bound to the same, the Head thereof being supported by two Cushions, just as it was to be drawne along the Streets in the Funerall Chariot, drawne by eight black Horses, decked with his severall Scutcheons and Plumes.

But now the Time being come, and all Things to adorne the Triumphes of his mournfull *Hadadrimon's* black Day, the Funerall being foure Houres in Marshalling and Marching, set fourth about Tenne a Clock in the Morning, there being (as was thought) the Number of 2000 Mourners in black; the Relation whereof were now to no Purpose, since the Order, Rankes, and Names are already printed in a Booke to be seene: As it passed along, the whole World, sensible and insensible Things, and Creatures seemed to mourn, and have Compassion, Heaven, and Earth, and all: There was to be seene an innumerable Multitude of all sorts of Ages and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children, whose wonderfull Sorrow who is able to expresse? Some holding down their Heads, not being able to endure so sorrowful a Sight, all mourning, which they expressed by severall Sorts of Lamentation and Sorrow, some Weeping, Crying, Howling, Wringing of their Hands, others halfe dead, Swooning, fighting inwardly, others holding up their

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Hands,

Hands, passionately bewayling so great a Losse, with Rivers, nay, with an Ocean of Teares: Well, on they came at last to *Westminster-Abbey*, the Buriall Place, where after the dolefull Musick of all Sorts being ended, the Coffin was set under a great stately Herse, built quadrangle-wise with eight Pillars, shewing three to the View on each side four square, Canopy-like, rising small on the Top, trimmed and set thick within and without with divers Scutchions, small Flagges, and Penfils of his Highnesse's severall Armes of the Union chained, *Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Chester, Rothsay, Carrick, &c.* mingled here and there, with his Highnesse's Motto, *Fax mentis honestæ Gloria*, and that of the Funerall Herse, *Juvat ire per Altum*. After which the whole Assembly having taken their Places, Banners, Bannarets, and Penfills of all Sorts being at rest, after an universall Silence, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who was appointed to doe his Highnesse the last Duty) was seene in the Pulpit, who with a grave sober Countenance, shewing the inward Sorrow of his Heart, after a little Pause and Prayer, did with exceeding Passion make the Funerall Sermon; of which, though you write that you are marvailous desirous to heare the Relation, yet I am loath to say any Thing, fearing to wrong so great and grave a Person: Neverthelesse, since I have adventured thus farre (I hope without Offence) I shall here, (as neere as I can remember) rehearse a Word or two thereof, whereby you may judge of the rest.

The text was out of the 82. *Psalme*, the sixth and seventh Verses: *I have said yee are Gods, and yee are Children of the most high: But yee shall die as a Man, and yee Princes shall fall like others.* Where after he had most learnedly, by way of Introduction, spoken of the Authour, Occasion, Scope, and Meaning of this *Psalme*, he devided the same into two maine Branches, First, the Exaltation of *Princes*; *I have said yee are Gods, &c.* Secondly, in what Respect they are so called. Again, in the Humiliation, lest they should be out of Measure exalted, he admirably proved, by infinite Variety of Examples, both divine and morall, the Vanity and Inconstancy of Greatnesse, with all the shadowish Toyes thereof: Thirdly, for ocular Proove and Use of all, inviting their Eyes to the present dolefull Spectacle of their late ever renowned *Prince*, who, not long agoe, was as fresh, brave, and gallant as the best of them, unto whom all the Delights and Pleasures of the World did begge for Acquaintance, lacking nothing which Heart could wish for, who yet now for our Sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of Life and all Being, was forced to prove the Truth of this Text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others.

After which, when he had most truly and excellently shewed a Part of his Highnesse's Excellencies, and many noble Vertues (for all was not possible) chiefly his rare and singular Piety both in himselfe, and in the Governement of
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his Houshold, which he so extolled, that he professed he would not be ashamed hereafter to propose the same for a Rule unto himselfe. For Consolation unto them all, he shewed the exceeding Measure of Felicity, his Highnesse had attained unto by Death, and that now in Respect of himselfe he was not to be pittied, being compared with those, who had out lived him, the same one brave Ship lying amongst a Number of others, all tending towards one Haven, whither at length they must needs all come, or ship-broken perish by the Way, which setting forth betimes, as it were, new, fresh, and strong, with a faire Gale of Wind, arriveth quickly without any Danger at the Haven of Safety ; whereas the rest loytering a long Time by these, and these Inticements, set forth at last in a more dangerous Season, some overladen, some missing of their Way, some with Leakes, some wracked, some starved, some drowned, all exceedingly Tempest-beaten, with much adoe recovering their desired Haven ; Even so, he said, his late Highnesse had gotten the like Advantage of all those who had out-lived him ; all which laded with infinite more Sinnes, indangering their safe Passage, must either perish by the Way, or storme beaten, arrive with much Toyle, whither he betimes with Ease attained. So with Exhortation unto all, to make right Use thereof, with exceeding great Passion and many Teares, he ended.

This very Day also the two Universities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, did solemnize this blacke Day, with all the Signes of Sorrow which could be imagined, having in their two Universitie Churches Funerall Sermons, all mourning, both in Heart, Habite, and Countenance ; the Forerunners of which their extreame Sorrow, long before this, in their severall Bookes of mourning *Epitaphs* burst forth, *Oxford* in her *Iusta Oxon* : and *Cambridge* in her *Epicedium Cantabrig*. &c. with divers other Orations to this Purpose. The Funerall Sermon, in Saint *Maries*, *Oxon*, was preached by Doctor *Goodwin*, Deane of *Christ-Church* Colledge there ; the Text being out of *Esay*. the 57. 1. *The righteous perisheth, and no Man considereth it in his Heart ; and mercifull Men are taken away from the Evill to come.* In which he was not onely exceedingly moved himselfe, but also moved the whole Universitie and City, to shedde Fountaines of Teares.

The other of *Cambridge*, was preached by Doctor *Carey*, Master of *Christs-Colledge*, and Vice-Chancellour of the Universitie, his Text being out of the second of *Samuel*, Chap. 3. verse 34. the last Words of the Verse : *And all the People wept againe for him.* In speaking whereof, and weeping himselfe, he made all the People weepe againe and againe.

The Archbishop's Sermon (as aforesaid) being Ended, the Earles, Lords, and Barons, &c. by this Time having offered up their severall Banners, and Honours which they carryed ; as also the great Officers of his House, Sir *Thomas Challenor*

Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasurer, Sir *John Holles* Comptrouler, together with his three Gentlemen-Ushers, *Walter Alexander*, *Anthony Abington*, and *John Lumley*, having all by degrees (Sir *Thomas Challenor* beginning) broken their White Staves and Rods crosse-wise over the Coffin, thereby resigning their Places, the Assembly dissolved ; the Coffin with the Representation (as is before said) remaining still under the Hearse, to be seene of all, untill the 19. of the said Moneth of *December*, when decked and trimmed with Cloathes, as he went when he was alive, Robes, Collar, Crowne, Golden Rodde in his Hand, &c. it was set up in a Chamber of the said Chappell at *Westminster*, amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queenes, his famous Predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seene.

He was of a comely, tall, middle Stature, about five Foot and eight Inches high, of a strong, streight, well made Body (as if Nature in him had shewed all her cunning) with somewhat broad Shoulders, and a small Waiste, of an amiable Majesticke Countenance, his Haire of an aborne Collour, long faced, and broad Forehead, a piercing grave Eye, a most gracious Smile, with a terrible Frowne, courteous, loving, and affable ; his Favour, like the Sunne, indifferently seeming to shine upon all ; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most patient, which he shewed both in Life and Death ; slow to Anger, that even then, when he was many Times most offended, he would (overcomming himselfe) say nothing ; mercifull he was after he had a little punished the Offendors ; neither did hee judge rashly, but after due Examination of both Parties ; Dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a Prince, not willing, nor by Nature being able, to flatter, fawne, or use those kindly, who deserved not his Love. Quicke he was to conceive any thing, not rash, but mature in Deliberation, yet most constant having resolved : true of his Promise ; most secret even from his Youth, so that he might have beene trusted in any thing that did not force a Discovery : being of a close Disposition, not easie to be known, or pried into : of a fearlesse, noble, heroicke, and undaunted Courage ; thinking nothing impossible, that ever was done by any : a few faire words prevailed more with him, than all the Threats of the World : very pittifull and tender-hearted unto any in Misery, whom, upon Petition, he ever some Way releevd.

Most ardent in his Love to Religion, to which Love, and all the good Causes thereof, his Heart was bent by some Meanes or other (if he had lived) to have shewed, and some Way to have compounded the unkind Jarres thereof ; he well shewed his Love to good Men, and Hatred of the Evill, in discerning a good Preacher from a vaine-glorious, in whom above all Things he abhorred Flattery, loving and countenancing the Good ; of the Idle and Loytering never speaking
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but with Disdaine ; in which he shewed he had a Heart flexible to Good, and all kind of Goodnesse, which (as I thinke) was the Cause one Day, he uttered this Speech of the Deane of *Rochester* his Chaplaine.

That he thought, whereas he and others like him, at their first Entry into the Pulpit, did looke him in the Face, their Countenance did, as it were say unto him : Sir, you must heare me diligently ; you must have a Care to observe what I say : as also in his Constancie in observing the Prayer Time, duely before Dinner and Supper, which untill his Death he never willingly omitted, whatsoever Hast he had, or were it never so late.

What should I yet adde, his Conscience of an Oath, that he was never heard (I now appeale to Envy it selfe) to take GOD's Name in vaine, with an Addition of any other seeming Light, much lesse horrible Oathes, with full swinge of Passion ; witnesse the Testimony of the most Reverend, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Funerall Sermon, wherein was remembred by him, (amongst many other Things) that ever memorable Reply of his Highnesse, who being asked one Day (by one that greatly rejoyced, his Highnesse was no Swearer) why he did not sweare in Play aswell as others ; to his eternal Praise made this Reply, That he knew no Game worthy of an Oath.

To live long he never desired, nor aspired, many Times saying, that it was to small Purpose for a brave gallant Man, when the Prime of his Dayes were past, to live so long untill he was full of Aches, Soares, &c. uttering contemptible Speeches of Death ; affirming many Times, that he neither desired, nor aspired, or hoped to live long, and that when he should be sicke three or foure Daies together, then GOD have Mercy on me, would he say.

Popery, with all the Adjuncts and Adherents thereof, he hated to the Death ; yet he would now and then use particular Papists very kindly, shewing that he hated not their Persons, but their Opinions.

I must not forget his Love to Learning, to the Muses, to all the Learned who any Way did excell ; to the two Universities, chiefly *Oxford* (because mourning *Cambridge* did never enjoy his Prefence) whose unspeakeable Sorrow for his Death, will shew the great Portion of his Love they enjoyed. I should but increase Sorrow, to tell you how exceeding kindly their Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Graduates, and Students were used, when they came to see him at *Woodstock* ; what Care he had to give them Contentment, how carefull he was, and what speciall Commands were generally given throughout the whole House, that they should not want the same ; of his mild and grave Carriage towards them, and his loving Speeches in their Absence.

No lesse carefull he was to obey the King his Father in every Thing, being also very diligent to observe and honour the Queene his Mother, so much as in him lay, or as possible he might ; wise he was to know and not know, see and not see, almost every Thing which was done or said. Wonderfull was his Care and Wisdom in governing of his House, and Revenues, giving Order and seeing every Thing done almost himselfe, so that scarce were there any of his Household Servants whom he did not know by Name, amongst whom there was not one knowne or suspected Papist, his Care being so great, that all Communicants Names should be written up, that he might know if there were any, that would not receive.

So that I may most truly affirme, that since the Beginning of Princes no House did ever exceede him in all Things ; His Revenues he left increased by thousands a Yeare ; sparing he was, yet liberall where either Honesty, Desert, or Poverty did move him ; neither (whatsoever the World thinke) was he ever knowne to give away any Thing, or promise any Thing but upon mature Deliberation ; as for those Pensions which he gave a little before his Death, they were either given to such as had very well deserved them, or who having spent their Meanes in his Service, he could not out of his noble Disposition but relieve, thinking it better to doe so, than bestow upon them other unknowne Suites and Leases, which otherwise he must needs have done ; he was loving and kind to Strangers, whose Hearts upon small Acquaintance he did easily gaine. In State Matters and Petitions not pertaining unto him, he was ever sparing and not willing to meddle : In his owne Affaires touching Copy-holds, Leases, or any Thing of like Nature, whatsoever Abuses were, he ever redressed, or minded to helpe, upon Petition of the Party aggrieved.

Friday being the Day wherein he died (I know not by what naturall Inclination, or Motion) he did not of a long Time before his Death love, misliking it above all the Dayes of the Weeke, upon which he would not willingly use any kind of Exercise, or ride any Journey, sometimes not so much as play at Cards thereon, alleaging that he continually found some Indisposition upon that Day, and that he never had good Luck upon a *Friday*, such an ominous Conceit of the Dismalnesse of this Day having possessed him, which at length proved to be the Period of his Dayes.

He loved and did mightily strive to doe somewhat of every Thing, and to excell in the most excellent ; he greatly delighted in all Kind of rare Inventions and Arts, and in all Kind of Engines belonging to the Warres, both by Sea and Land : In the Bravery and Number of great Horses ; in shooting and levelling of great Peeces of Ordnance ; in the Ordering and Marshalling of Armes ; in Building and Gardening, and in all Sorts of rare Musique, chiefly the Trumpet
and

and Drumme; in Limming, Painting, and Carving, in all Sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which he had brought unto him from all Countries.

What should I say more of him? over and above all these Things, he had a certaine Kind of extraordinary unspeakable Excellency, my fraile Penne and dull Stile not being able to expresse the same, gathered (out of Question) by him long agoe from the plentifull Garden of the King his Fathers all admired *Bazilicondoron*, long since in his Youth dedicated unto him.

I dare sweare, none will thinke an ill Thought, much lesse speake an ill Word of him, unlesse it be some *Janus* faced *Machivillian*, or hollow-hearted Gunpowderers, who as they would have blowne up King, Progeny, and State, cannot choose now but barke against him, who was a Terrour to all the Papists in Christendome.

As he was a Man, no question but he had Imperfections as others (otherwise he could not have conversed with Men) which I professe, I neither knew, nor delighted to searck after; or if I had, you know of all others, I am rather bound to cover and conceale the same with *Shem* and *Japhet*, than with *Ham* to shew his Nakednesse if I were able; yet certainly whatsoever they were, such a Number of noble Vertues did cover and weigh downe the same, eclipsing their Light, that they could not easily be perceived, unlesse it were perhaps by some maliciously bent, who though they might have gathered great Store of Honey, have rather chosē (like Drones) to open the Gall; whom I also leave to the Gall of Bitternesse, untill it consume them.

Wherefore now since his Soule resteth in Heaven (whereof I intreat you doubt not) let us also leave him: For his good Life in generall, his unfaigned Love to Religion, his Love to good Men, his sound and saving Knowledge, and Practice of the same, his attentive and reverent Hearing of the Word, his humble flexible Heart, easily cast downe and drawne by the same, with many other good Things, which were in him, are sure Signes of the Favour of God, and consequently of his Salvation. To which if we consider with what innumerable Prayers and strong Cries, his Soule was attended unto Heaven, we may rest fully satisfied of his Felicity: For although the Extremity of Paine from the Beginning of his Sicknesse, did as it were stupifie and bereave him of Sense, that he could not give those wished Testimonies to the World at full; (the LORD choosēg to try him in the Furnace of Affliction) yet since we shall be judged not according to our Death, but according to our Life; (although his Death in such an Extremity as is shewed, was very good) we may certainly conclude, that his Soule now praiseth God.

Wherefore when we misse him where we were wont to see him, let us lift up our Mindes to a higher Watch-tower, remembering that his Soule now resteth in
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Heaven,

Heaven, where all Cares, Troubles, Sores, Sicknesse, Crosses, and Afflictions, shall no more annoy him; where the Feares, Jarres, Jealousies, Discontentments, Mutinies, Uproares, and Dissentions of State shall never vex him; where he shall hunger no more, thirst no more, desire no more, having all Tears wiped from his Eyes, in Place of those fraile ones, which could not here endure the Sight of the Candle, now beholding Him whose Eyes are tenne thousand Times brighter than the Sunne, following the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and in the Heaven of Heavens injoying the blessed Fruition of his God, in the Company of Millions of his Saints and Angels, waiting for the full Revelation and Felicitie of the Sonnes of God, and Renovation of us all, when God shall be All in All; where let us leave him (of whom we are not worthy untill we be gathered unto him) admiring his incomprehensible Wisdome which did bereave us, untill he let us know by Experience, how he will bring Light out of Darknesse: For since he is Goodnesse it selfe, his Will (whatsoever it be) must needs be good: And I pray you, what, how many, how great, and how wonderfull Things hath the Almighty done with this one Blow? In humbling of some, curbing the Pride of others, casting some downe, and againe in raising up of others, letting all see, as in a Mirrour, the vaine Inconstancie of Greatnesse, making some others inexcusable, if they receive no good from so sensible a Lesson, with infinite more, knowne onely to the All-sufficient, All-seeing Majesty.

Let us therefore admire the infinite and incomprehensible Wisdome of Almighty God, which so soone translated him from this Vale of Darknesse, and Misery, into that marvellous Joy and Light, although it seem strange unto our blind Eyes: For what know we but that the boyling head-strong Passions of Youth, evill Company (which corrupteth good Manners) the Raines of Liberty, the Corruption of Time, with infinite other Inticements, whereunto Flesh and Blood are prone, might have corrupted him, when dying with a consumed Body, and a more corrupted Soule, he might with an evill Conscience (though full of Years) have gone to the Grave, with farre more Hatred, loaded with innumerable more Sinnes, than now he did; when by the contrary, with the Love, Prayers, and Teares of all, he was attended unto Heaven.

Thus have I beene bold to trouble you, and out of my Love (for satisifying your Curiosity) to exceede the Bounds of a short Letter; which if you mildly censure, with an impartiall Judgement, pardoning and excusing what you finde amisse, you shall encourage me ever to remaine, as still I am

Your assured Friend,

CHARLES CORNWALLIS.

The

*The Funerals of the High and Mighty Prince HENRY,
Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewaile and Rothfay, Count
Palatine of Chester, Earle of Carick, and late Knight
of the most Noble Order of the Garter.*

*Which Noble PRINCE deceased at St. James's, the sixt day of Nouember, 1612, and
was most Princely interred the seuenth day of December following, within the Abbey
of Westminster, in the Eighteenth year of his Age.*

L O N D O N: Printed by T. S. for Iohn Budgde, 1613.

THE body of the said PRINCE being bowelled, embalmed, and closed vp in Lead, there were foure Chambers hung with blackes, viz. the Guard Chamber and the Prefence with blacke Cloth, the Priuy Chamber with finer Cloth, and that which was his Highness's Bed-chamber, with blacke Veluet: in the middest whereof was set vp a Canopy of black Veluet, valanced, and fringed; vnder which vpon Treffels the Coffin with the body of the PRINCE was placed, couered with a large pall of blacke Veluet, and adorned with Scuchions of his Armes. Vpon the head of which Coffin was layde a Cushion of blacke Veluet, and his Highness's Cap and Coronet set thereon, as also his Robes of estate, Sword and Rod of Gold; and so it remayned (being daily and nightly watched) vntill two or three dayes before his Highness's Funeral. In which time euery day, both Morning and Euening Prayers were said in his Prefence or Priuy Chamber, by his Chaplaines, and his Gentlemen and chiefe Officers attendant thereat.

Thursday before the Funeralls his Princely body was brought forth of his Bed-chamber into his Priuie-chamber.

Friday it was brought into his Prefence-chamber, and set under his cloath of estate.

Satterday, the fift of *December*, about three of the clocke in the afternoone it was remoued into the Guard-chamber, where all his chief seruants and Officers being assembled, and the Officers of Armes in their Coates, the corps was solemnly carried into the Chappell of that house, and placed vnder a canopy in the middest of the Quire, the Bishop of *Lichfield* read the Service, and the Gentlemen of the King's Chappell, with the children thereof, sung diuers excellent

Anthems, together with the Organs, and other winde instruments, which likewise was performed the, Day following, being *Sunday*.

Monday, the 7th of *December*, (the Funerall day) the representation was layd vpon the Corps, and both together put into an open Chariot, and so proceeded as followeth :

Poore men, in gownes, to the number of 140.

<i>About 300.</i>	{	Gentlemens seruants.
		Esquires seruants.
		Knights seruants.
		Baronets seruants.
		Barons sonnes seruants.
		Viscount sonnes seruants.
		Earles sonnes seruants.

Two *Drummes* and a *Fife*, their *Drummes* couered with black cloth, and Scuchions of the Prince his Armes therevpon.

Portesmouth, Pursuiuant of Armes.

The great Standard of Prince HENRY, being a *Lyon* crowned, standing on a *Chappeau*, borne by Sir *Iohn Win*, Knight and Baronet, the Motto therein, *Fax mentis honestæ gloria*.

<i>About 306</i>	{	Prince HENRY his Household Seruants, according to their
		several Offices and Degrees: with Tradefmen and Artificers that belonged unto his Highnesse.

Trumpets.

The Coronet of the Prince, being the three Feathers in a Crownet, with his Motto; *Iuvat ire per altum*; borne by Sir *Roger Dallison*, Knight and Baronet.

<i>About 360.</i>	{	Barons seruants.
		Viscounts seruants.
		Earles seruants: as well <i>English</i> as Strangers.
		The Duke of <i>Lenox</i> his seruants.
		The Lord Chancellors seruants.
		Count <i>Henry de Nassau</i> his seruants.

Trumpets.

Trumpets.

A Banner of the Earledome of *Carick*, borne by Sir *David Fowles*.

A Horfe led by a Quirry of the Stable; the Horfe was couered with blacke cloath, and armed with Scuchions of that Earledom, hauing his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 80 { Archbishops seruants.
Prince *Palatine* his seruants.
Prince *Charles* his seruants.

Blew-mantle Pursuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Earledome of *Chester*, borne by the Lord *Howard* of *Esfingham*.

A Horfe led by a Quirry of the Stable, couered with blacke cloath, and armed with Scuchions of the Earledom, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 40 { Faulconers and Huntsmen.
Clearkes of the Workes.
Clearkes of the Poultry.
Clearkes of the Acatry.
Clearkes of the Larder.
Clearkes of the Spicery.
Clearkes of the Kitchen.
Clearkes of the Coffery.
Clearkes of the Stable.
Clearkes of the Auery.
Clearkes of the Wardrobe.
Master of the Workes.
Pay-Master.
And Clearke Comptroller.

About 60 { Serieants of the Vestry.
Children of the Chappell.
Gentlemen of the Chappell in rich Copes.
Musitians.
Apothecaries and Surgions.
6 Doctors of Physicke.
24 The Princes Chapleyns.

Portcullis Pursuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Dukedome of *Rothsay*, borne by the Lord *Bruse*, Baron of *Kinlosse*.

A Horfe led by a Quirry of the Stable, couered with blacke cloath, armed with Scuchions of that Dukedome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 80 { Pages of the Chamber.
Gentlemen, the Princes seruants extraordinary.
The Princes Solicitor, and Counsell at Law.
Groome Porter.

{ Gentlemen Vihers, quarter Waiters.
Groomes of the Priuy-Chamber extraordinary.
Groomes of the Priuy-Chamber in ordinary.
Groomes of the Bed-Chamber.
Pages of the Bed-Chamber, and the Princes own Page.

Rouge-Dragon Pursuyuant.

A Banner of the Dukedome of *Cornewall*, borne by the Lord *Clifford*.

A Horfe led by Mr. *Henry Alexander*, couered with Scuchions of that Dukedome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

About 146 { Count *Henrickes* Gentlemen.
Count *Palatines* Gentlemen,
Viz.
Monfieur *Eltz*.
——— *Helmstadt*.
——— *Colbe*.
——— *Benefer*.
——— *Adolshein*.
——— *Nenzkin*.
——— *Walbron*.
Viz. { ——— *Waldgrau*.
——— *Faetes*.
——— *Carden*.
——— *Berlinger*.
——— *Grorode*.
——— *Cawlt*.
——— *Stensels*.
——— *Ridzell*.
——— *Helinger*.
——— *Henbell*.
——— *Aukensten*.

{	{	Viz.	Monfieur Gellu.
			— — — Wallyne.
			— — — Pellingier.
			— — — Berlipps.
			— — — Shott.
			— — — Weldensten.
			— — — Croilefemere.
			— — — Leuinften.
			— — — Dathenes.
			— — — Calbe.
{	{	Scultetex.	
		Rampf.	
		Mounfieur Dawnfier.	
		— — — Maier.	
{	{	— — — Wanebach.	

Prince *Charles* his Gentlemen.

Gentlemen of Prince *Henries* Priuy-Chamber extraordinary.

Knights and Gentlemen of his Highneffe Priuy-Chamber in ordinary, and of his Bed-Chamber, with Sewers, Caruers, and Cupbearers.

The Prince his Secretary.

The Prince his Threforer of his Houfhould. The Threforer of his Reuenewes, and the Comptroller of his Houfhould together, bearing their white ftaves.

Roug-croix Purfuyuant of Armes.

A Banner of the Princes Principallitie of *Scotland*, with a Labell, borne by the Viscount *Fenton*.

A Horfe led by Sir *Sigifmond Alexander*, couered with blacke cloath, armed with Scuchions of that Kingdome, his Cheiffon and Plumes.

Baronets.

Barons yonger fonnes.

Sir *Edward Philips*, Master of the Rolls, being the Prince his Chaunceller, going alone.

Knights Priuy-Councillors to the KING, viz..

Sir *Iohn Herbart*, Secretary.

Sir

Sir *Iulius Cesar* Chaunceller of the Exchequer.

Sir *Thomas Parry*, Chaunceller of the Duchie of *Lancaster*.

Barons eldest sonnes.

Three Trumpets.

Lancaster Herauld.

A Banner of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, quartered with *Wales*, borne by the Viscount *Lisle*.

A Horfe led by Sir *William Webb*, Kt. couered with blacke cloath, his Cheif-fron and Plumes.

Earles yonger sonnes.

Viscounts eldest sonnes.

Barons of *Scotland*.

Barons of *England*, viz.

Lord <i>Kneuit</i> .	———— Lord <i>Candish</i> .
Lord <i>Arundell</i> or <i>Wardor</i> .	———— Lord <i>Carewe</i> .
Lord <i>Stanhope</i> .	———— Lord <i>Denny</i> .
Lord <i>Spencer</i> .	———— Lord <i>Garrard</i> .
Lord <i>Danvers</i> .	———— Lord <i>Harington</i> .
Lord <i>Peters</i> .	———— Lord <i>Russell</i> .
Lord <i>Wotton</i> .	———— Lord <i>Knowles</i> .
Lord <i>Norris</i> .	———— Lord <i>Compton</i> .
Lord <i>Hunsden</i> .	———— Lord <i>Chandos</i> .
Lord <i>Northe</i> .	———— Lord <i>Darcy</i> of <i>Chick</i> .
Lord <i>Sheffeld</i> .	———— Lord <i>Rich</i> .
Lord <i>Wharton</i> .	———— Lord <i>Evers</i> .
Lord <i>Wentworth</i> .	———— Lord <i>Windesor</i> .
Lord <i>Mounteagle</i> .	———— Lord <i>Dudley</i> .
Lord <i>Stafford</i> .	———— Lord <i>Dacres</i> .
Lord <i>Morley</i> .	———— Lord <i>Laware</i> .

Bishops 5 { The Bishop of *Rochester*.
 The Bishop of *Couentry* and *Lichfield*.
 The Bishop of *Ely*.
 The Bishop of *Oxford*.
 The Bishop of *London*.

The Earle of *Exeter*.

The Prince his Chamberlayne, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, alone, bearing his White Staffe.

The Lord Chancellor, and Count *Henricke*.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* : Preacher.

The great embrodered Banner of the *Vnion*, borne by the Earles of *Montgomery* and *Argyle*.

A Horſe led, called *Le Cheual de deul*, couered with blacke Veluet, and led by a chiefe Quirry, Monsieur *Saint Antoin*.

The Prince his Hatchments of HONOUR, carried by Officers of Armes, viz.

The Spurres, by *Windſor*.

The Sword, by *Norroy*, King of Armes.

The Gauntlets, by *Somerſet*.

The Helme and Creſt, by *Richmond*.

The Coat, by *Clarencieux*, King of Armes.

The Targe, by *Yorke*.

Three Gentlemen Viſhers to the Prince, bearing their wands.

The Corps of the Prince, lying in an open Chariot, with the Princes representation thereon, inueſted with his Robes of eſtate of Purple Veluet, furred with Ermines, his Highneſſe Cap and Coronet on his head, and his Rod of Gold in his hand, and at his feet ; within the ſaid Chariot, ſat Sir *David Murrey*, the Maſter of the Wardrobe.

The Chariot was couered with blacke Veluet, ſet with Plumes of blacke feathers, and drawn by fixe Horſes couered, and Armed with Scuchions, hauing their Cheiffrons and Plumes.

A Canopy of blacke Veluet borne ouer the representation by fixe Baronets.

Ten Bannerols, borne about the body by ten Baronets, viz.

Sir *Moyle Finch*.

Sir *Anthony Cope*.

Sir *Thomas Mounſon*.

Sir *George Greſley*.

Sir *Iohn Wentworth*.

Sir *Robert Cotton*.

Sir *Henry Sauile*.

Sir *Lewis Treſham*.

Sir *Thomas Brewdnell*.

Sir *Phillip Tiruit*.

Four

Four Assistants to the Corps, that bore vp the corners of the Pall, viz.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. The Lord <i>Zouch</i> . | 3. The Lord <i>Burghley</i> . |
| 2. The Lord <i>Abergaueny</i> . | 4. The Lord <i>Walden</i> . |

William Seger, Garter, Principall King of Armes, between the Gentleman-Vsher of Prince *Charles*, and the Gentleman-Vsher of the Prince *Palatine*.

Prince CHARLES chiefe Mourner, supported by the Lord Priuy-Seale, and the Duke of *Lenox*.

His Highnesse Train was borne by the Lord *Dawbney*, Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*.

Then followed the Prince Elector, FREDERICK, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhein*. His Highnesse Train was borne by Monsieur *Shamburgh*.

Twelve Earles Assistants to the chiefe Mourner, viz.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Earle of <i>Nottingham</i> . | Earle of <i>Suffolke</i> . |
| Earle of <i>Shrewsbury</i> . | Earle of <i>Worcester</i> . |
| Earle of <i>Rutland</i> . | Earle of <i>Suffex</i> . |
| Earle of <i>Southampton</i> . | Earle of <i>Pembroke</i> . |
| Earle of <i>Hartford</i> . | Earle of <i>Essex</i> . |
| Earle of <i>Dorset</i> . | Earle of <i>Salisbury</i> . |

Earles strangers, attendants on Count *Palatine*.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Count <i>Wigensten</i> . | Count <i>Nassaw Scarburg</i> . |
| Count <i>Lewis de Nassau</i> . | Count <i>Le Hanow</i> , Iunior. |
| Count <i>Lewingsten</i> . | Count <i>Isinbergh</i> , |
| Count <i>Hodenlo</i> . | Count <i>Solmes</i> , |
| Count <i>Ringraue</i> . | Count <i>Zerottin</i> , |
| Count <i>Erback</i> . | } Pages. |

The Horse of Estate, led by Sir *Robert Dowglass*, Maister of the Princes Horse.

The *Palzgreaves* Priuy-Counsellors, viz.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| The Count of <i>Solmes</i> . | Mounfieur <i>Helmestedt</i> . |
| Mounfieur <i>Shouburgh</i> . | Mounfieur <i>Shouburgh</i> , Junior. |
| Mounfieur <i>de Pleshan</i> . | Mounfieur <i>Landshat</i> . |

Officers and Groomes of Prince *Henries* stable.

The Guard.

The Knight Marshall, and twenty seruants that kept order in the proceeding.

Diuers Knights and Gentlemen, the Kings seruants that came in voluntary in blacke. So that the whole number amounted to two thousand, or thereabout.

The Lord *DIGBY*'s ENTERTAINMENT
in *Spain*. MSS.

S I R,

SUCH is my present Charity, as that I would be contented to forgive the Wiles of *Spain* with as good a Will as you parted from them, and suffer the blind Policy of the Times to take its Course in calling Black White, and Pride Gravity; till Ambition itself fall into the Ditch. Yet, because of my Promise to you my Friend, in whose Expectation my Honesty is always present, I will no longer contain myself within the Bounds of Flattery, but laying aside all Court Respects, freely and faithfully set down those Passages, that may serue to satisfy yourself, and such others of your Friends, as are desirous to know the certain manner of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Reception, and Entertainment at the Court of *Spain*, at his being last there his Majesty's Extraordinary Ambassador. Myself you know was none of his Lordship's Train, and therefore you must not look for at my Hands an exact Journal of the Progres, let it suffice, that tho' my Relation be but Pieces of the Truth, yet it shall be whole and entire in every one of them.

To begin with his Lordship's Landing at *St. Andera*, it was as I call to mind about the last of *August*, the Place is a desolate Port Town, crept in (I know not by what Mischance) betwixt the Mountains, and the *Biscayan* Bay, yet it being Land, it was not to be despised of those that came sick from Sea, and tho' at first Sight no honest *Englishman* could take the bare-legged People for any other than Savages, (so hideous and uncouth was their Garb and Fashion) yet as God would have it, all were not barbarous, for some they found so civil, as wore black Cloaths, and durst venture upon so much Good Manners, as to bid his Lordship

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and

and his Company welcome *a la Spaniola*, but it seemed his Lordship looked for some Ceremony *a la Englese*, and that some Sir *Lewis Lewknor* or other should be sent from Court to congratulate his safe Arrival, otherwise I see not to what End he should stay about a Fortnight in that rude Place, where he knew that nothing but the *Spanish* Naftiness and Poverty could present themselves to our *English* Observations. Whatsoever his Lordship's Purpose or Expectation was, the Court of *Spain* was far enough from doing him any such Honour, tho' I must confess it was a Thing not altogether undue to so extraordinary an Ambassage. You must know, that the King and his whole Court were about this Season to remove from *Madrid*, and were to come four Days Journey, as directly towards his Lordship as if they had come on Purpose to meet him. The Occasion was, that the grand Favourite the Duke of *Lerma* had invited his Majesty to his Town of *Lerma*, there to recreate him with divers Shewes and Sports prepared for that Purpose. His Lordship therefore from *St. Andera*, sent away his Secretary *S. Digby* with Letters to Mr. *Cottington* (His Majesty's Agent then residing at *Madrid*) to advise him of his coming, and to have him with all Diligence go to the Duke, and supplicate, that since his Majesty would be so happily at *Lerma*, it would please his Excellence to do him so much Honour, as to let him have his first Audience there. Mr. *Cottington* according to his Lordship's Desire moved the Duke in that, whose Answer was, that he would be glad to have it so, but could not order it, only to shew how much he favoured Don *Juan*, he would be an humble Suitor to the King for his Assent, and therefore willed him to repair to him again two or three Days after, and then he should know the Royal Pleasure. The Agent went away very well satisfied with the Duke's Discretion, and doubted not, but at his second Access to receive full Contentment. But when he came again, the Duke gave him a Shrug for a Leg, and told him, His Majesty would by no means admit of his Desire. The Reason was, because he knew my Lord Ambassador came upon Business, and he went to *Lerma* only upon Pleasure. This was the Answer the Secretary returned with to his Lordship, who could by no means rest satisfied with that, but presently wrote back to Mr. *Cottington*, that he should renew the Suit with all Instance, whereupon he went again to Court, and did so urge the Matter to the Duke, as he got him to make a Reply unto the King, who, because he would not be seen to deny his Minion any Thing twice, (more I believe than for any other Respect) did in the End grant it; But why will you ask, did my Lord Ambassador so vehemently desire to be received at *Lerma*, since he could not but know, there was no treating of any thing there but kissing of Hands? for my own Part I neither saw then, nor have been able to comprehend since, any Reason of State, why the King of *England's* Ambassador should petition the
proud

proud *Spaniard* twice for a thing that did so little import the service of his Master ; Nor in my Conscience did any Thing move him to it, but a meer vain-glorious Affection to the Things of *Spain*, for knowing it would be then a festival Time at *Lerma*, he did perhaps desire that the *English* Gentlemen should be present at the Jollities, and behold the Bravery of the Dons. Moreover he foresaw, that if he went thither, they could not chuse but feast him (which being more Extraordinary in that Country than an Extraordinary Ambassador) he thought would redound to his Glory and Honour. Well, the suit obtained, Mr. *Cottington* thought good to carry the glad Tidings of it himself to *Burgos*.

But before I remove his Lordship from *St. Andero*, I must not omit to tell you how Mr. *Hole* his Secretary died there, and for want of Christian Burial, was fain to be put into a Coffin and thrown into the Sea ; but whether it was that they had not Weight enough to keep it under Water, or that the Fishermen took it up on Purpose, (fearing they should catch no Fish as long as the Corps of an Heretic lay in their Waters,) certain it is, that after his Lordship was parted thence, we had News that the Coffin was broken up, and the Corps of our Countryman and Brother, was thrown above Ground to be devoured by the Fowls of the Air. Tell me now, ye ill-advised Favourers of the *Spanish* Party, if these be fit Love-Tricks to prepare the way of Marriage, or if it be reasonable to court their Alliance, whose Inhumanity we have so much Reason to abhor ? Their Church you will say commands it, so doth it forbid them to have any Commerce with us. But, as for their Profit they have gotten themselves dispensed with in the one, So methinks, they should do the like in the other ; If not, I shall think it no Sin for me, nor all *Englishmen* to pray, that those whom the Church so severed, the State may never join together.

As long as we live with them they deny us nothing, their Nuns shall be our Mistresses, their Friars our Bawds, which perhaps they do out of a malicious Intent to damn our Souls, but let us chance to dye, they will by no means suffer us to be buried, because forsooth we are Heretics. Was there ever a *Saracen* like this ? or can it be imagined, there should be either true Divinity or Philosophy, where such barbarous Folly is in Use ? I remember not ever to have read of any thing that doth approach it ; unless it were in a certain *French* book, that makes Description of the Provinces and Towns of *France*, where the Author reports, (how truly I know not) that in the Country *Bigore*, upon the Edge of *Gascoign*, there are a Race of People that come out of their Mother's Wombs with stinking Mouths, who, as long as they remain in the World, are admitted as Fellow-Citizens to all kind of Commerce and Society, but when they come to die, are excommunicated out of the common Church-Yards, and buried apart by them-

selves, because their Breaths stunk when they were alive. This seems so ridiculous as it is almost incredible, but the *Spanish* custom is a thousand times more uncharitable, and that most certain, for they of *Bigore* have in the End their Stench buried, but we, if we die in *Spain*, must be left stinking above Ground, to the End the Dogs may be sure to find us. Had it been thought upon when they made their Peace with us, I make no question but the *Spaniards*, as Catholick as they are, would have granted us any Burial we would have desired, either Christian or Moral ; but since that time they have so picked up their Crumbs of Pride and Severity, as it hath not been in the Power of our Merchants of *Seville*, with all their Supplications, to obtain for their Money never so little a Piece of Ground to bury their Dead in : But I would fain know what Reason their Church allows them for it. Must their Malice towards us be everlasting, both in this World, and the World to come ? Or do they fear, that if we should rise amongst them at the last Day, we might some of us get to Heaven by Stealth, as the Door is opened for them ? or rather is it not out of provident Care, not to have us by when they are to receive their Sentence, for fear we should see their Shame and Confusion ?

This vile and malignant Accident, hath made me run out my Patience and Purpose both at once : But let us return to our Lord Ambassador, and see him safe from *St. Andera* in his Way towards *Burgos*, where our *English* Mirmidons began to see what it was to travel in *Spain* ; for not to hit them in the Teeth with their Bugs and Vermin, which, though they were Plagues in *Egypt*, yet Custom hath made them free Denizons in *Spain*, I will only remember, that I heard both Knights and Squires complain, at their coming to *Burgos*, how they were fain by the way to Sup without Chimneys, and Sleep without Beds, the least of which two in any Part of *England*, would go nigh to be held Couzin-German to the Plague : But Thanks be to God, notwithstanding this Change of Air and Fare, they made a Shift to come all well to *Burgos*, which is the chief Town of all *Castile*, and where the ancient Kings were wont for the most Part to keep their Courts, as may appear by many fair and goodly Houses which were built by the Grandees and Privadoes of those Times, and do to this Day retain their Names. My Lord Ambassador was lodged in none of those, but stood beholden to the Officers of the Town for a House (mean enough) and such as would hold none but his Lordship, and some few of his most necessary Servants, wherewith the Gentlemen were no whit displeased, for though in the Day-time it was subject to no Annoyance, yet it provided very ill Scent for the Night, by reason it was haunted with a stinking Spirit, which we met continually upon the Stairs as we went down after Supper, it being indeed of such a Condition as might well be

ashamed

ashamed to shew itself by Day. In this sweet Place, Mr. *Cottington*, and those that accompanied him from *Madrid*, (whereof I had the Honour to be one) came and kissed his Lordship's Hands, and brought News, that we had left the King within a Day and a half's Journey of *Lerma*. The Lord Ambassador and the Agent having conferred together, it was wonderfull to see what a Matter his Lordship made of his being suffered to go to *Lerma*, wherein he did so please himself, as he stuck not one Day to say openly at the Table, by way of endearing, That he did not think the King of *Spain* would have done that particular Favour to any Prince's Ambassador but to the King of *England's*, nor to any the King of *England* could have sent, but himself; And I think he said partly true, for it is to be hoped, that none would have begged it as he did. But howsoever this was to triumph before the Victory, and gave his Company just Reason to murmur at him, when they saw themselves afterwards disappointed, which happened to them unexpected, troubled them for the present, and taught them for the future, that it was equally dangerous to follow a partial Leader and a reconciled Foe; Yet had they not shut their Eyes, and swallowed with obedient Credulity all that his Lordship was pleased to say, it was not possible they should have committed so great an Error as to presume upon the *Spanishi* Courtesy, seeing so many and so inexcusable Omissions of Respect to presage the contrary, for to conclude all in one, his Lordship was known to be a whole Month in the Country without receiving one Message or Salutation from the Court, which had been enough to put any Extraordinary Ambassador out of Countenance but himself.

But well fare his Lordship's Temper, who all this while did take no Notice of any Hurt done, for that it was expected, that when the King and the Duke should be come to *Lerma*, they would bethink themselves of so much Graciousness, as to send his Lordship a Visit; but we thought one Thing, and the *Spaniard* another, for though *Lerma* was but seven Leagues from *Burgos*, and that the Court had been there a Fortnight, yet his Lordship had no more News from thence, than if he had been still at *Andera*, which gave some of our *English* Travellers Occasion to conceive, that the King of *England* was flighted in his Minister, but others excused the Matter, and said the *Spaniard* did not neglect the Lord Ambassador as representing the King's Person, but only, because they would use no Complement with one they knew so much their Friend. In Conclusion, his Lordship fearing that if he should leave them alone, they would forget him indeed, thought it the best Course to send Mr. *Cottington* on *Saturday* to *Lerma*, to see if he could know what their Pleasure was to do with him, who at his Return brought word, that one of the Duke's Secretaries would not fail him the next Day, to advise him of the Order that should be taken.

Accordingly

Accordingly upon *Sunday* in the Evening, there came a poor Fellow with a Letter from the said Secretary addressed to Mr. *Cottington*, the Contents whereof was, that the next Day (being *Monday*, there should be a Couple of Coaches sent to bring his Lordship upon *Thursday* following to *Villa Manza*, a certain Town that lay one Mile short of *Lerma*, which was assigned for his Lordship's Lodgings, and where it was assured the King's Harbingers should be present to do their Diligence, and prepare all things with as much Commodity, as the Poorness of the Place would permit. Upon this, Warning was given to all the Company to provide, and the Coaches came very honestly at the Time appointed, so as upon *Thursday* Morning about Nine of the Clock, we set forth of *Burgos*, and arrived about Three in the Afternoon at *Villa Manza*, which we well perceived to be a pitiful ragged Village, and such as in *England* would hardly be judged capable of an Alehouse, yet seeing we were there, we could do no less than enquire for my Lord Ambassador's House. The House! People told us we were surely deceived, and mistaken, for there were none dwelt there but poor *Laberdosos*. It being demanded whether none of the King's Harbingers had been there to take up Lodgings for the *English* Ambassador, they were all so void of Intelligence, as they knew not what it meant, so as it was hard to say, which of us were most amazed, they to hear us ask such strange Questions, or we to find Things so unanswerable to our Expectations. For our more trusty Advice, divers of our Company that had been scouting abroad, had reported they could hear no News, nor discover any House fit for his Lordship to go into, who, being unwilling to break the Peace, would not take the Town by Force, but very quietly kept his Coach, and sent Mr. *Gresley* in all haste to *Lerma*, to fetch somebody, that might have Authority to assist him in this his Trouble. Mr. *Gresley* made as much haste as he could, to bring back Word, that at *Lerma* they were all busy of seeing a Play, so as he could not come to speak with any man that understood the Business, which growing thus from bad to worse, did so distract his Lordship's Thoughts, as he began now to doubt whether *Villa Manza* was the Place he was appointed to go to, and in Examination thereof, made Mr. *Cottington* empty his Pockets to produce the Secretary's Letter, where they found *Villa Manza* as legibly written as they could desire; so as now all Colour of Evasion being taken away, his Lordship could no longer dissemble like a *Spanish* Ambassador, but did his Country so much Right, as to shew himself a very *Englishman*, and supplying with Impatience, what they wanted in Authority, commanded the Coachmen (in a very hasty Manner) to drive back to *Burgos*, which they most punctually refused to do. Whereupon his Lordship leapt out of the Coach, and in a great Chafe got upon his Horse, crying unto his Company, away, the Coachmen seeing he

he was resolute to go, and fearing they should lose their Reward (if they parted upon those Terms) came presently and told his Lordship they would venture to do whatsoever his Seignioria would have them. With that his Seignioria alighted from his Horse, and went up again into the Coach; but before the Wheels were turned about, his Lordship's Mind was changed, and upon some Caveat or other that Mr. *Cottingham* seem'd to whisper in his Ear, he made the Boots to be opened again, and declared he was determined to stay there all Night, which appeared to some of the Spectators such an Interlude, as they did nothing envy those that were seeing the Comedy at *Lerma*. Well, his Lordship when he had sat four Hours, in the End quitted it, and made a worse Choice by entering into a rotten, bare-wall'd House, such as I may boldly say, had been fitter for Sir *John Fenwick's* Dogs, than his Lordship's Company. It was for no goodness it wanted a Tenant, for if any Body dwelt in it, they were People of such Condition as had no Use of Household Stuff, for unless it were one naked Table, I do not remember I saw any Thing.

Yet an Owner it had, who came and welcomed his Lordship with as much Formality, as if his House had been a Castle, and himself a *Don Quixote*. But his Lordship took little Pleasure to see one so full of Words that had so empty Rooms, true it is, that the best Chamber found itself so full, when we came into it, as a great Part of the Floor fell down, which some of the curious interpreted for Ominous for those that trusted the *Spanish* Footing, for all that, his Lordship caused his Bed to be set up there, and no reason to repent his Providence for bringing it with him.

The Jest of all Jests was, we had not been housed above half an Hour, but up came the good old Knight, Sir *E. R.* puffing and blowing to bring his Lordship News, that a Harbinger was come, who said, there was a House and all Things ready provided. His Lordship not knowing but that it might be so indeed, if not in *Villa Manza*, yet perhaps in *Lerma* or some other adjoining Place, composed his Countenance as well as he could upon so sudden Warning, and commanded the Harbinger to be brought into his Presence, who excusing himself for not coming Time enough to attend his Lordship, said, yet he was glad to see his Lordship had lighted on the right House. My Lord asked him how he knew that to be the right House, he answered that himself and one of his Fellows had been there the Day before to bespeak it.

The Master of the House being questioned about it, answered there was no such Matter, which put his Lordship into such a Fit of anger, as he threatned the Harbinger to throw him out of the Window, but the poor Fellow chose rather

ther to go out of the Door, and without any more ado, left his Lordship to his Shifts. And Thanks be to God so good Shift was made, as we supped that Night, tho' not like Ambassadors, yet well enough for Travellers; After Supper his Lordship walked about the Room very pensively, and gave us a Gueſs at his Thoughts by uttering once or twice theſe Words, *Well, they have troubled us To-Day, we ſhall trouble them To-Morrow*, thinking belike he ſhould be ſent for to Court, where he meant to expoſtulate the Matter with them, but the *Spaniard* thought it a Point of Wiſdom to give him longer Time to allay his Choler, before they would ſee him. Mr. *Cottington* went the ſame Evening to *Lerma*, and came back again after Supper, but what his Errand was I know not, we left my Lord and him together, and betook ourſelves every Man to his Lodging, which you muſt imagine to be neither better nor worſe than ſuch as Day Labourers could afford to unexpected Gueſts.

The next Day betimes, Mr. *Cottington* made another Voyage to *Lerma*, where he got to ſpeak with the Duke, and repreſented unto him the Diſorder that had been at *Villa Manza*, whereat he ſeemed to be ſo highly offended, as to chide his Secretary, who excuſed himſelf with the Multitude of Buſineſſes, which lay that time upon his Hands, and transferred his Fault upon other Inferiors.

As this paſt, who ſhould come in, but the very ſame Harbinger, that had been the Night before at *Villa Manza*, who up and told the Duke, before Mr. *Cottington's* Face, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador look'd that two or three Grandees ſhould have been ſent to receive him, and that, when he went to do him Service, he threatned to throw him out of the Window. The Duke being perhaps glad of ſuch an Advantage, gave good Ear to the Fellow's Words, and putting on his graveſt Countenance, told Mr. *Cottington*, that he did not think ſo grave a Miniſter as Don *Juan* would have ſuffered himſelf to be ſo miſcarried with Paſſion, to menace and affront the King's Officer in that Manner, adding by Way of Aggravation, that he himſelf durſt hardly do it. So that he held Mr. *Cottington's* Buſineſs quite perverted, for whereas he came to complain of the Wrong his Lordſhip had received, he was drawn to excuſe the Error he had committed; which I know not if he did in ſo juſt a Meaſure, as to leave him in that Reputation with the Duke, as it ſeemed he was in, when he wiſhed, that the King of *Spain* had given his Weight in Gold for ſuch another Servant as Don *Juan*: A Thing I ſhould have been loath to report, but that I heard from his Lordſhip's own Mouth. By that time Mr. *Cottington* was returned, it was full Court in his Lordſhip's Cottage, every Man attending with impatient Ears what would be the News from *Lerma*, but all in vain, for nothing was thought fit to be

be published at that Time, but only that a Mule was come laden with Provision, which tho' our Necessities could not but well accept, yet some of us judged the Provender fitter to satisfy our Hunger than our Honour.

They that sent it were perswaded themselves it would do both with *Englishmen*, nor were they much deceived, for it did so qualify the Matter, as I very well remember his Lordship thereupon, did most sententiously pronounce, *That the Spaniard was better at a Remedy, than a Prevention.*

After Dinner my Lord and some of his Company went to Cards, whilst others (that desired to make better Use of their Time abroad) walked forth into the Fields, to observe the Clearness of the Sky; there likewise did *Lerma* House present itself to their View, which we thought they regarded in the very same manner for all the World, as the refuse People do use to do the outside of the Banqueting House on a Mask Night, when they cannot be suffered to go in.

Towards the Evening a Letter came from the Duke, which was to be of his own Hand-writing, happy were they who could catch a Sight of the Supercription. But that which gave us most reason to rejoice, was to hear that his Lordship should now at length have his Desire, it being advertized, that the Conde *de Salazer* one of the Kings Major's Domo's should be sent the next Morning, to fetch his Lordship and his Company to *Lerma*; the Morning came, and the Gallants drest, his Lordship had provided a sharp Conceit to persuade us instead of breaking our Fast, for quoth he, I would not for any thing have him find us within Doors, because I mean to tell the Conde, that tho' the House be thought good enough for the King of *England's* Ambassador, yet I hold it much unworthy to receive one of the King of *Spain's* Major Domo's. The Wit thereof pleased me so well, as that I applauded the Words, and meant to make a narrow Observation of the *Spaniards* Apprehension.

But when I saw the Conde come, and thrust his Lordship into the Coach as it were with Authority, rather than Courtesy, and that not one Word proceeded from his Lordship's Mouth in Performance of his Lordship's Apothegm, I began then to despair of ever having Occasion to change my Opinion (which was from the Beginning) That his Lordship had more Wit to his Countrymen, than to displease the *Spaniard*.

The Entry of CHARLES I. into London.

The Meeting of the Emperor, his Grace, with the Lord Mayor of London, and his Brethren, with all other Crafts of the said City in their Liveries.

FIRST, the said Lord Mayor must meet him at *Deptford*, and there shall receive him with Procession.

Also at *London-Bridge* there shall be two great Giants standing at either Side of the Gate, which shall deliver to the King's Grace the Keys, and the King to deliver them to the Emperor.

Also upon the Draw-bridge shall be one Pageant of *Jason* with the Golden Fleece; because the Emperor giveth the Golden Fleece, as the King of *England* doth give the Garter.

Also there shall be set, in the Likeness of the Emperor, and all the Kings that hold of the Emperor, with Crowns on their Heads.

Also at the Conduit in *Gracechurch-Street*, there shall sit one Man, in Likeness of King *Charles*, with an Emperor's Crown upon his Head, the Emperor sitting on the right Hand, and the King of *England* on the left Hand of him; and he shall have two Swords in his Hand, and deliver one Sword to the Emperor, the other to the King's Grace.

That is to understand to the Emperor as Heir Apparent, and to the King's Grace as Heir and Governor Generall.

Also at the *Leadenhall* shall be one Pageant of the Duke of *Lancaster*, how he was married in *Spain*, and of all his Lineage that came of him since that Time, and targetts upon them, that they may be known, and their Arms upon the Targetts, to be known thereby.

At the Conduit in *Cornehill* shall sit King *Arthur*, as an Emperor, and all the Kings crowned that did hold of him.

Then he shall present the King with one Sword, and welcome the Emperor with a Speech.

Also at the Conduit in the *Stocks*, there shall be made one Castle and an Orchard, and one Garden made by Advice, and shall be with Birds singing upon Trees, and divers manner of wild Beasts, and Motes with Sluices, with Fishes swimming in them.

And out of two Ports of the Corners shall come two Men, one like the King, another like the Emperor, having two Swords in their Hands, clean armed,
and

and shall meet and kifs, and the Father of Heaven being over their Heads, blessing them.

Also at the great Conduit in *Cheapside* shall be two Ports, one shall be the East Gate, and the other shall be the West; and at the coming of the East Gate there shall be there a Rose, like to the Bud of a Rose, and so to come down and open more and more, and at the last it shall be open'd all.

And there shall be a Maiden with a red Rose and a white rose in her Hands, cloathed in Cloath of Gold, delivering unto the King the red Rose, and to the Emperor the white Rose.

Also at the Standard in the *Cheap* there shall be the Storie of the King *Solomane* with his Progeny.

Also a Cross in the *Cheap*, gilded after the best Manner.

Also at the little Conduit in the *Cheap* shall be the Assumption of our Lady, as goodly as can be wrought, &c. Angels, Archangells, Patriarchs, Prophets, with the Apostles in the heavenlyest Manner. The Sun, the Moon, with the Starrs shining bright, which shall open and bow down to the Honour of our Lady, with Voices of young Choiristers, the which shall sing most sweetly, as may be devised by Musick.

OVATIO CAROLINA. *The Triumph of KING CHARLES, or, The Triumphant Manner and ORDER, of Receiving His MAJESTY into His CITY of LONDON, on Thursday the 25th. Day of NOVEMBER, Anno Dom. 1641, upon his safe and happy RETURN from SCOTLAND. With Master RECORDER'S SPEECH to His MAJESTIE. And His MAJESTIE'S most gracious ANSWER.*

THAT Princes have been oft times received in *Triumphant* manner by their Subjects, either after the subduing of a Nation by force of Arms, or the quiet pacification of a People without bloodshed, is a thing not Novel: None but they that are not versed at all, in the antient Monuments of Time, are ignorant of it.

The *Roman* Stories (to omit others) tell us, that they had two sorts of *Triumphs* in use among them; one for those of the first kind, wherein they led their Principal Enemies captived in Chains, and these *Conquerours* were received by the People with *Musical* Instruments of *War*, they themselves being crowned with *Laurel*, and sacrificing (*Taurum*) a *Bull* (the Emblem of *Blood*) together with some of the Chief *Captives*: The other sort were entertained with *Musical* Instruments of *Peace*, and *Feasting*, being Crowned with *Myrtle*, and sacrificing (*Ovem*) a *Sheep*, the Hieroglyphique of *Peace*, whence this *Triumph* was called *Ovatio*: And though with them (being *Heathen*) this was called *Triumphus minor*, the lesser *Triumph*, and so by them reputed; yet with us (*Christians*, who serve and worship the Prince of *Peace*) it is and ought to be accounted *Major*, the greater and more *Honourable*.

Our own Stories can report unto us, that this *Triumphant* reception of our *Princes* hath been frequent in use amongst us, And our own memories may inform us, that upon ordinary occasions, even upon their removal from one House of theirs to another, (and that annually) solemn attendance upon them by the Citizens of *London* hath been in Practice, to express their love, and hearty affections to them.

No mervail then, if upon so happy an *Expedition*, and safe return of our *Royal King*, the City of *London* (his Majesties *Royal Chamber*) should express its joy, in so solemn and dutiful a manner, as lately it hath done. Were it only in regard of his Majesties great *Wisdom* and *Moderation* in composing an unnatural *War*, and settling a *Peace* between two of his own Kingdoms without expence of Blood, it had been warrant sufficient, for the erecting of *Trophies* to his Majesties perpetual Memory, and to have received him with all the honour could be devised: But if we shall add to this, the removal of their just fears, and the reviving of their dejected Spirits by his safe and happy return, no Man but will conclude, that the Citizens of *London* have done nothing more (if not far less) than by duty they were bound: And if they had not performed that they did, the very *stones* in the streets would have proclaimed to the World their Ingratitude to *God* and his *Majesty*.

For certainly much dejected we have been, yea, altogether heartless, since the *Rays* of his Majesty (our great *Luminary*) were over-clouded by his absence from us. To use one Prophet's words in another case: *Did not our hearts go along with him?* Yes, and tarried with him too: Infomuch as we have remained (as it were) without them, ever since his Majesties departure, and have seemed like *dead Men*.

And

And indeed, how could we be in better case? For if another *Prophet* could say, in the case of King Josias, *Spiritus Oris, the breath of our Nostrils is departed from us*, how could we (during the time of his *Majesties* absence) but say the like? And if breathless, we could not be but liveless, sure.

But the now Joyful, happy, and comfortable return of the *Sun* into our *Horizon*, hath restored our hearts and revived us: And if this return had nothing concomitant with it, yet had it been sufficient of it self to reduce us to our pristine Estate, But that it entred, and that into our particular *Orb*, accompanied with that other *Luminary*, (which by the interposition of the *Earth* between the other great *Light* and *Her*, hath (if it may not be said) been Ecclipsed, yet not vouchsafed that splendour we had in former times by her in our *Hæmisphere*) we are not only fully recovered, but much more strength and vigour is added to us, than formerly we had.

This grace and favour of their *Majesties* to us in particular, and this great blessing of *God*, upon all good Subjects in general, for this happy Peace and safe return, is not to be parallel'd in any History. It is *Exemplar sine exemplo*, a Samp- lar not to be pattern'd: And therefore no praise to *God*, nor thanks, nor obedient service to his Majesty, can be sufficient to express it.

By this little (though much more might be said) it may be hoped, that the Mouths of all *Pasquillers* may be stopped. For if the *Heathen* could honour their Princes, sometimes upon ridiculous Expeditions, only because they were their Princes, (as we read of that for *Caligula*, who returned to *Rome* in Triumph, having only gathered *Cockle-shells* near our *Coast*) how much more stand we bound to manifest our affections, in honour of our gracious *Sovereign*, not only for this great and Princely work of his, in settling Peace and unity between his People, by Mansuetude and Mildness, but for vouchsafing this seasonable and timely *Visit*, in his return, to this his dejected *City*.

What remaineth then? But that this mutual Act of *Love* between his Majesty and the *City* (occasioned as aforesaid) be kept in perpetual Memory? Had not things of this nature been formerly recorded for posterity, we might have wanted president, and this might have been accounted (as some things in these times are) an *Innovation*.

That therefore we may do no less for succeeding Times, than former have done for us, we shall describe the particulars of this Days great *Work*: That is, the bounden duty and service to his Majesty by his Loyal Subjects the *Citizens* of *London*, and the Honour returned by his Majesty for it.

Which (for the more clear apprehension of those which were not Spectators of it) we shall set down in this Method.

1. The *Preparation* before the *Day*.
2. The *Days* work, or *Entertainment* in it self.
3. What *occurred* after, yet having *relation* to the *work* of the *Day*.

The PREPARATION.

The *Orator* long since hath told us, that *in rebus magnis, memoriaque dignis, consilia primum, deinde acta spectantur*, In great matters, worthy of perpetual Memory, we are to consult before we *Act*. And the reason for this is given by another, *Quicquid diligenter prævidetur, cum ad rem agendam perventum fuerit, facilius superatur*, Whatsoever is carefully thought upon before hand, is with more ease affected, when it comes to execution. And therefore the Right Honorable the *Lord-Mayor*, and the rest of the grave *Senate* of the *City of London*, the *Aldermen* his Brethren being advertised, that his *Majesty*, in his happy return from *Scotland*, would graciously condescend to pass through the *City*, with his Royal Confort the *Queen*, (the *Prince*, and other of the *Princely* issue) as a *Court* among themselves, took into their Considerations, how to give *Entertainment* fit for his Majesties gracious acceptance. And thereupon they selected a Committee of six *Aldermen*, and twelve *Commoners*, who should meet, consult, and order, what they in their discretions should think fit, to conduce to the Honour of the *City*, and the acceptance of his *Majesty*: Yet before these Committees should effect any thing herein, it was thought requisite, to assemble a *Common-Council*, as well to understand the affections of the *Commons*, as to confirm those Committees chosen by the *Lord-Mayor* and *Court* as aforesaid.

The matter being propounded there, was entertain'd with an unanimous consent and general approbation, and the before mentioned *Committees* were by the *Court* confirmed: Who thereupon met daily, bending all their thoughts, how to satisfy the trust imposed on them: And calling before them the Officers of the *City*, directed them what they should do, charging them to leave nothing undone, which either Art, Labour, or Cost, (in so short a time) could compass.

More particularly. In the first place, their especial care was, to give order, as well to the *Steward*, *Cook*, *Butler*, and *Confectioner*, to make speedy Provision of all things, fit for the Royal feasting of their *Majesties*, and their *Princely Train*; as to the Officers of the *City Works*, that the *Guild-hall* might be prepared, and made ready, for the due and respective receiving of them.

The next was, that Precepts might be speedily directed, to the several Societies and Companies of the *City*, that against the Day their *Majesties* should come, there should be some of the Prime Men chosen out of their Liveries, that should be in readiness, to attend the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, in their best array (either *Velvet*, *Plush*, or *Sattin*) and Chains of Gold, upon good Horses well appointed, and each Rider to have a Footman to attend him, to meet their *Majesties*, and conduct them, first to *Guild-hall*, and afterwards to his *Majesties* Royal Palace of *White-hall*. As also, that out of the Residue of their Companies, some should be appointed to wait in their several standings in their Liveries, from their *Majesties* entrance into the *City*, to *Temple Bar*, to which purpose the *Committee* gave order and directions, where every several Companies standings should be set up. And lastly, that others should be nominated, to attend in the *Guild-hall* upon their *Majesties* in their Liveries and Foyns likewise, from the time of their coming thither, to their departure thence.

Another care of the *Committee* was, that (the way from *Kingsland* to *Shoreditch* being impassible for their *Majesties* (in regard of the depth and foulness of it) a way might be prepared from thence, to that place of the *City*, where their *Majesties* should enter, as might not be only fair and clean, but as pleasant also, and delightful, as the season of the year would permit, and that the Streets (all the way they should pass) might be paved, where need was, and made sweet and clean.

And because some seditious Libels were at that time dispersed, which bred a *Panique* fear in some, order was likewise taken, that there should be two Companies of the *City* trained Bands, placed in several parts of the *City* upon that day; as also that at every door a Man should be placed, sufficiently appointed, to be ready upon all occasions, to appease any Disorders.

Lastly, out of the said *Committee*, two of the *City Captains* were designed as Chief *Marshals* for the Day, to have the Command over the other three *Marshals*, that were Officers of the *Chamber*, and to order, direct, and Marshal the Horsemen. As also four other of the *Committee* were appointed as *Comptrollers* of the House, to whom all inferior Officers should have recourse upon any occasion, and to direct and order the Liveries, which were to attend upon their *Majesties* service, and generally to dispose all other things, conducing to the *Entertainment* in *Guild-hall*.

And thus much briefly for the *Preparation*.

Now

Now for the ENTERTAINMENT it self.

Upon Thursday being the five and twentieth of *November* 1641, the Knights of the Gray Cloke, Master *Recorder*, the rest of the Aldermen, City Council, and chief Officers, as Town-Clerk, Common Serjeant, and Remembrancer, attended the *Lord-Mayor* at his Lordships House in the Old Jewry, by eight of the clock in the Morning: From whence, they advanced through the *City* to *Moorgate*, in this Manner. The Lord-Mayor, (having the Sword-bearer and two Mace-bearers before him, on Horse-back and on Foot-cloths, and two Footmen in black Velvet Coats, on each side one, his Lordship wearing a Gown of *Crimson Velvet* and a Collar of *Effes*) rode in the Front, the Knights afore-named, Master *Recorder*, and the Aldermen following, according to their Seniority, two by two, in *Scarlet* Gowns attended by two Footmen apiece, suited in the City Colours, each of which Footmen being appointed to carry a Truncheon in his hand for the fore-noon, and two Torches for the afternoon. Next to them followed the City Council, and chief Officers in black Gowns, upon Foot-cloths, each of them having a Footman going by them, suited, and fitted as aforesaid.

In this Equipage they passed through the *City*, from his Lordships House to *Moor-fields*, where there waited in a readiness to attend his Lordship, and the service, about five hundred Horsemen, selected out of the Liveries of the several Companies of the *City*, being the Masters, Wardens, and prime Men of each Company, in *Velvet* or *Plush* Coats and Suits, with Chains of Gold, and being well Horsed, and gallantly furnished: Every Company, having a Horseman in the Front, carrying a Pendant with that Companies Arms to which he did belong (for distinction's sake) and a Footman to attend each Horseman of the Livery, with Truncheons, and Torches as before: Both Horsemen, with the Pendants, and Footmen, being suited *Cape a pe* with the Companies Colours on which they waited. There were also fourteen Trumpeters, with Trumpets, Banners, and Scarffs, who were placed two between every hundred of the Horse, and four at the head of the Troop.

The Lord-Mayor (being thus attended) rode on with the Knights, Master *Recorder*, the Aldermen, City Council and chief Officers as before, and after them the five hundred Horsemen, according to the several ranks of the Companies: The Lord-Mayors Company (the *Clothworkers*) being foremost, then *Mercers*, and the rest, according to their Order.

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They all advanced in comely manner, through the fields (the banks being cast down, and bridges of fourteen foot wide, being made over the Ditches, for better and more secure passage) till they came beyond *Balmes* (a retiring House of Sir *George Whitmore's*) in the fields next adjoining to *Kingland*. The night before being Rainy, and the Morning gloomy, and cloudy, The Lord-Major commanded his Tent to be pitched in the field, where his Lordship, the Knights, Master *Recorder*, and the Aldermen, were to attend their Majesties. In the Tent were seats and formes, where his Lordship and some of the Nobility reposed themselves, till their Majesties came.

In the mean time, the two *Sheriffs* of *London* and *Middlesex*, attended by seventy two Men in Scarlet Clokes, trimm'd with Silver lace (the Colours of the City) with Javelins and Feathers, and four Trumpeters, rode as far as *Stamford Hill*, between *Newington* and *Tottenham*: where they staid, while their Majesties came from *Theobalds* (where they lay the Night before) who (after they had done their respective duties, and kissed their Majesties hands) conducted them to the Field where the Lord-Mayor, the Nobility, and Aldermen, waited for them.

His Majesty came into the Field about ten of the clock, in a Coach, he sitting on the right side of it, and her Majesty on his right hand, the Prince, the Duke of York, and the Princess Mary being within the Coach, and the Prince Elector Palatine, and the Dutchess of *Richmond* sitting on the other side, their Majesties being attended by divers Honourable Lords and Ladies. When the Coach came against the Lord-Mayors Tent, his Majesty caused it to stay, where divers of the Nobility that had attended his coming there, presented themselves to his Majesty, and joying in his safe return, kissed both their Majesties hands.

After which, the Lord-Mayor, Knights, Master *Recorder*, and Aldermen, presented themselves likewise, in humble manner, to his Majesty. The Lord-Mayor tendered the City Sword and Scepter to him, who re-delivered them to his Lordship, where kneeling (together with Master *Recorder*) by the Coach side, Master *Recorder* made a grave, pithy, and short Speech to his Majesty, as followeth.

May it please Your MAJESTY:

THIS is a day of exceeding great joy to your Citizens of *London*, joy exalted to the highest degree, to see you return in safety, after a long absence, and to see this happy meeting with your dearest Confort, our good and gracious Queen, and

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with

with these blessed Children, that are the fruits of your loves, and pledges to us, of a fruitful and hopeful Succession.

I can truly say this from the Representative Body of your *City*, from whence I have my warrant: They meet your Majesty with as much love and affection, as ever Citizens of *London* met with any of your Royal Progenitors, King, or Queen of this Kingdom; and with as hearty a desire to shew it self fully. Pardon their failures, where you meet with any.

We tender unto you no formal Present, it would but lessen us: I am sure, what ever it were, it would be far short of our meaning.

We present unto you our hearts, and affections, hearts of true Subjects, full of Loyalty to you our King and Sovereign.

'Tis true, in this we offer your Majesty but your own, they were by just right Yours before. But upon this new enlivening and expression, be pleased to take them as a New Gift; we offer them cheerfully, vouchsafe to accept them graciously, and with the influence of those excellent and Princely Virtues, which we know, by great assurance, to be eminent in your Royal Person, the defence of our established *Religion*, and the clear current of your *Justice* from the Fountain, through the Streams; be pleased to cherish them.

Vouchsafe, likewise, to uphold and countenance that ancient form and frame of *Government*, which hath been long established in the *City*: That Power and Authority of Yours, which you have committed to your Lord-Mayor, Your true and faithful Subject and Servant, and the fit Reverence and respect, due to the Aldermen his Brethren, who are to assist him in his *Government*: We shall be thereby the better enabled to serve Your Majesty, and constantly to render to you the fruits of true *Obedience*: And (as our duty binds us) we shall never cease to bless You, and pray for You, and your dearest Consort, our gracious Queen, and for this your Royal and Princely *Offspring*: for your Majesties long Life, and prosperous Reign over us, in Peace and Glory, and with full contentment: And I doubt not but every true Subject will joyn with us in this, and say, *Amen*.

These Expressions of Joy, of Love, of Loyalty, and these hearty wishes and desires, which I have mentioned, I meet with every where from your Citizens of *London*. They are the soft and still Musick prepared for your Majesties welcome and Entertainment this day: The joyful Acclamations of your People, upon the sight of your Royal Person, will make it louder, and all cheerfully bearing their agreeing parts together, shall I hope this day make up to your Majesty, a full and pleasing Harmony.

To which, his Majesty made this gracious Answer.

Master

Master RECORDER,

I MUST desire you (because my voice cannot reach to all those that I desire should hear me) to give most hearty thanks to all the good Citizens of *London*, for their hearty expressions of their *Love* this day to me. And indeed I cannot express the contentment I have received therein: For now I see, that all these former *Tumults* and disorders, have only risen from the meaner sort of People: and that the affections of the better and main part of the *City*, have ever been *Loyal* and affectionate to my *Person*, and *Government*.

And likewise, it comforts me to see, that all those Misreports, that have been made of me in my absence, have not the least Power to do me prejudice in your Opinions, as may be easily seen, by this days expression of *joy*.

And now I think it fit for me to assure you, that I am returned with as hearty and kind affection to my People in general, and to this *City* in particular, as can be desired by loving Subjects. The first I shall express by governing you all, according to the Laws of this *Kingdom*, and in maintaining you in your full *Liberties*, but chiefly in maintaining and protecting the true *Protestant* Religion, according as it hath been Established in my two famous Predecessors times, Queen *Elizabeth*, and my *Father*. And this I will do (if need be) to the hazard of my *Life*, and all that is dear unto me.

As for the *City* in particular, I shall study by all means their prosperity: And I assure you, I willingly grant those few reasonable *Demands* you have now made unto me, in the name of the *City*. Likewise I shall study to re-establish that flourishing Trade, which now is in some disorder amongst you, which I doubt not to effect, with the good Assistance of the *Parliament*.

One thing I have thought of, as a particular *Testimony* of my affection to you, which is to give back unto you freely that part of *London Derry*, which heretofore was evicted from you. This (I confess, as that *Kingdom* is now) is no great Gift: But I intend, first to recover it, and then to give it to you whole and intirely. And for the *Legal* part of this, I command you Master Recorder to wait upon me, to see it punctually performed.

I will end as I began, to desire you, Master Recorder, to give all the *City* thanks, in better expressions than I can make: Though I must tell you, it will be far short of that real contentment I find in my Heart, for this real and seasonable *Demonstration* of their affections to me.

His Majesty having ended this gracious Speech, was pleased to confer the Honour of *Knighthood* upon the Lord-Mayor, and Master *Recorder*, with the City *Sword*: Both their Majesties graciously giving their Hands to kifs, to them, as also to the Knights, Aldermen, City Council, and Officers.

After these things done, his Majesty and the Prince alighted from the Coach, and took their Horses: The Queen, Duke of *York*, Princess *Mary*, Prince Elector, and the Duchefs of *Richmond*, remaining still in the Coach.

In the mean time, by the care and pains of the two Captains of the Committee, and of the three Marshals that were appointed for this days service, the five Hundred Horsemen of the Liveries, and their Attendants, were brought into a Body, and set in order as before; and facing about, the whole Company set forward, to conduct their Majesties into *London*, the *Sheriffs* Men being placed in the Front, and the Inferiour Companies following them, and the rest of the Companies after them, the Lord-Mayors Company being next to the Aldermen: And advancing in a Seemly order, they made such a gallant show, that their Majesties, and the Prince took great delight and content to behold them.

The Nobility and others of his Majesties Train were Marshalled by the Officers of *Arms*, so that the whole Order was in this manner.

The City *Marshal*.

The *Sheriffs* *Trumpeters*.

The *Sheriffs* *Men*.

Citizens in Velvet Coats and Chains.

The City Council and Officers.

The *Aldermen*.

The *Princes* *Trumpeters*.

* *Messengers* of the Chamber.

* In placing of the *Messengers*, an error was committed, for they should have followed the *Sheriffs* *Men*.

The *Kings* *Trumpeters*.

Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

Knight Marshal.

Pursivants at Arms.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common
Pleas, being a Knight of the
Privy-Council.

Barons.

Lord Goring. Lord Coventry.
Lord Fielding.. Lord Digby.

Lord Mowbray.

Viscount Conway.

Heralds.

Earles.

Earl Rivers. Earl of Bath.
Earl of Cumberland.
Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of the
Kings House.

Duke of Richmond.

Clarenceaux and Norroy.

Lord Keeper. Lord Privy Seal.

Serjeants at Arms, among whom one
for the City.

Quirrys and Footmen. { *The Prince's Highness* } Quirrys and Footmen.

Garler

Garter	{	The Lord-Mayor carrying the City Sword, by his Maje- sties special appointment, as a grace and favour at this time.	}	A Gentleman Usher daily waiter.
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Lord Great Chamberlain.	{	Marquess <i>Hertford</i> , bearing The Sword of State.	}	Earl <i>Marshal</i> .
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The KING'S MAJESTY.

The Queens Majesty in her Coach richly
embroydered, and with her, the Duke of
York, the Princess *Mary*, and the Prince
*Elect*or.

Marquess *Hamilton* Master of the Horse,
leading the Horse of *State*.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, Captain of the *Pen-*
sioners.

The Gentlemen *Pensioners* with their *Pole-*
axes, all mounted with *Pistols* at their *Sad-*
dles.

The Earl of *Holland*, Lord General beyond
Trent, and after him Viscount *Grandison*, with
many other Principal Commanders in the late
Northern Expedition.

After them, Divers Ladies, and other great
Personages of note.

The Yeomen of the *Guard*.

They all entred the City at *Moor-gate*, where their Majesties were welcomed
with a Noise of Trumpets, appointed to attend there to that purpose ; from
which

which place to *Bishopsgate*, and so through *Cornhill* to *St. Lawrence-Lane* end in *Cheapside*, the Companies in Liveries stood on the left hand, as their Majesties passed by; the Rails of the standings being covered with blue cloth, and the Standings themselves being richly adorned with Banners, Ensigns, and Pendants of the *Arms* of each Company respectively; Nine Companies of the 12, standing in the morning, The Lord-Mayors Company beginning against *St. Lawrence-Lane* end, and the other 8, in their order, towards *Bishopsgate*, the rest of the way where they left, to *Moor-gate*, being supplied by some of the inferiour Companies; The outside of the Houses, all the way their Majesties passed, being beautified with rich *Tapestry*.

On the North side of the Street (four foot distant from the Houses) were Rails placed, to regulate and keep the People in good order, from *Bishopsgate* to *Cornhill*, and so to *Temple-Bar*. At the beginning of which Rails (*viz.* at *Bishopsgate*, by the direction of the two Captains and three Marshals) the first Horsemen of the Liveries began to make a stand; The first rank of them placing themselves single, faced to the Liveries that were in the Standings, and the rest (passing along) placed themselves in the same Order: the Trumpets and Pendants, of each Company, standing in the *Front*, and then the Companies themselves; The youngest being next to the Pendant, and so upwards by Seniority, to the Master of the Company who took his place last; Then began the Pendant and youngest of the next Company to make their stand as the former, till they came to *St. Lawrence-Lane* end; There being five foot distant from one Horse to another, in which space stood each Horsemans Footman, with a truncheon in his hand: Making by this means a guard for their Majesties, and the rest of the Train. And it fell out, that most of the Companies of Horse were placed right against their own Companies in the standings; The People that were Spectators in the Streets were bestowed, part behind the Horse, and part behind the *Liveries*, and by this good Order, their Majesties, and the Train, passed quietly without interruption.

Their Majesties coming along *Cornhill*, seven Trumpeters that were placed in the Clock-house of the *Exchange*, gave them their second welcome into the *City*, and as they went, the *Conduit* in *Cornhill*, and the great *Conduit* in *Cheapside* ran with *Claret-wine*, to express the freedom of the *City* for the joy of that day.

All the way that their Majesties passed, the People, with loud and joyful Acclamations, crying, *God bless, and long live King CHARLES and Queen MARY*, and their Majesties reciprocally, and heartily, blessing and thanking the People, with as great expressions of joy.

Being

Being come to St. *Lawrence-Lane* end, (the passage being straight) neither Horse nor Foot could be planted there: So that only the *Sheriffs* Officers, the City Council and Officers, the *Sheriffs*, *Aldermen*, and the Lord-Mayor, conducted their Majesties, and their train to *Guild-hall*.

At their entrance there, divers Honourable *Lords* and *Ladies*, that had not given their attendance abroad, presented themselves to his Majesty, and conducted him and the Queen up, to the new and old Council-chambers, being appointed for their repose, till Dinner might be served to the Table, the four *Comptrollers* for the day, and about eighty comely and grave Citizens in Foynes and Liveries, standing and making a Lane on both sides their passage, to whom their Majesties shewed gracious respects, the Musick of the *City* giving them their next welcome.

Their Majesties being no sooner reposed, but word was given for serving up of Dinner, to their Table; The Place appointed for it was the *Hustings*, at the East end of the *Hall*, which was raised almost two yards from the ground, the floor being covered with Turkey Carpets, and all the *Hall* (as all the other Rooms of the *Guild-hall*) was hanged and adorned with rich Tapestry: In the middle of the place where their Majesties dined, was hung up a Cloth of *Estate*, and two Chairs of *Estate* were set under it, before which, was placed a Table six yards long; at the South end whereof (two yards distance from the Table) was a Table of Garnish of three yards square, and at the North end, was a room erected for the Musick of all sorts, for the better entertainment and delight of their Majesties, while they should be at Dinner.

And four or five steps under the place where their Majesties Dined, was a Frame of Timber erected, and floored with Deals, a yard from the ground, which extended almost to the *Hall* door: Upon each side whereof, was a Table set, from the upper to the lower end of it; At which two Tables, the Lords and Ladies that attended their Majesties, were to dine: Between which, was a spacious way left, covered with green Bayes, whereon their Majesties were to pass, to the Place where They should Dine.

And in the West part of the *Hall*, below the Gate, on the South side, was a long Table placed for his Majesties *Pensioners*: And in all other Rooms, that were not for their Majesties privacy, were likewise Tables prepared, for several sorts of their Majesties attendants.

The Dinner was served up in this manner. From their Majesties Table to the Dresher (which was at the West end of the *Hall*) stood the 80 Livery-Men before mentioned, in two ranks, about two yards distant from each other, face to face; one rank of them receiving from the Dresher, the King's meat, and the
other

other the Prince's, at one and the same time: They never stirring, or removing from their places, but delivering dish after dish, from one to another, till it came to the *Sewers*, who placed it upon the Table.

Their Majesties meat was proportioned into four services; The First consisting of fifty Dishes of cold meats, as Brawn, Fish, and cold baked meats, planted upon the Garnish or side Table. The other three services, were of all sorts of hot Flesh and Fish, boyled, roast, and baked, to the number of 120 dishes: After which was served up a Curious and well ordered *Banquet*.

At the high Table dined, his Majesty, his Royal Consort the Queen, the Prince, the Duke of *York*, the Princess *Mary*, and the Prince Elector *Palatine*, in this order. The King sat under the Cloth of *Estate*, and her Majesty close to him on his left hand, on his Majestys right hand (about a yard distant) sat the Prince, and about the same distance from his Highness sat the Prince *Elect*: At her Majesties left hand, about a yard space from her, was placed the Princess *Mary*, and not far from her, the Duke of *York*.

The service for the Tables of the Lords and Ladies, were thus ordered, The *Liveries* before mentioned (after the meat was placed on the High Table) served up the Dinner to those Tables, but in another posture, for whereas before, they stood in two ranks, face to face, they now turned back to back: The reason was, because (the meat being served up to both Tables together) the one rank of them might face to one Table, and the other, to the other: To these two Tables were appointed ten *Messes*, consisting of 500 Dishes.

These two Tables being likewise furnished, care was taken for the rest of the Train, that were thought fit to be Entertained within the Hall, who were all served so plentifully, that not a Man was heard to go discontented away.

And because it was conceived before hand, by the Committees, that there might come more Company with their Majesties, than could be conveniently provided for within the Hall, large provision was made abroad for the Guard, Footmen, Coachmen, and the like, where there dined about a hundred and fifty Persons of all sorts.

His Majesty received such content, as well in the Freedom of the Entertainment, as in the well ordering thereof, that he was pleased by words to express his Royal thoughts, as well at Dinner, as afterwards, (so did the Queen, Princes, and Nobility,) how great content and satisfaction he received from the City, by it.

His Majesty also after Dinner sent for *Master John Pettus*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Suffolk* (who had married the *Lord-Mayor's* Daughter) and bestowed the Honour of *Knighthood* upon him: Knowing, that

whatsoever in this kind he should do to his Lordship or his, must necessarily result to the honour of the *City*, and be an expression of his grace and favour to it.

Their Majesties having reposed themselves a while after Dinner (the days being short) the word was given for their departure : And by this time, the three Companies of the twelve, and the rest of the Inferiour Companies that had not waited in the morning, had taken their standings from Saint *Lawrence*-lane end Westward, towards *Temple-Bar*. The two Captains also with the three Marshals had ordered the Horsemen, in this manner : They first drew up the Sheriffs Men in the Front, by two and two ; then they caused the rear of Horsemen that had made the first stand at *Bishopsgate* in the Morning, to pass through the rest of the Companies after the Sheriffs Men, and so the rest, according to their former order, till the whole Number of 500 were ranked again, by two and two, as in the Morning, and so passed through *Cheapside*, till the Rear of the first Company (which was the Lord-Mayors) came even with Saint *Lawrence*-lane end ; and in this order they stayed, till their Majesties were ready to come out of *Guild-hall*, which was about four of the Clock in the afternoon.

The Lord-Mayor carrying the Sword before his Majesty, as in the Morning, and the rest that conducted him from *Cheapside* to *Guild-hall*, led his Majesty thither again, where the word was given, for the Horse to advance, which they did, and every one fell into the same order, which they had in the Morning : The greatest difference being, that whereas in the Forenoon the Footmen carried Truncheons in their hands, they now went with lighted Torches, which gave so great a light, as that the Night seemed to be turned to Day.

As their Majesties passed along, the Trumpets and *City* Musick were placed in several parts, sounding and playing, which together with the several, continual, and joyful acclamations of the People, gave great content to both their Majesties ; the little conduit in *Cheapside*, and the Conduit in *Fleet-street* running with wine, as the other two Conduits had done in the Morning. And in their passage by the South door of Saint *Paul's* Church, the Quire (with Sagbuts and Cornets joyning with them) sang an *Anthem* of praise to God, and prayers for their Majesties long Lives, which pleased his Majesty so well, that he gave them an extraordinary respect ; and in their passage to *Temple-Bar* he made such expressions of his gracious acceptance of the *City's* Love, that the People could not sufficiently make manifest the Joy they conceived at it. So that by this time, the whole Day seemed to be spent in a kind of emulation (with reverence be it spoken) between their Majesties and the *City* : The Citizens blessing and praying for their *Majesties* and their Princely *Issue*, and their *Majesties* returning the same blessings upon the heads of the Citizens, with innumerable thanks added thereunto.

unto. In so much as it is hard to resolve, whether the Citizens were more Joyed with the gracious acceptance of their weak (though hearty and loyal) endeavours, or their *Majesties* with the performance of the days seasonable service, both their Majesties, and the Citizens, seeming (as it were) not well satisfied, to whom the thanks of this days work were properly due.

But to proceed : When the Sheriffs Men (who were in the Front) were come as far as the May-pole in the *Strand*, they began to make a stand, and singled themselves, by falling off at the right hand of the street, their company extending in length, as far as *Exeter House* ; And after them, the Horsemen did the like, in the same order and posture, as they had done in the Morning, and so continued, to the Tilt-yard, over against his Majesties Palace at *White-hall*, to which place the Lord-Mayor, Knights, and Aldermen, conducted their Majesties.

After the ENTERTAINMENT.

And now by this time, it might be conceived, that a Period might be set to this relation, and that his Majesty had given testimony, ample and sufficient, of his gracious acceptation of the City's love, and Loyal affection, towards him. But *Manet altâ mente repostum*, in a better sence than the Poet spake it ; His Majesty had taken so deep impresson of his poor Subjects love, that he thought he had not sufficiently exprest himself, by all that he had already so graciously been pleased to demonstrate : And therefore, when the Lord-Mayor had brought their Majesties into *White-hall*, and was taking his leave in humble manner, his Majesty most graciously embraced and thanked him, and withall, gave him in charge, that in his Name the whole City might be thanked.

Whereupon, against *Tuesday* Morning following, being Saint *Andrew's* day, the Lord-Mayor caused a Common-Council to be warned, where Master *Recorder*, in an eloquent and pithy speech, related the charge and command, that his Majesty, (by the Lord-Mayor) had imposed upon him ; and withall (as was thought fit) he read his Speech to his Majesty, and his *Majesties* most gracious answer (both which are formerly set down) which so much revived, and encreased the joy of all the Commons, that an *Act* was there made, and the Lord-Mayor was entreated, to appoint Master *Recorder*, and so many Aldermen and Commoners as his Lordship should think fit, to attend his Majesty, and to return their humble thanks, for all his great, and Princely favours to the City, and to preffer to his Majesty such other desires of the City, as should be thought necessary and convenient.

In the mean time, his *Majesty* (studying as it were, how to add more honour to the *Lord-Mayor*, and in him to the whole City) had sent to his Lordship his gracious Letters Patents, whereby he created him a *Baronet*.

The *Lord-Mayor*, according to the Power given unto him by the Act of Common-Council, called a Committee to his House, where he appointed how many Aldermen (besides those of the Committee for the Entertainment) should attend his Majesty, with Master *Recorder*, in the pursuance of the said Act, where it was concluded what desires they should humbly represent to his Majesty, on the City's behalf.

Upon *Friday* the Third of *December*, Master *Recorder*, with these Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *George Whitmore*, Alderman *Cordall*, Alderman *Soame*, Alderman *Gayer*, Alderman *Garrad*, Alderman *Willaston*, and the two Sheriffs (being *Aldermen* likewise) with eight of the Commoners of the said Committee, went by his Lordships appointment to *Hampton-Court*, where they were received, by the Right honourable the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty, Sir *Peter Wiche* Comptroller of his Majesties Household, and other Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, till they should be admitted into his Majesties presence ; and after some small stay, his Majesty with his Royal Confort the Queen (attended by the Duke of *Richmond*, Marquess *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Dorset*) came into her Majesties Presence Chamber, and soon after, Master *Recorder*, the Aldermen, and Commoners were called in ; where (after their humble dutys tendred) Master *Recorder*, in an Elegant Speech, presented the Loyal affections, and humble Thanks of the City to their Majesties, together with two humble Petitions, formerly agreed on, to be preferred to his Majesty, in words to this effect.

That according to his Majesties commandment given to the Lord-Mayor, and himself, they had publish'd that, which his Majesty had graciously exprest at his entry into the City, not only to particular Men thereof, but at a Common Council, which is the representative Body of the City, and there made known the most gracious acceptance, by both their Majesties, of the endeavours of the Citizens, for their welcome and Entertainment that Day.

That after the publishing of it, they all forthwith with one heart, and one voice, earnestly entreated, and prest the Lord-Mayor, that by his means, and in such way as he should think fit, their most humble and hearty thanks, might be rendred, and presented to both their Majesties, for that singular honour they had done the City, in vouchsafing their presence among them, and for those real Testimonies his Majesty had given, of his Princely favour and affection towards them, tending so much to their profit and advantage, and especially, for both their
Majesties

Majesties gracious acceptance of their poor (though hearty) endeavours; with these, and the like Expressions, which came from among them; that if they had done a Thousand times more, it had been but their Duty; that the memory of this honour, and these favours, should ever live among them; that it should be preserved to Posterity; that their desires and studies should be, as much as in them lay, that they might be thought worthy of these honours and favours, and of so good and gracious a *King* and *Queen*.

Thus the Lord-Mayor had required us that were present, to attend their Majesties with this message from the City, and to make this thankful acknowledgment to them: Beseeching their Majesties, (as an addition to their former favours) to take it in good part from them. And this was the first part of our errand.

That we had two humble Petitions to prefer to both their Majesties, and we had the rise and encouragement to both, from that which his Majesty was pleased to deliver to us.

Our first Petition was, that their Majesties would vouchsafe this Honour to the City (if it might stand with their good pleasures) to make their Residence, at this Season of the year, at the Palace at *White-hall*. Their presence was very joyful to us, and his Majesty was pleased to tell us, that he would study our prosperity, and restore the Trade of the City, which of late had been in some disorder. Their Residence there would give a good quickening, to the Retailing Trade, and by consequence to the Merchant.

Our second was, whereas since his happy return hither, there had been some late disorders about *Westminster*, among some People that meet there: That their Majesties would not impute this, to the *Body* of the City, or to the better sort of Citizens: We held it a Misfortune, and a scandal upon us, that when those Disorders were mentioned, the City was named with it; and that our desire was, to vindicate and redeem it, by some publick disavowing of it. And we could not begin better, than in the presence of their Majesties, and besought their Majesties to take it into their considerations, that the Skirts of the City, where the Lord-Mayor and Magistrates of *London* have neither Power, nor Liberty, are more populous, than the *City* itself, fuller of the meaner sort of People: And if any dwellers in the *City* should be *Actors* in it, as who can deny, but among Millions of People, some there may be, yet their purpose was unknown to us. And to give their Majesties some assurance herein, there were some present there among us, Men, that had lived in the City above Forty Years together, that knew the *City*, and the better sort of Citizens, and were at *Westminster* attending other occasions, when those People met there, and took a heedful view of them, and they have affirmed, that they knew not the face of one Man, among them.

Master *Recorder* having ended, his Majesty presently, and graciously, gave answer, thus in effect.

That he was very well pleased with the hearty and loyal affections of the Citizens, for which he gave them great Thanks : And for the first Petition, though he and her Majesty, had before purposed to winter at *Hampton-Court*, yet being now fully perswaded, that the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and the most considerable part of the Citizens of *London*, had not any hand, in the disorders mentioned by Master *Recorder*, in his second Petition, he intended (and so he knew her Majesty would) to alter his resolution, and with all convenient speed repair to *White-hall*, there to keep their *Christmases*, and be ready to do any thing else, that might promote the Trade of the *City*, desiring Master *Recorder* to joyn with him, in taking some course, for prevention of the like disorders for the future:

After his Majestie had ended his Answer, and that Master *Recorder*, and Sir *George Whitmore* had kissed his Royal hand, the next Aldermen in seniority kneeled down, to receive the like Princely favour : When suddenly, and unexpectedly, his Majesty drew a Sword, and instead of giving him his hand to kifs, he layed his Sword upon his shoulder, and Knighted him ; the like he did to the other Aldermen and two Sheriffs, being all in Number, seven.

This done their *Majesties* gave them their hands to kifs ; the like Princely favour vouchsafed they to the *Commoners* of the *Committee*, and after many gracious Demonstrations of Love to them, and the whole *City*, his Majesty commanded, that they should dine, before they left the *Court*.

His *Majesties* command was fully and effectually performed : For as soon as they had in most humble manner taken their leaves of their *Majesties*, they were brought (by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Dorset*, and by Master *Comptroller*, and other Officers of the Court) into a Room, where a Table was prepared for them, and none other, to dine at, where they were bountifully feasted, being honoured with the presence of the Earl of *Dorset*, who vouchsafed to dine with them, and in their Majesties Names gave them exceeding great welcome, expressing to them that love, which he ever hath abundantly manifested to the *City*. Master *Comptroller* likewise dined with them, using them with very great respect.

While they were at Dinner, there came two Gentlemen to them, one from his Majesty, the other from the *Queen*, to let them know, that their Majesties had remembered the health of the Lord-Mayor and the whole *City*, which they
all

all entertained with all due respect, returning their humble thanks, for that their Majesties extraordinary favour.

Dinner being done, they took their leaves of the Honourable Earl, and other Officers of Quality and Eminency of the *Court*, and departed, returning to the Lord-Mayor, with great joy and comfort, to whom they made relation of their Majesties grace and favour to his Lordship, the whole *City* and themselves.

Thus have you seen (as briefly as we could) the work of this *Day*, and in it, as well the Demonstration of the *Cities* Love, and dutiful affection to his Majesty, and his Royal Confort, as their Majesties gracious and loving acceptance of it: The former, being but the bounden service of good and loyal Subjects; the other, an extraordinary *Act* of favour and grace, worthy to be graven in Tables of Brass, to be preserved to all Posterity.

Nothing now remains, but that we, and all other his Majesties loving and loyal People, heartily desire of *God*, to crown his Majesty, with all Spiritual and Temporal Blessings, that he may long and peaceably Reign over us, to the re-establishing of *Pure Religion*, and the Preservation of his *Church* undefiled, as from *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, so from *Prophaness* and *Schism*: That we, and our Posterity may ever praise the glorious Name of *God*, in the great Congregation, with unanimous and uniform Consent, for all his Blessings daily conferr'd upon us in his Majesty, and learn true and pious obedience to HIM, as set over us, for our good: That his Kingdoms may flourish in *Peace* and happiness, to *Gods* Glory, his *Majesties* honour, and the good of his loyal *Subjects*, who (we doubt not but) to this will all heartily say AMEN.

*Cives Londinenses, Illustrissimi Regis CAROLI à Scotia Reditum, sic
gratulantur.*

Principis Adventus Caroli, vel gratior Vrbi

Quis dicat? Carolus vel magè gratus erat?

Gratia grata magè est, veniens è Principis ore:

Nostra soluta facit Debita, grata minus.

Nec tamen ingratos Nos reddit: Vota supersunt,

Vt crescat Caroli Gratia, noster Amor.

LONDON,

LONDON, To the KING.

THANKS, mighty Sir, that you would gracious be,
 T' accept the poor great zeal, of mine, and me.
 I entertain'd you not: Where e'er you go
 All else are but Spectators, not the Show.
 I do not envy now the Empress *Rome*,
 When her great *Cæsars* rode Triumphant home:
 Nor wish her Hills; but when you absent are,
 To see your long'd for coming from afarr.
 But go no more, leave me no more, with feares,
 And loyal grief, to spend my *Thames* in teares.
 Your next Return may some due Honour miss,
 I shall not then have done my joy for this.

LONDON, To the QUEEN.

WHEN you were pleas'd, great Queen, my streets to view,
 I then my self the Queen of Cities grew:
 And did excel all oher Towns as far
 Almost, as you above all women are.
 So full and boundless was the pleasure here,
 To see my King your Husband but appear,
 That nothing else had Power, but your blest Sight,
 To add one joy besides, to the Delight.
 Methinks, when such a glorious Pair I see,
 Some Gods are come, to make a Heav'n of me.
 Only your womb can greaters wonders do,
 That after death, will shew you both anew.

The Inhumanity of the Kings *Prison-Keeper* at *Oxford*.
 Or a true Relation of the most transcendent Cruelties,
 Cheatings, Cozenings, and base dishonest Dealings of
William Smith Provost Marshall General of the Kings
 Army, against the *Parliament Prisoners* under his Custody.
 As it was delivered at the Barre in the House of Commons,
 by one, who with many others, were sworne before the
 Lords assembled in *Parliament*, and were Prisoners in
Oxford six Moneths, being further confirmed by Captain
Wingate in the *Commons* House, he being Member of the
 said House, and some time Prisoner in *Oxford*, the space
 of 9. Moneths : Together, with the Copy of a Letter
 from a Gentleman of Quality confirming the former Par-
 ticulars. Also the Copy of a Petition, and Articles exhi-
 bited to the King, his Councell of Warre against *Smith*.
 Likewise a Letter to the Speaker, subscribed with 70. Pri-
 soners Hands. Whereunto is added the unsufferable Cru-
 elties, exercised upon the *Cirencester* Men, in their Passage
 to *Oxford*, and at *Oxford*, in the Castle and Bride-well,
 when they were taken. Written by *Edm. Chillenden*, who
 was a Prisoner there 6. Moneths. Printed according to
 Order. *London*, Printed by G. D. for *John Bull*, 1643.

A True Relation of the transcendent Cruelties, and base inhumane Practises of
 Captain *William Smith*, Pro. Marshall Generall of the Kings Army, extended
 and exercised on the *Parliament Prisoners* in the Castle at *Oxford*.

V P O N the fifth of *Decemb.* 1642. I was travelling upon the Road about
 my lawfull Occasions, and in my Journey towards *Newbury*, between
Henley and *Reading*, I met with one, whose Name was (as after I was informed)
 O o *Whithead*,

Whithead, and falling into discourse, asked him the best and readiest Way towards *Newbury*, which he certified me was through *Reading*. But I answered him I was loath to goe that Way because of the Garrison, and for feare of giving offence. He replied to me, that if I pleased to goe that Way, he would do me so much favour as to have me through *Reading* without any let or stay. I giving Credit to him, went with him into *Reading*, and set up my Horse at the *Beare*, where we supped together, and there did Inne all Night. On the morrow early in the Morning (the aforesaid) *Whithead* came to my Chamber and certified me, I must goe before the Governour, which was Sir *Arther Ashton* (a ranke *Papist* as I am informed,) being come thither, there was also Colonell *Feelding*, which knew me to be a *Londoner*, and takes me by the Hand and swears he was very glad he had met with me, and so certified the Governour that I was as arrant a Round-headed Rogue and Traytor, as any was in *England*, and one that hath 700. Men to command at any Time to aid the Parliament. With that the Governour without any further Examination, swore at me bitterly, and calls me dam'd Rogue and Traytor, and with that strook me with his Cane on the Head, and brook it very forely, and swore like a mad Man that he would presently hang me; and with a Guard of Musquetiers did send me to the Gallows, where I stood some quarter of an Houre, expecting Death: but such was Gods Goodnesse toward me, that I was convey'd from thence to Prison, whither came the aforesaid *Whithead*, and in the Name of the Governour took away my Moneyes: On the next Lords Day I was conveyed to *Wallingford*, and the *Wednesday* following to *Abington*. I being brought before the Governour, Lievtenant Colonell *Sherly*, there being divers Cavaliers in his Company, and one whose Name was *Smith*, that had the Watch that Day, he would needs have me to say the Lords Prayer over to him, which I refused: Yet to give him satisfaction, I told him, if he pleased to lend me a Bible, I would read the Chapter over where that was, but that would not content him, he swore he would lay me Neck and Heels in Irons, which to prevent, I addrest to the Governour, and said, Sir, I conceive I am your Prisoner, and this Gentleman hath nothing to doe with me, and if it be your Pleasure to put me in Irons I am content. With that the Governour said, You came without Irons to me, and without you shall go away: but *Smith* swore I should not; they swore so long, that they fell to Blowes, and by this difference by Gods Providence I received mercy from the Governour. So the next Day being *Thursday* I was convey'd to *Oxford* Castle. But to leave my particular Sufferings, and come to give you a Relation of others, I shall begin with a Relation of the Usage of the Pri-

soners taken at *Malborough*, (in the County of *Wilts*) by the Cavaliers in their Passage to *Oxford*.

After they had surpris'd the Town, and had taken 180. odde Prisoners, they drove many of them through the Waters, and the first Night thrust them all up into a nasty stinking Stable amongst Horses, where was one Horse dead; there they continued till the next Morning, and had no Food allowed them, and so drove them like Rogues and Theeves, tied together by the Armes in the Horse way up to the Knees in Mire and Dirt, and allowed no Food to them, nor suffered no Friend to come at them; for a Man coming to see some of them, was carried away to *Oxon* to Prison with them, and in foure Daies Time, as they were drove from *Malbrough* to *Oxford*, were allowed no Food but only at *Lamburne*, a Gentleman did provide some for them: but they would scarce give Time to receive it, and that was all the Sustainance they had in all their Passage, not so much as Water, for some of them being drie, would faine have drank of the Water in the High-way, but they would not suffer them, nay, they strook many of them over the Heads with their Canes for stooping to take a piece of Ice to hold in their Mouths to quench their violent Thirst.

On *Friday* they came to *Oxford*; and as they passed through the Streets towards the Castle, there was much rejoycing by the Inhabitants, Scollers, and Souldiers, calling them Round headed Rogues and Traytors, and striking some of them. One Passage is worthy observation, that the Lord *George Digby* and Commissary *Wilmot* took Master *John Franklin*, Member of the House of Commons, and led him away from all the rest of the Prisoners, to a Tree, and there swore deeply they would hang him like a damn'd Rogue and Traytor, if he would not confesse where his Money was. And this is a short Relation of these Mens Sufferings before they came into the Castle.

Now you shall know our Usage after we were in the Castle, under Captaine *William Smith*. The first Night we were put up into the Tower, 180. od, the place being so little that we were forced to lie one upon another, and were allowed one Penny Bread a peace, and a Can of small Beere (Water was better) and so for the best part of 13. nay some of us 23. Weeks, were allowed no more. Some of us have many times been two Daies without any Thing at all, so that by this Cruelty, and living on the Boards, many fell sick and very weak in Body, almost all of us like to perish and end our Daies by the bloody Flux, and one of us was starving to Death; and as this Man was drawing on towards his End, Marshal *Smith* was solicited in all the faire Waies that possible could be, by the Gentlemen and Captaines there in Prison, that he would suffer some

thing to be provided for the poore Man, but such was his Crueltie, that he would not, and so the Man died.

Some few Daies after, he called us to take the Protestation, which he stilled the Kings; we desired to heare it read over to us, which when we had heard it, we refused it, as being against our Consciences, telling him we had taken one already, which was the King and Parliaments, he swore at us, and call'd us damn'd Rogues and Traytors, striking us with his Cane, drives us all up into the Tower, swearing deeply he would make us take it, or he would make us shite as small as a Rat: whereupon he gives command that no body be permitted to come at us to relieve us, either with Food or Linen, causes a Hole to be made up where things used to be conveyed to us, and confined us to our former Allowance, and charge was given upon pain of Death that no more should be allowed us, or any thing else permitted to come at us, which was accordingly done, for Food being sent to us out of the Citie by some, he caused his Souldiers to take it away and eat it. Then the Gentlemen and Captaines imprisoned, made a weekly Purse for the Reliefe of the poore Prisoners (and made Lievtenant *W. Dingly* Steward of it) which if they had not done, I am very confident, we should halfe of us have perished. He causes this to be restrained, and threatens the Steward to lock him up close Prisoner, if he did after offer to relieve us with Bread or Beere.

Some small Time after this, Sir *Iames Peniman* wanting Souldiers, they called us downe into the Yard; and as we passed through the great Chamber, where at least 12 or 14 Gentlemen lodged, and had washed their Hands in a Bason of Water, such was our extreme Drought, that we could not be restrained from drinking it, yea, the very Raine Water that was on the Barrels Heads that stood in the Yard.

There they propounded to us, that if we would take the Protestation, and take up Armes to serve in that Armie, we should presently be all released. We all refused it; with that *Peniman* swore at us, and *Smith* ran after us as fast as his lame Legs would give him leave, drives us all up again into the Tower, striking us with his Cane, *swearing deeply that he would make us take it*, or he would make us to shite as small as a Rat; and so kept us still to our former Allowance.

When they had tryed by all these Wayes of Cruelty, they had or could extend to us in the Castle, then they sought by faire Meanes to win us, and Sir *Iames Peniman* and *Smith*, calls us all downe into the Yard, and there they argue the Case to us, and alleadge the Scripture to us, (as the Divell did to Christ) but when they saw that by this they could not prevaile with us, they swore most bitterly

bitterly at us, and Sir *Iames Peniman* swore God dam me, none of us all did belong to Salvation, but were a Company of damned Rogues, Rebels, and Traytors, and swore we should bee made to take the Protestation, for we should have no Victuals allowed us, saying, they that would not worke should not eate, and so we were kept without any thing for a Day and above: And to extend his Cruelty, and increase our Misery, *Smith* causes us on *Munday Feb. 6.* to be removed from the Castle to Bridewell to the Dungeon, where we were above forty of us put down into it, about foure Weeks thronged, in so little Roome, that wee were scarce able to stirre one by another, the Place also being made very noysome, because we eased ourselves in the same, so that in some Place of it, we might go over the Shooes in Pisse and Filth.

About a Fortnight after, wee had bin there: A Petition that we had made to the Lord Generall of that Army, and a Letter that was written to *London*, setting forth the barbarous Usage of us by *Smith*, came out in Print. Whereupon the Generall, as we conceive, appointed Commissioners to examine the Truth of the Things contained in the Letter and Petition, and on *Munday Feb. 22.* six of us, namely, *Edmund Chillenden, Thomas Cheny, Edward Leader, Edward Bradney, William Whitlowe, Ioseph Blisset*, were like Felons and Rogues brought through the Streets in Irons to Sir *Iacob Ashleys*, where was Dr. *Reeves* the King's Advocate, and two other Commissioners, who, instead of examining of us, fell a Railing at us, asking us to take the Protestation; we answered we had taken one already, which was the King and Parliaments, which wee would maintaine to the last Drop of our Bloods, but as for this Protestation we know not what it is, nor whose Authority it beareth; for we know that the Lawes of this Land provide, That no Oath should bee forced on us contrary to Consent in Parliament, which Laws were our Inheritance, and therefore wee would defend and maintaine them as our *proper Rights and Liberties*, and no wayes betray them, or Words to this Effect: We further said, that to sweare the Earle of *Essex* was a Traytor, or the Army under his Conduct was raised against the Kings, or that the Kings Proceedings with his Army was good and necessary, or whether the Subjects of *England* were bound, or not bound by the Votes, Acts, and Orders made by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, was a high Point above our Capacities to decide, and therefore desired to be excused from taking that Oath, conceiving that we must not sweare upon Doubts and Questions, but in Judgement, Righteousnes, and Truth. *Smith* he cries out, harke, harke, they are a Preaching; we then complained to them of our ill Usage, and told them it was the way to starve us, and that a many of us were sicke in the Dungeon, and desired they might be removed where they might have more Aire,

Aire, and wee said wee hoped, that it was not the King's Will, nor the Counsell of Wars Pleasure, thus to destroy us: But Dr. *Reeves* told us in plaine termes, that it was the Kings Mind, and Counsell of Wars Pleasure to destroy us, and took his Spectacles and looked on us, and said we looked as fat as Conies, and so we were sent backe againe to the Dungeon, and those that were sicke grew weaker and weaker; so that one eased Nature as he lay, and another was troubled with continual Vomitting; those things were grievous to us, they being done in the Place where wee all were; when *Smith* came to *Bridewell*, we complained to him of it, and desired him that they might be removed where they might have more Aire, and have some comfortable Thing made, and permitted to come to them, or else they would not live long: he cald us, if we would take the Protestation we should have any thing, we desired; but if we would not, if wee all died he did not care, wee were our owne Murtherers; and did not permit any thing more to be allowed, save our former Allowance; not any Friend, no not our Wives, to come to see us, or any to have our Shifts washed: Nay, hee put the Man that dwelt in the *Bridewell* in Prison in the Castle, because he had Meat a boyling over the Fire, for his owne Dinner, and all *Smith's* Men came and eate up the Man's Meat, so that by his cruel Usage, the afore-named *Giles Carter* ended his Daies in great Extremity.

We seeing this, conceived in ourselves if wee staid here, there was no Way but of Death and Perishing, did with one consent resolve our selves of this extreme Misery, so we with our Knives, and the Hooke of a Doore, made a Hole through a Free Stone Wall, above a Yard thicke, and so all that were well went forth, which was about forty, whereof four were taken againe, and six was left sicke in the Dungeon, which six (when *Smith* knew the rest were gone) laid in Irons, when we were so weake as not able to stirre, and so kept us till *Thursday* or *Friday*, having nothing to comfort us but Water; and then wee were removed to the Tower in the Castle againe, wherein the Roome where we were put, was about sixty Men, and a many sick of the small Pox, so that the Place was very unwholesome and nasty, and there allowed us one Penny Bread, and a Can of Beere.

I come now to relate to you some other of *Smith's* tyrannicall and dishonest Practices.

When *Marlborow* Men were sick, *Smith* gave to one Mr. *Betterise* a Chyrurgion of *Oxford*, 5 s. to provide some hot and comfortable things for the sick Prisoners, Mr. *Betterise* laid out some of the Money presently, after this meeting him in the Street, demanded his Money of him, and threatned him, if he would not give it him, so Mr. *Betterise* gave him all his 5 s. againe, though he had
layed

layed out some of it before: This Mr. *Betterise* did use to come at first into the Castle to dresse the wounded Prisoners, and by that Meanes knew the Disease of the sicke Prisoners, did say to some Neighbours of his, that they were spoil'd for want of Water, and so indeed they were; for we had no Water sometimes in two Dayes Time; *Smith* he heares of this, and meeting with Mr. *Betterise* put him in Prison in the Castle, for so saying; but was within a short Time by Sir *Iacob Ashley* released out of the Prison, but by *Smith* commanded to come no more to dresse the wounded Prisoners.

About this Time there were some Prisoners brought in, which were taken at *Banbury*, and amongst them was one that was wounded in the Head with a Pole-Axe. *Smith* was by the Gentlemen and Captaines in all the faire Wayes, intreated to let a Surgeon to come in to dresse him, he would not permit any to come, so that this Man's Wounds festered and stuncke, and in a short Time hee ended his Dayes in great Extremity.

There also being in the Tower many Prisoners, and they having had no Water in twenty, nay, forty-eight Houres Time, knockt for Water, *Ockdon* the Captaines Man came and told them hee could help them to none (though the River runne by the Doore) they being dry knocked again, *Smith* came himself, and said I will give you Water, caused three or four of his Men to come arm'd to guard his Person, and cal'd down one that was my Lord *Saies* Miller, and layes him in Irons Neck and Heeles; and one Sergeant *Wallis* hee canes him at least fixty Blowes over the Head, and wounds him very forely, that he hath lost one of his Joints; and after this layes him in Irons twenty-eight Pound Weight, Neck and Heeles, and so keeps him in forty-eight Hours in a nasty Dungeon, without Bread or Water, or any other Sustenance; and caned Lieutenant *Whithead*, and layd him in Irons; and to colour over his Tyranny, commands his Men to say, they made a Mutiny.

There was one Mr. *Freeman*, a Constable neere *Banbury*, *Smith* calls him to take the Protestation, he refuses it, *Smith* said, if hee would not take it, hee should goe up into the Tower, he said that was the worst he could doe to him. Is it, says *Smith*, you damned Rogue, and striked him with his Cane, swearing bitterly at him, laied him in Irons Neck and Heeles, fet him on a cold Stone in the Yard, takes away his Coat from him, sets a Sentinel over him, so keeps him three or four Daies in the Winter Time, without either Bread or Water, or any other Food: This *Freeman* was also removed to the Dungeon of *Bridewell*, where he escaped to his own House, and there was taken againe and brought into the Castle; *Smith* layes him in Irons, and so he ended his Dayes also in great Misery.

The same Day he called down one of *Marlborow* Souldiers, and offers him the Protestation, the Youth refused it; *Smith* sweares at him, and beats him with his Cane, layes him Neck and Heeles in Irons, puts him in a Dungeon, set a Sentinel over him, so keeps him till he had forced him to take the Protestation, and allowed no Food to be given him.

There was one Mr. *Wierby* a Minister, and one Mr. *Price*, and one Mr. *Selven*, that did refuse the Protestation; hee strikes them, and breaks their Heads, makes the Blood run down their Eares, and sends them to the Dungeon in *Bridewell*.

There was one Mr. *Edward Bradney*, that had a Man exchanged for him, yet had not his Liberty; *Smith* told him if hee could get 10*l.* to pay his Fees hee should have his Liberty. Mr. *Bradney* got 5*l.* told *Smith* I have 4*l.* 10*s.* *Smith* said he would not take that, so Mr. *Bradney* was putting up his Money againe, *Smith* snatches his Money from him, and said I will keepe this in Part of Payment; so took away foure Pound, and kept the Man in Prison six Months after; first in the Tower, then in the Dungeon in *Bridewell*, where hee escaped, but was taken again. *Smith* laid him in Irons Hands and Feet, and so keepes him about 8 Weekes: by reason of this cruell Usage, he fell very weak and sick, and in his Sicknesse he would not suffer any Body to come to helpe him in his great Extremity, so that for three Weeks he lay in his owne Dung and Pisse, and so by a long and languishing Disease, being pined to nothing, in a great deale of woe ended his Dayes.

There was one *Richard Cawdle*, and one *Robert Neale*, that escaped out of *Bridewell*, and were taken againe, he burnt them with Match between the Fingers to the Bone, and laid them in Irons Hands and Feet, suffers no Surgeon to come to them, so keeps them 8. Weekes, and they both in this Extremity ended their Dayes in much Misery.

There was one *Andrew* of *London*, who came to *Oxford*, and being brought into Prison, *Smith* himselfe took 23*s.* out of his Pocket, and kept him there a short Space, and then turning him going, but never gave him his Money.

There was one Mr. *I. A.* the Lord of *Douns* Man, brought in for a Spie, he tooke the Protestation, and was by *Smith* released, paying 50*s.* Fees; and hee comming into the Castle to see a Friend, *Smith* would not let him goe till he had paid him 50*s.* more.

There was one Mr. *Wilde* a Minister, a Malignant, committed to Prison, who lay there 7 Daies, and paid *Smith* 3*l.* 10*s.* for his Fees.

There was two *Londoners*, Mr. *C.* Mr. *M.* that tooke the Protestation, that paid *Smith* 20*l.* for their Fees.

There

There was one *William Burthen* a Constable, that tooke the Protestation, and was by *Smith* released, paying 4*l.* but hee after heard he was a rich Man, got him in Prison againe, and there keepes him to make him pay 60*l.* more, and did not let him goe, till hee had paid him 20*l.* more.

There was one Mr. *Ad* of *London*, Prisoner, *Smith* tooke 5*l.* 10. Shillings out of his Pocket, and never gave it him more.

There was one Mr. *W. B.* a Gentleman, whom the Bishop of *Armagh* perswad-
ed to take the Protestation, hee was released paying 20*l.* Fees; *Smith* gets him
againe and keeps him Prisoner, till he had made him pay or given him Bond for
30*l.* more.

He also got a Bill of Exchange for 30*l.* from Captaine *Wingate*, and Captaine
Austen, but he hath not yet paid them, though he hath bin often asked for it, and
Captain *Austen* asking him for it, *Smith* gave him very opprobrious Words, calling
him shitten Prentice Boy, and threatened to lay him in Irons, Neck and Heels.

There was one Dr. *Claiton*, Doctor of Divinitie of *Waltomstow*, in *Essex* (as he
himselſe said) who was taken at *Branceford*, and carried to *Oxford* Prison, who ly-
ing there in great Misery, did endeavour to make an Escape, and getting over a
Wall fell downe and broke his Neck.

Captain *John Lilburne*, he kept him in Irons 19. or 18. Daies, and since he be-
ing very sick, even to Death, yet would not permit any Woman to come to look
to him in his Sicknes.

Captaine *John Franklin*, and Master *John Brown* Gentleman, he ironed together,
and so kept them a good while, and since Captaine *John Franklin* is dead.

Master *William Dingley*, a Lievtenant of Horſe, he laid him in Irons, and so
kept him 8. or 9. Weeks. He kept one Master *Andrew Ellis* (one of my Lord
Generalls Life-Guard, a Gentleman of the Innes of Court) in the Tower amongst
the Common Prisoners, and made him to lie on the Boards.

Master *John Frankling*, Member of the House of Commons, he hath most base-
ly abused, and calld him Rogue and dam'd Traytor, yea stinking Fellow, and took
him by the Shoulders, and thrust him into a little Chamber, saying to him, you
are a damn'd Traytor, and I will use you like a Traytor; locks him up close
Prisoner, and gives the Key to one *Bradshaw* that was a Cavalier in Prison, and
Smith on purpose set on this *Bradshaw*, and one Captaine *Cew* one of the Cava-
liers, an *Irish* Papist, to drinke Healths and Carrouſes in the Roome with Mr.
Frankling, to abuse and torment him, and hath ever since kept him close Prisoner.
And Captaine *Walton*, Captaine *John Lilburne*, Captaine *Vivers*, Captaine *Catesby*,
Captaine *Scroope*, Captaine *Austen*, Captaine *Lidcot*, he hath kept them all close

Prisoners, for the most part of their Time, and feldome would permit their Friends to come to visit them, no nor their Wives to see them.

Yea he hath taken away the Beds from the Captaines, and made them to lye on the Cords, and against their Wills placed some of the Cavaliers in them.

As for Captaine *Wingate*, he hath alwaies kept him close Prisoner alone, without any Company, not suffering him to conferre neither with Men nor Books, nor permit him to have a Bible, only when *Blage* was hanged. Master *Harfeild* Minister of *Banbury*, and he was in one Chamber, and *Smith* had layed this Reverend Minister in Irons Hands and Feet, and after that *Blage* was dead, brought his Body and threw it into the Roome, where Captaine *Wingate* and this was, and so locked them up all three close Prisoners, and many times *Smith* hath kept those that have died so long that they have stunk like to poison them, nor would not carrie them away, till the Prisoners were constrained to pay for their Buriall. He would not suffer Captaine *Wingate* to walke in the Garden for his Health sake, notwithstanding the Kings Mind was that he should, as hath been in my hearing declared by the Lord of *Craford*.

As for Captaine *Clifton*, *Catesby*, and Captaine *Vivers*, they being in *Banbury*, his Majestie was pleased by his Herauld of Arms to declare, that if they would come and yeeld themselves to Him they should have a free Pardon, the which they did, and had also the Lord Generalls Word, on his Honour to confirme the same: yet after this they were brought to *Oxford* Prison, and by *Smith* kept there, and were before the Lord Chiefe Justice *Heath*, on *Oyer* and *Terminer*, arraigned for their Lives. Whereupon they both of them made a Petition, declaring his Majesties Act passed to them, which was acknowledged by the General, as appears plainly by the Answer of the Petition, and thereupon Order was given, they should be released, yet notwithstanding *Smith* kept them in Prison close, and by his ill Usage Captain *Catesby* is since dead, and Captaine *Vivers* hath bin almost at Deaths Dore, and is yet Prisoner: therefore it behoves the King and the General to vindicate their Honour, by executing Justice on *Smith*, for thus grosely abusing the King and the Generall.

He hath kept many in Prison (after they have been pardoned by the King and have taken the Protestation) for excessive Fees.

But to let all the World see he is a Knave in all respects, and to all Persons Friends and Foes, he hired a Priest to preach in the Prison, and this Priest was as base as *Smith* himselfe, and would raile against the Parliament and the Citie of *London*, as loud as *Smith*, yet when this Priest came to demand his Quarterage of *Smith*, he to save his Money, and deprive the Priest of his due, calls him all to naught, and saies to him, you raile against the Parliament, you shall have quarter-

ing,

ing, and so claps Irons on the poore Priest, that he was glad to loofe his Money to be rid of his Irons, and so he serves all his Men, when they aske him for Money. Now let all the World judge whether it be for a Kings Honour to haue such Officers.

And further to fet out his base Diffimulation when the Commissioners from the Parliament are in *Oxford*, then to make the matter faire, as if he were a Stranger to a Tyrant, he will let the Gentlemen and Captains have Liberty to walk in the Garden, and suffer their Friends and Wives to come to them, but as soon as ever they are gone forth from the City, he locks them up close Prisoners, and debars all Friends, yea their owne Wives, and though they be sick, will not suffer them to come to helpe them in their Extremity, nor no Phisitians, but whom he will appoint, which for ought any knowes, may poison them, for in a short Time there hath died of these Gentlemen, Captaine *Lidcot*, Captaine *Fleminge*, Captaine *John Frankland*, Captaine *Gastrill*, Captaine *Stevens*, *Iunior*, Captaine *Stevens*, *Senior*, Captaine *Plaier*, Captaine *Austen*, Captaine *Casby*, Lievtenant *Flower*, Master *Witman*, Merchant of *London*, Mr. *Herfield* Minister of *Banbury*, old *Thomas Web*, and three more Clothiers of *Glocestershire*, and 4. more common Men, which are before mentioned.

There was a Clothier of *Glocestershire*, which was released, *Smith* got him againe, and kept him in Prison to make him pay a great Summe of Money, and there the Man ended his Daies.

A True Relation of the taking of *Cirencester*, and the cruell dealing of the merciles Cavaliers towards the Prisoners they there took in their Passage, as they went to *Oxon*, and at *Oxon*.

UPON *Thursday* the second of *February* 1642. Prince *Rupert* with a great Company of his Cavaliers, came before *Cirencester*, and there, after an hot Skirmish, they being valiantly resisted by about 400 of my Lord *Stamfords Blew Coats*, and Captaine *Wallingfords* Dragoons, there being in the Town not above 500. Souldiers with the Trained Bands and all, yet such was the Cruelty of the Cavaliers, seeing my Lord *Stamfords Blew Coats* thus valiantly resisting them, and in their resisting flew many of them, so that thereby they were much enraged, inso-much that they set on fire a Barn and some Houses, and Hay Ricks, which did much annoy our Men, who had overtoyled themselves with resisting them, not being relieved by the Trained Bands which were in the Towne, and by this

Means were forced to retreat into the Town, the Cavaliers pursuing them, and so surprized the Towne, and after they had given them Quarter, because they had slaine none, before they murthered many of the Inhabitants, about twenty Persons or more, and most of them were Malignants against the Parliament.

After they had thus taken us, we were led into a Field about halfe a Mile from the Towne, where the chiefe Commanders were, that they might take a view of us, who threatened to do Execution upon us all, and there the Common Souldiers stript us, and wounded many of us, and then drove us back to the Church in *Cirencester*, where we remained almost two whole Daies, and two Nights in all, which time they allowed us no Sustenance wherewithall to live, till just as they drove us towards *Oxford*, they gave each of us a small Piece of Bread and Cheefe, and then bound us all with Match, and so drove us along without Stockings on our Legs, or Shooes on our Feet, or Hats on our Heads, many of us having no Dublets, and some Gentlemen of good Quality without Breeches, and so we came to *Burford* Hill, where the Cavaliers gave each of us a little piece of Bread, which was all the Reliefe they gave us in our way between *Cirencester* and *Oxon*, and for this we waited a long Time upon the Hill, the Wind blowing very cold, and we standing Barefoot and Bareleg'd in the Snow. Then we came to *Witneigh*, where we lay in the Church, and from thence were drove towards *Oxon*, and about a Mile from the City, His Majestie with the Prince, and the Duke of *Yorke*, came thither to see us drove along more like Dogs and Horses then Men, up to the Knees in Mire and Dirt along the Horse-way, and abundance of the Scollers much rejoycing at our Misery, calling and abusing us by the Names of damned Rogues and Traytors. And when we came to *Oxon*, we were put altogether in the Church, and there we received, for the most part of us, a Piece of Bread that Night; the next Morning they seperated the Voluntiers from the Trained Bands, and cruelly used us to force us all to take the Protestation, and take up Arms for them against the Parliament; for they allowed us but one small piece of Bread, and a Can of Beere, a Day, and would not allow us to have a Draught of Water to drinke, we offering to pay Money for it, yet wee could not obtaine it: by which cruell Usage they forced the most of them to take the Protestation, that of eleven hundred and sixty-six Prisoners, there was but sixteen that refused it, that they had scraped about the Countrey for; for they brought old Almes-men, about three or foure Score Yeare old, and lame Cripples from their Mother's Womb, blind Men, and all to make up the Number of a great many Prisoners, they not only forcing them to take the Protestation, but afterwards fined them beyond their Estates, and drove them to other desperate Courses, so that one cut his Throat, he not dying presently was asked the Reason why he did so, and answered,

answered, he was so Hungry that the Devill tempted him to cut his Throat to be out of his Misery ; and divers others of them fell weake and sick, and were sent to *Bridewell*, where they died two or three in a Day, and one Man drawing on towards his End, I and *Edward Leader*, and another, had Opportunitie to speak unto him, and we asked him what he thought of his last End ? He said unto us, and fetched a great Sigh, he could have both said and thought more, if he had refused the Protestation, and kept close to Christ, and so departed. Whilest they continued in the Churches, we that were in the Dungeon hearing they wanted bread, gathered seven Shillings amongst us, and gave it the Woman of *Bridewell* to lay out in Bread for them ; which she accordingly did, and went to the Church to give it them : but such was *Smith's* Cruelty as that he would not permit it to be given them : so it was returned to us again, and those of them that refused to take the Protestation, he beat and abused, tying some of them Neck and Heels, and others he sent to the Dungeon ; others he brought into the Castle, where we were made to stand in the cold Yard all the first Day in the Snow ; then at Night we were put into the Hall where we continued three or four Daies, without receiving any Allowance from them : whereupon we asked Captaine *Smith* for some Allowance, he then giving us bitter Words, and swore at us, bid his Man give us so much Bread as he would give a Dog a Day, and for Water let them lap in the Yard and be hanged or pox't for a Company of damn'd Rogues, Dogs, or to this Effect.

Then after two or three Daies, he allowed us half a Penny Loafe a Day, but we had no Water to drinke in two Daies together. Then we were put up into the Tower, and there we were allowed a Penny a Day in Bread, and a Can of Beere, which was the best Allowance that ever we received from them, lying for the Space of fifteen Weeks on the Boards ; and by Reason of this hard Usage many of them fell sick, which drove us to call from the Tower for more Reliefe : whereupon he strikes two of us with his Cane over the Head, and layes us Neck and Heels in Irons, and kept their Allowance from them : and since the Parliamt hath sent down 100*l.* for the Relief of the poore Prisoners, he ever since kept away the King's Allowance from us.

The Copy of a Letter written from the Castle at *Oxon*, by a Gentleman in Prison there, confirming the former Particulars.

Noble Sir,

I CANNOT but take speciall Notice of your Respects manifested unto my selfe, and all the rest of the Gentlemen my fellow Prisoners, in so kindly writing unto us, and sending to see how it faires with us, which, true it is there came once a Trumpeter of Captain *Lidcots*, about the Exchange of his Master for another, and for his paines he was clapt up Prisoner with his Master, and kept there by Captaine *Smith*, till such Time as he could conforme unto Captaine *Smiths* Will and Pleasure, and take a new Protestation, and serve in the Army, which is called the Kings, and his Captaine hath here since with five more, in 14. Daies, ended his Daies in a great deal of Misery, and Woe. In the last Letter which I have seen, though the Bearer was not permitted to come into us, you let us understand of that courteous and noble Ufuage the Gentlemen that are Prisoners with you find at your Hands, and you tell us, that you are sorry to hear of our hard Ufuage, which you hope is not so bad as the Report goes: Truly let me say thus much in brieft, from my very Soul I doe believe, that the Barbariounes inflicted upon the poore Galley-slaves in *Turky*, cannot parallell those inhumane Cruelties, which abundance of poore Men have undergon from the Hands of *Smith* himselfe: the full particular rising of which I am confident will fill divers hundred Sheets of Paper, to make a second Book of Martyrs, with more sadder Stories than are to be found in Queen *Maries* Cruelties: A little touch of some Part of which you may read in the Relation of one Master *Wierlay* that broke Prison here, and in the Letters that divers others put out in Print, and a little more of which you will heare in the Relation of one Mr. *Chillenden*, who with 18. more broke Prison here foure Nights ago, for I believe that he will make a Declaration to the World. We have from Time to Time complained to our Friends at *London*, which have hitherto hoped that Letters from the Gentlemen to the Court, of the good Ufuage of the Prisoners with them, would have prevailed with his Majesty and the Generall here, to purchase the like for us: but alas it is in vain. We have petitioned his Majestie and the Generall, and articted against *Smith*, for transcendent Cruelties, but we never could have hearing by reason of the Potency of his Friends, and those damnable Oaths that he hath sworn against us, to which there is no more Credit to be given, then to the Divill, and those wicked

Lies that he hath told, and those false Reports that he hath raised on us, and filled the Court full of strange and unheard of Matters, that never entred into our Hearts to thinke of, much lesse to plot; and those be his usual Practises and Evasions when we complaine of him, so that our struggling and complaining hath done us rather more hurt then good, because our Friends in Parliament have not taken the right Course to deale with their Prisoners, as we have been dealt with; which if they had, they themselves, I am confident, would long ere this, by their importunate Desires and Informations to his Majestie, have eased us of *Smith*, and purchased more Liberty for us, so that this is our last refuge that we have to betake us to, to presse our Friends immediately to get all their Prisoners of Quality clapt up close Prisoners as we are, and used in some reasonable proportion to what we are here, and if this be not speedily done I doe verily believe, they will scarce see the Face of one Man in ten of us, for so neare as I can judge. *Smith* with more than Pagan-like Cruelty hath already murdered above 40. Men, yea, above 60. Men in this House, the Blood of all which he is guilty of; for his Starving, Beating, Fettering, clapping Head and Heels together, close Imprisoning, and other bad Usuage, hath already brought the Plague amongst us, and two poore Men in the Tower lie sick of the Plague Sores, as the Chyrurgion avers: yet in this great Extremity, will not let the heavy hearted Wife come relieve and nourish her sick and distressed Husband: yea, he hath clapt a Chyrurgeon in Prison for comming to dresse the stinking putrified Sores of the wounded and diseased; yea, and the poore People that dressed our Diet, and washed our Linnen, are not permitted to come unto us; yea and though Captaine *Scroope* a Gentleman of Quality be very sicke, yet will he not suffer his Apothecary to come to administer any thing to him.

But the saddest Story of all the rest in this House, might be made of one Mr. *Edward Bradneys* Sufferings, who was an honest *Warwickshire* Man, who hath laid a long Time in languishing Death; first in this Castle, then at *Bridewell*, and almost ever since they broke Prison there, in Fetters of Iron, who died yesterday, whom all the Gentlemen in the House, neither for Love nor Money, could not intreat *Smith* nor his Lievtenant (who is growne as bad as himselfe) to let us have for our Money, any poore Woman to looke unto him, so that he was forced for 3. Weekes together to lie in his owne Dung and Pisse, and never was made cleane all that Time but once, as those that were neereest unto him have for certainty informed me, so that they that lay in the Roome with him, and next unto him, have beene almost poisoned with Stinke by him; yea though the poore Prisoners many of them be almost spent in watching with their fellow dying Prisoners, yet the inhumane Lievtenant the other Night, threw Stones in at the Windows,

dowes, in a Roome where foure lay sick, because the poore watching Men had but a Faggot burning to refresh them, and a Candle burning to see to give them drinke, and such Things as they had for them.

Oxon Castle, May 26. 1643.

I rest your Servant.

The true Copie of a Petition and Articles, which the Captaines and Gentlemen in Prison, preferred to his Majesties Privie Counsell, Commissioners, and Counsell of Warre, against *Smith*. To the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell, the Commissioners, and the Counsell of Warre assembled in *Oxon*. The most Humble Petition of some Prisoners in the Castle, at *Oxon*, whose Names are hereunto subscribed.

Sheweth,

THAT we presume not from any Forgetfulness of our sad Condition, being Prisoners under his Majesties high Displeasure, and the inseperable Consequents therewith, which in all Humility, and Sense of Sorrow we both apprehend and submit unto, or out of any Unquietnesse of Disposition to encrease Trouble to your Lordships, to interrupt your great Affairs, which we most humbly crave Pardon for; but the long and still daily ill Intreaty we all receive under our Keeper the Provost Marshall General Captaine *Smith*, is so exorbitant and Intolerable, as upon the Reputation of Gentlemen, we professe that a faire Passage out of this World will be farre more welcome unto us then such a Life. A Particular of some of his Actions we in all Humbleness (as your Lordships shall vouchsafe to signifie your Pleasures) desire to present unto your Lordships, beseeching your Lordships to take them and us into your grave Consideration; and to shew your Petitioners such favour and relief therein, as your Lordships shall thinke meet.

[And we shall daily pray, &c.]

Some

Some Particulars of Captaine *Smith*, his Carriage towards his Prisoners:

1. THAT we are many of us close Prisoners, and some in Irons, and other Gentlemen in the Tower amongst the common Prisoners, and have been stricke by Captaine *Smith*.
2. That we are by him lock't up into our Chambers, and debarred the use of Pen, Inke and Paper, and the Converse with any, having Sentinels set at our Chamber Doores, some of us denyed the Comfort of speaking with such as come from, and returne unto our Wives and dearest Friends.
3. That we have suffered much for Necessaries; and many of us are lousie.
4. That he doth frequently reproach and provoke us with very base Language, calling Sir *William Essex* old doting Foole and Affe, and swore that he would lay him Head and Heeles together, that he hath suddenly in great Rage, come unto the Captaines and Officers in the Presence of divers Strangers, and his owne Servants, no Offence that we know being given, or by him expressed, and swore that he would lay the proudest of us Neck and Heeles, and that hee spake it to them all in generall, or to any of them in particular; and challenged them now or at any Time hereafter, if they were at Liberty, to justifie it upon them, that he has called some of the Captaines Boyes, and other Gentlemen, Iackanapes, Rascalls and Fooles, and that he would whip their Arses, and lay them in Irons in the Tower.
5. That when his Prisoners have had no Reliefe in 24. Houres, and have earnestly begged for Water, and hath with all possible Respect been desired thereunto, he hath violently fallen upon them, knocking of them downe and beating of them, in as much as some of their Limbs are likely to be lost thereby, calling them Curs, and protesting that he respected Dogs more then they: some of them being Officers, and after such Beating, being cast into Irons Head and Heeles, all Night, for no other Cause, then for asking a little Water in such Extremitie; for want whereof they have beene in such Necessity, that they have beene constrained to drinke their owne Vrine.
6. That he (as we humbly conceive) for his owne private Respects, most injuriously charges his Prisoners with Plots and Conspiracies, and hath taken great Summes of Money of them for Fees, and detained some of them in great Extremity, even to the Prejudice of their Lives, onely for unlimited Fees, unto their utter Undoing.
7. That whereas his Majestie out of his great Mercy is most graciously pleased to allow his poore Prisoners six Pence a Man *per diem*, yet they received hereof but five Farthings a Day, whereby many of them had been starved, had it not

bin for the Reliefe of some other Prisoners, who made Collection for them : and that Captaine *Smith* his Servant *Rich*, hath gained two Shillings out of every five thus collected, for the Reliefe of the poore Prisoners ; and the said *Rich*, by the Allowance of his Master, selleth Beere at an excessive Rate ; to wit, that in a Kilderkin of five Shillings he hath gained six or seven Shillings.

8. That Captaine *Smith*, as he said, came with an expresse Command from the King to some of his Prisoners, and told that his Majestie himselfe commanded him that the Gentlemen should have onely Bread and Water untill they had paid Mr. *Fisher*'s Bill of one hundred and fifty Pounds, or there about, a Bill that hath caused much Difference betweene Mr. *Fisher*, and Captaine *Smith*, consisting of Captaine *Smith* his Servants, of seven Pounds spent by him in Wine ; a Bill of the Diet of the Servants and Prisoners, when sometimes they were in Number fixty, seventy, or eighty ; one Day more, another lesse, which made it a confused Bill and Reckoning ; and did not at all, as we humbly conceive, concern any of us ; wee having agreed, and Captaine *Smith* promised that we should have a Twelve Penny Ordinary ; which we never refused, but was alwayes ready to pay, those that had Money, and the rest to give the best Assurance they could for it, and because this one hundred and fifty Pound was not presently paid by some few of them, they were locked up close Prisoners, and Sentinels set in their Chamber Doores, to see that they received nothing but Bread and Water, which Captaine *Smith* swore was the King's expresse Command, but he said he would allow them Bread and Beere.

This Petition was exhibited about Allhollantide, 1642. but by Reason of the Potency of his Friends, we could never have any Hearing, though since that Time wee have preferred many other Petitions.

Here you have seene a Glimse of *Smiths Tyranny*, but to repeate all his Cruelties with his Cozenings and Cheatings, and the Circumstances about him, would make a Volume of many Sheets of Paper ; but by this all the World may see how the King is wounded in his Honour by such base *Egyptians*, that care for nothing but their owne base and By-Ends ; therefore those great Friends of *Smith* that have bore him up, and stayed the Prisoners off from being heard in their just and lawful Requests, whereby they might have been righted, and *Smith* have received Justice according to his Demerits, may be ashamed to possesse the King, and say they are his Friends, when indeed they are his utter and onely Enemies, that doe all they can to staine him in his Justice and Honours : therefore I hope that now they will see their Error, and the King and Lord Generall of that Army will

will vindicate their Honours by doing Justice on *Smith*; which if they do not, it will lye as a Blot on them to all Posterity, and if his Majestie please to grant to mee and other Witnessees against *Smith*, his safe Conduct and Protection, I will prove it to him, as I have already here, all these Particulars upon Oath, *Viva voce*, and many others.

For since Captaine *Wingates*, that honourable and faithful Gentlemans Escape, about it *Smith* was in Trouble, but was no sooner restored again to his Place, but he againe begins to play the Tyrant, hee and his Lievtenant falls vpon some of the Gentlemen and wounds them, likely to kill one Lievtenant *Fuller*, and after that layes him Necke and Heeles in Irons; and another Captaine hee wounds him forely and puts him into the Tower, and lockes all the rest close Prisoners, and sweares that he would lay Captaine *Lillburne* in Irons, because he did looke out of his Chamber Window, he having been sick, to take the Aire: because hee saw him play thus the Tyrant, and thus bee his usuall Practices, that Men were better be out of their Lives, then come to be under his Custody; therefore I hope all the Men of our Army will fight it out to the last, and not suffer themselves to be taken, but die rather like Men and brave Souldiers, then to be by him starved and stuncke to Death.

It will now bee looked for, that I should relate the Manner of Captaine *Wingates* and my owne Escape. Thus much in briefe, that God in his due Time was good to him and mee, and to many more, all the while hee and I was under this Misery, to support us by his Strength, and also by his Wisdome and Power at last, perfectly to deliver us: But to relate the full particular remarkable Providences of God to Captaine *Wingate* and to my selfe, and the rest that did escape, would be too tedious; but this we say, and wee speak the Truth, God also bearing us witnesse that we do not lie, that by many hard and difficult Waies we escaped, God going along with us apparently, which Captaine *Wingate* desires and my selfe also; and all the rest that did escape, that the sole and onely Honour, Glory, and Praise, may be given to GOD.

*And so desires your Friends and poore Brethren in the Defence of the
House, to the last Drop of their Bloods,*

EDMUND CHILLENDEEN.

*Thomas Cheney.
Edward Leader.
William Gough.
William Whitlow.
Thomas Chamberlaine.
William Briant.*

*Ioseph Bliset.
Daniel Ashton.
Christopher Weekes.
Iohn Allen.*

Witnessees not sworne.

All sworne before the Lords assembled in Parliament.

To the Honourable *WILLIAM LENTHALL*, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.

Noble Sir,

THE grievous Burthen of miserable Thralldome, which we in Captivity now groane under, presents it selfe to your selfe, to your serious Consideration, relying on your Favour and Compassion for speedie Redresse. Wee had not thought that ever we who have adventured our Lives and Fortunes, to maintain and preserve the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and just Prerogative, the lawfull Liberty of the Subject, and the just Priviledges of *Parliament*, should be so soone obliterated out of your Memory, and left to the more then Pagan Usage of tyrannicall and mercilesse Men; we are not onely deprived of the Society of our Friends, of Pen, Inke, and Paper, but what we have by stealth, whereby we might acquaint some of our charitable Friends of our languishing Condition: but we have no Allowance from his Majesty, ever since we came in, and but small Allowance from the Members of the House of *Parliament* here with us, because they cannot get Money in the Towne, nor if they could get it, will *Smith* the Marshall Generall suffer it to be brought into them: so that we are bereaved of almost all the Meanes of Livelihood; for when we have been ready to faint for want of Water, to satisfie our languishing Thirst, having not a Penny to buy us Beere, the said *Smith* hath taken the Keyes from his Man, who was about to fetch us the Water, layde him in Irons, vexing him very much, for that he assayed to doe us that Curtesie, afterwards tooke off his Cloathes, and turn'd him out of Doores. And when some have asked him, whether his Majesty allowed us any thing as Prisoners, hee hath, after a most ignominious Manner reviled us, giving us no better Termes than Rebels, Traytours and Parliamentary Rogues, saying, Eat Stones yee Round-head Rogues and bee hanged, in like Manner, threatning all of us that will not take their Soule-condemning Protestation, to take up Armes and joyne with them against the most Honourable Court of *Parliament*, and my loving Generall his Excellency; and likewise goe to erect their Bulwarkes, which if any refuse to doe, he is immediately cast into the Dungeon, laid Neck and Heeles together, with Bolts of five and thirty Pound, permitting none to administer him any Comfort; which Cruelty with abundance of menacing Words, having no Hope of Intermission, of this insupportable Burden of Misery, hath struck such Terrour in the Hearts of many of the Prisoners, that they have taken their Protestation, and engaged themselves to serve as afore, which hath cost many poore Prisoners their Lives, whose Blood will one Day be inquired after, at the Hands of those who were the efficient Causers thereof; yea even the Parliament Men themselves

themselves here with us, have been so restrained of their Liberties, that they have been lockt up, and confined to stay in their Chambers for three or four Days together, and not suffered to have any Communication with the other Captaines their Fellow Prisoners, neither have had Meat, Drinke, or Water, but what hath been conveyed to them by stealth, and have been enforced to ease Nature and throw it out of their Windowes; and all this because they have endeavoured for relieve, by Meanes whereof Master *Franklyn* a Parliament Man now lies a dying. And that which more augments our Grievances is, that we are not onely confined to lye on the bare Boards, on the Tables, under the Tables, on the Chymneys Hearth, nay on the very Stayres, and sometimes on the Top one of another, whereby is bred such a noysome Stinke, that it infecteth very many with the pestilent Feavour, and other very dangerous Diseases, there being at this instant of Time about twenty Persons infected amongst us, and in our Judgment past Recovery: the Disease being so violent that it quite bereaveth them of their Senses: In this deplorable Condition we beseech you thinke on some Means to revive our dying, nay almost dead Spirits, that wee may once againe injoy our Freedome which we have been so long Time bereaved of, or take such Course with the best of them which you have Prisoners with you, to keep them short, and barre them of their Liberty as we are, to the End that they may with more Earnestnesse solícite their Friends, and negotiate to procure their Inlargments by exchanging of us; for wee are credibly informed, and doe believe it to be true, that they have so much Libertie and Favour at *London*, and elsewhere, that they need not care much for their Imprisonment. In a Word, if we are not speedily exchanged, or some Course taken for our better Usage, which now is insufferable: many amongst us, we feare, will change themselves from being our Friends, and become our Enemies, and be as active in tyrannizing over us as any that have been forced to apostatize from us; we beseech God so to direct the Powers of your Minde, that you may with all Sedulity importune and direct in our Behalfe to the most Honourable Court of Parliament, and then we doubt not but God will blesse your and our Endeavours, to whose Protection we commend you, and remaine

Your humble Servants, though distressed Captives.

From our extraordinary cruell Bondage
in *Oxford Castle*, this 19. of *July*, 1643.

The

The NAMES of the Prisoners.

*Humphrey Morgon.**William Andrewet.**Thomas Fipps.**Timothy Code.**Foulke Greffes.**Robert Grage.**Io. Geuton.**John Glead.**Si. Richards.**John Burkhill.**James Clerring.**Richard Bradshaw.**Edward Parricke.**Thomas Wells.**Io. Williams.**Humphrey Lebbes.**Thomas Dungeon.**Thomas Gibbs.**William King.**John Gell.**Maurice Moeor.**William Wood.**Richard Symons.**Ioseph Ratclyffe.**John Walter.**Ioseph Amye.**Ioseph Rushaley.**John Alder.**John Gelcot.**Christopher Fowler.**Richard Mixon.**Nathaniel Smith.**Richard Frith.**John Overton.**Richard Weauright.**William Baenes.**Thomas Hartwell.**Edward Keepe.**William Elkoanley.**William Ashley.**Robert Childe.**Io. Reade.**Clement Prat.**John Shaw.**George Sharpe.**Cha. Smith.**Richard Smith.**William Croley.**Edward Huggens.**Richard Whitehead, Lievtenant.**Roger Cotrill, Lievtenant.**Io. Reeve, Serg. to the Earl of Stamford.**Henry Fitzherbert.**Edward Fitzherbert.**James Cragford.**Andrew Pest, Quarter-Master.**Maurice Iames.]**Arthur Rose.**Scapcot Perdee.**George Rose.**Robert Holly.**John Wilye.**Nathaniel Cambridge.**William Hawkes.**John Butchins.**John Grage.**Ienkyn Price.**William Hughes.*

With many others that are so sicke that they are not able to subscribe.

Mr. *Francklyn* is since the Penning of this, dead, by *Smith's* Cruelty.

A POSTSCRIPT.

A POSTSCRIPT.

SOME Things more which I here adde, as his feizing one Mr. *Fishers* Houfe, claping him Prifoner in the Tower, almoft ftarving him, feizing on his Goods, turning him, his Wife and Family out of Doores, and alfo his feizing one Doctor *Gardens* Houfe, and turning Miftris *Garden* into the Street, after he had beat and pinched her, and moft bafely abufed her: neither have I fet forth his Pedigree, and what hath been his Manner of Life, which hath alwayes been bafe enough, as appears by the Testimony of one Mrs. *House* of *Chichefter*, where this *Smith* with his Family did lye about a Yeare, who to get into Favour difsembled himfelfe a Puritan, and muft needs have a Minifter fent for to fatisfie his troubled Confcience, and when his Diffembledneffe could no longer be hid, he abufed them and railed on them, and went away not paying them a Farthing; this hath been his continuall Courfe to live by cheating and cozning. Therefore I defire the State would be pleafed to take into their Confideration, the Mifery that poore honeft Men are alike to fuffer under hand, and to keep al the common Prifoners they take to exchange them for our common Men, which they never let free, but alwayes keep, yea, and do much abufe them. Thefe Things I have written to let all the World fee and know the Truth, which if they will not believe, I wift they had feen and felt it as much as I. And whereas fome Men fay their Prifoners here fuffer as much, I deny it, becaufe I have been in the Prifons both here in *London*, and at *Windsor*, and finde it is altogether falfe, whatfoever Malignants report.

Diverfe remarkable Paſſages of the LADIES, at *Spring-Garden*, in Parliament aſſembled.

[This Piece, which contains an arch Comment on the Gallantries of theſe Times, was firſt printed in Quarto, in the Year 1647; under the Title of *The Parliament of LADIES*, or *Diverſe SPEECHES*, &c. but very erroneouſly and with many Omiſſions; particularly the following Paſſage in the Title Page. “ Together with certain Votes of the unlawful Aſſembly at *Kate’s* in “ *Covent Garden*: Both which are ſent abroad to prevent Miſinformation.” All which are here ſupplied out of a Manuſcript Copy, preſerved in Lord *Somers’s* Collection.]

Vefpere Veneris Martis 26, 1647.

Ordered by the Ladies in Parliament aſſembled, That theſe Orders and Votes be forthwith Printed and Published, to prevent all ſuch Miſreports and Scandals,

dals, as either Malice, or want of Wit, heightened with Snuffs of Ale or stummed Claret may cause, to the Dishonour of the said Votes in Parliament.

Beatrice Kingsmell, Cler. Parliament.

THE rattle-headed Ladies being assembled at *Kate's* in *Covent-Garden*, and having spent some time in chusing their Speaker, (it having been objected against the Lady *Duchess*, that she had used beating up of Quarters, and other Sports, too frequently with Prince *Rupert*;) they at last resolved upon the Lady *Isabella Thynne*, hoping thereby, that these Acts might have the greater Influence upon the King's Majesty.

First, That no Roundhead should dare to come into any of their Quarters.

Secondly, That, on the contrary, none of the Members, Cavaliers, *viz.* do co-habit in any of the Roundheads Quarters, or pay any Contributions to them, by way of Benevolence, or Loan, or otherwise.

Thirdly, That Thanks be given to the Ladies *Montague*, *Teynham*, *Craven*, &c. for their Courtesies and Favours shewn by them to the distressed Cavaliers beyond the Seas.

Fourthly, Ordered hereupon, that the said Ladies, together with the Lady *Stanhope*, have leave to sell, give away, or otherwise to dispose of their *French* Commodities, without paying Excise or Custom.

Fifthly, That Mrs. *Phillips* be forthwith sent into *France* from this House, to the Lord *Montague*, to acquaint him how his Lady hath negotiated, with the Members of both Houses.

Sixthly, That Mrs. *Gamlines* for the *Protestants*, and Mrs. *Weyborne* for the *Papists*, be appointed Messengers to attend the House, that they have the Title given them, of *Messengers of the Chamber*.

These said Ladies in Parliament assembled do farther declare;

That by their Votes of this Day, they do not in any way intend to exclude from their Quarters, that Part of the House of Peers, which voted the Bill for Maintenance of the Army, out of Doors; in that the said Lords are understood to be well-effected, and not *Roundheads*;—While these Things were thus in Agitation, in comes a Serjeant from the House of Ladies, at Mrs. *Chiff's* in *Spring-Garden* assembled, in the Name of which, he pronounceth this an *unlawful Assembly*, a *Junto*, a *Mongrel Parliament*: Commanding them to
confine

confine their Votes and themselves to their own Houses, there to continue during Pleasure.

This put their Ladyships into more Disorder and Confusion than if they had been taken, with their Gallants, by each of their Husbands; which is the Cause we hear no more of this Parliament.

The Ladies well-affected (being, as you heard, at their House in *Spring-Garden*) also spent much time in the chusing of their Speaker; and the major Part having pitched on the Lady *Holland*, she desired to excuse herself; alledging her Husband's Desertion, and intreated, that all her Right might be conferred on the Lady *Carlisle*: But the said Lady not being thought fit to be trusted, the Lady *Exeter* was named; but it was objected by the Lady *Hyfley*, that the said Countess was a Delinquent, and formerly carried Supplies to the King; pretending likewise that her Husband, Sir *John Hyfley*, was much damnified in Estate and Office by the said Supplies; but the Lady *Salisbury* coming in, this Dispute soon ended, and the Chair was conferred on her, *Nem. Con.* who immediately named Mrs. *Peele* Messenger to attend the House; and the Lady *Norton*, together with Lady *Stapleton*, to be Door-keepers, with Order to keep all out but Members; this was by all assented unto, notwithstanding some Exceptions were taken at the Slowness of Mrs. *Peele's* Pace; it being aggravated by one, that she went slower than the Masters of the *Chancery*, when they go on Messages.

Then their Ladyships taking into Consideration in the first Place, the difficult Cases that might fall out in the Business of the House; ordered Mr. Doctor *Wedderborne* to be sent from *Holland*, Mr. Doctor *Davison* from *Paris*, to be Assistants to this House; ordered likewise, that Mr. Doctor *Hinton* and Mr. Doctor *Chamberlaine*, be Assistants, that so with greater Secrecy and Ease, their Ladyships might be helped out with their most troublesome and pressing Affairs.

The House then adjourned till the Day following; and being met accordingly, their first Business was to send the aforesaid Messengers, to the unlawful Assembly at *Kate's*; and then falling upon their Votes in Parliament, they declared, that Part of their Order to be an absolute Breach of Privilege, which forbids Cavaliers to enter into the Roundheads Quarters; and ordered that the said She-Cavaliers, shall within two Days depart this City, and come not within Twenty Miles of the Line of Communication: As also, That no malignant Lady presume to walk in *Spring-Garden* after Twelve o'Clock at Night, upon any Pretence whatsoever.

Next their Ladyships took into Consideration the great Number of Malignants and Delinquents, and ordered, that there be a Committee for Composi-

tion, to meet at the Lady *Kent's*, for *Protestants*, and at the Lady *Lake's*, for *Papists*.

This Day Complaint was brought in against Sir *Henry Blunt*, Knight, for publishing an heretical and dangerous Doctrine, viz. *That it is better to converse with, and resort, to common Women, than Ladies of Honour*: upon mature Deliberation thereof, the Ladies with much Indignation sent for him, who being come, and having heard his Accusation read, was commanded to withdraw, during the Debate; upon which, up starts the Lady *Foster*, and offers to the Consideration of the House, the dangerous Effects of this Opinion, which it might produce, if it be suffered to spread among the People, to the utter Decay of Trade, as also of the particular Commerce of *Rhenish-wine*, Cheef-cakes, and Sillibubs, whereby the Profit of this House will be greatly diminished.

The Speech was received with great Applause of the whole House, and the said Sir *Henry Blunt* was called in the second Time, who being commanded to kneel, refused, but appealed to all the *Commons* of *England* and *Wales*; which suspended all Proceedings therein for a Time.

The House considered in the next Place, that diverse weak Persons have crept into Places beyond their Abilities, and to the End that Men of greater Parts might be put into their Rooms, they appointed the Lady *Middlesex*, Mrs. *Dunch*, the Lady *Foster*, and the Lady *Anne Waller*, by reason of their great Experience in the Soldiery of this Kingdom, to be a Committee of Tryers for that Business.

The House being then ready to adjourn, there came News of a Quarrel between two notorious Members of this House, viz. Mrs. *Harris* and Mrs. *Dunch*; much good Counsel was given them to agree, and unite against the common Enemy, their Husbands; and it was at length ordered that these should be reconciled, and that *Tom Temple* should put up his Blade.

The Morning following they took into Consideration all the secret Garrisons of the Kingdom, what were to be kept, and what not: And ordered;

First, that *Northampton* be continued a Garrison, and that the Lady *Sunderland* be requested to take the Command of it on her; notwithstanding the self-denying Ordinance.

Secondly, ordered that an *English* Garrison be put in *Carlisle*, to prevent a foreign Enemy getting into possession thereof; as was to be feared, by reason of some secret Intelligence had with the *French* Ambassador in that Place.

Thirdly, that *Leicester*, *Newport*, and *Marlborough*, and all other that are either old Fortifications, or otherwise useless, be forthwith slighted.

After

After this they took into Consideration the standing Forces in this Kingdom, with their several Entertainments, and ordered;

First, that the Lord *Francis Villars*, Mr. *Slingsby*, Mr. *Read*, and Mr. *Tuston*, have pay allowed them conditionally, that they shall be provided to draw forth upon Service, at the first Warning.

Secondly, that Colonel *Cooke*, Mr. *Henry Howard*, of *Berks*, and Mr. *Nevill*, have free Quarter only.

Thirdly, that the Prince Elector, Prince *Rupert*, and Mr. *Glascock*, henceforth pay their Quarters.

Ordered, by Addition to the first Vote, that Sir *John Morley* be forthwith paid for his Service to the House, notwithstanding his Delinquency; but so that if he shall break out any more, he shall be irrecoverably put into the Exceptions.

Ordered, that all such Forces as shall be disbanded, shall be sent for *Ireland*, or otherwise disposed of out of this Kingdom.

Their Ladyships were then informed, that a Message waited at the Door from the House of Commons; and Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and Mr. *Bainton*, who brought it, being let in, they found it was for the Relief of maimed Soldiers; upon which their Ladyships referred them to the Lady *Peterborough*, to consider what Relief was fit to be given them, to whom they joined Mrs. *Howard*, sometimes a Maid of Honour, she having purged herself of her Malignancy.

This Day the House received divers Reports from the Committee of Complaints; and first, against the Prince Elector, who was accused, that he was not secret in his Trust to this House, but betrayed their Favours; and, instead of doing them Service, did his own; the Consideration of this Business was put off till another time, and also another Accusation against the said Prince, that he had deserted his Employment; both which were brought in by the Lady *Barrington*.

The next *Item* was some Articles against Mrs. *Wheeler*, who was charged with holding Intelligence with the Enemy; and the said Charge being found true, she was voted to be Laundress to the Prince his Highness.

Thirdly, an Accusation against the Right Honourable the Lord *Rich*, by the Lady *Mary Cockain*, who pretended that she had been plundered by the said Lord of a Jewel, and other Commodities, to the Value of Two Thousand Pounds; but the Lady *Warwick* urging, that it was done to one that had been a Commander against the Parliament, the Accusation was cast out.

Then the House adjourned till the next Day.

The first Business this Day was from the Committee of Tryers, who named, in the first place, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Denbigh*, to be a Man of extraordinary Abilities and Parts, whereupon it was ordered, that his Lordship be Commander in Chief of all the standing Forces of the Kingdom, and that his Head-quarters be in *Andover*, until the House have some other need of his Forces.

Ordered, that the said Commander, in regard of his great Talent, have a favourable Composition at the Lady *Kent*'s.

Ordered, That Senior *Ambrose*, a politic *Italian*, be had in Remembrance, for his extraordinary Pains to content this House; and that when the Affairs of this Kingdom be settled, he be put into the Duchy-Office; and in the mean time, because what he had before did not content him, that he be satisfied out of Mrs. *Whitby*'s, commonly calling herself Miss *Hill*, Arrears, which are forfeited to the State for some petty *Larcenies* of her's.

This Business being over, up stands the zealous and well-affected Lady *Mildmay*; and moved, that a public Fast might be appointed, for imploring a Blessing on Men's constant Affections towards the House; and also to stop the contagious Infection, and itching Humours, that are now crept in among them, and likely to overspread them all, if not timely stopped; the Motion was embraced, and Mr. *Lambert Osbaldiston*, some time a Prebend of *St. Peter's, Westminster*, together with Dr. *Sibbald*, Pastor of *St. James's, Clerkenwell*, were mentioned to pray before the House; but one *Cornelius* brought in an Accusation against the Doctor aforesaid, for one ill-effected to the present Government, he having preached lately in his House in a Tub; whereupon he was rejected, and the Lady *Kensington* desired that Mr. *Saltmarsh* might be substituted in his room, of whose great Parts, and able Performances, she had long Experience, which presently was assented unto by all.

Their Ladyships, in the next place, taking into Consideration, the great Decay of *Beasts* in the Kingdom, during this unnatural War, thought the fittest means for a Remedy to be, their Ladyships sending (as they did) to the Commons, to intreat them, that some of their Members might join their Ladyships, to consider of the said Business; they presently named Lady *Grey*, and the House of Commons, the Lord *Grey* her Husband, to be a Committee, to debate the fittest means to recruit the said *Beasts*, to whom they gave these Instructions.

That they should intreat all, or most of the *Morleys* of *England*, or other Men of their Make, to marry.

That

That all such Men, as have vowed (whether Prisoners or Freemen) never to cut their Beards, till his Majesty return to *London*, be encouraged therein.

That Monsieur *Sabrin* be intreated, in the Name of this House therein used, to return to his Concubine here, notwithstanding his Wife be alive at *Geneva*, because *Geneva* hath not that urgent Necessity of multiplying *Beasts* as this Kingdom hath.

The House then taking into Consideration the Sale of Delinquents Estates, ordered, that Mr. *Harrington*, for his good Services, have the Earl of *Newcastle's* Baggage; and also that the Lady *Devonshire* have *Worcester-house*, notwithstanding the Votes of the Houses at *Westminster*, in favour of the Earl of *Salisbury*, that her Ladyship may be present with less Trouble, at her many and serious Negotiations with the *Scotch* Commissioners.

This Day came a Petition from the Lady *Stanhope*, humbly desiring that she might be received into the House, pretending that she was well-affected; but it was urged to the contrary, that she affected, it was true; but a *Scottish* Affection mixed with a *French*, could never make her a well-affected Lady; it was farther alledged, that the said Lady had been in Arms under Mr. *Slingby*, which Mr. *Slingby* was ordered to be kept for the House, and so the Debate was put off till another time.

A Motion was then made for putting down of Plays, whereupon the Lady *Monmouth* desired it might be explained what Plays were meant; forasmuch, if they should put down the Game of *In and In*, it would prove much to the Prejudice of the House, as also to Mr. *Young*, who had deserved well of their Ladyships; Answer being made, Stage-plays were only understood, she declared she would concur with the House in that, now Sir *John Suckling* was dead; but truly she liked his Play well.

After this it was moved by the Lady *Crumpton*, that Thanksgiving might be appointed for the Recovery of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Pembroke*, which was consented unto, and that Master *Caldicot* be desired to preach, and to sing the Psalm in *English* and not in *Hebrew*.

Ordered, that Thanks be given Master *Robinson* for his devout Prayer, that the said Lord might once more climb up *May Hill*.

The House then appointed Commissioners to go to his Majesty, viz. The Ladies *Oxford* and *Stamford*, together with the Lady *May*, to move His Majesty to give his royal Assent, that a happy Union may follow.

This Day they passed an Act of Oblivion to the Lady *Dalkeith*, the Lady *Katharine Scot*, the Lady *Aubigny* and Mistress *Roper*, for their Delinquency in the Enemy's Quarters.

Soon,

Soon after the Lady *Norton*, Door-keeper of the House, complained of Sir *Robert Harley*, a Member of the House of Commons, for attempting to deface her, which happen'd thus: The said Lady being a zealous Independent, and so one of the Saints, and Sir *Robert* having found out, that she was likewise painted, pretended, that he came with his Ordinance of Idolatry, of Saints and painted Crosses; but some Friends of the Lady Door-keeper, urging on her Behalf, that none did ever yet attempt to adore or worship her, she was justified; and the Ladies then declared, that if any Person, by Virtue of any Power whatsoever, pretended to be derived from the House of Commons, or any other Court, shall go about to impeach, hinder, or disturb any Lady, from painting, washing, or adorning herself to the best Advantage, as also from plaiting her Hair, or washing her Teeth, that Act shall be held a great Breach of the Privilege of the House, and that the Offenders shall be proceeded against, accordingly.

In the last Place, their Ladyships being to adjourn for some Weeks, desired first, that a main Point might be decided, *viz.* What is meant by the Word *Due Benevolence* which I do not intend to set down particularly, it being not to be found in the Ladies Journal; only I hear, that Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick's* Opinion was, that if a Man had been absent from his Spouse any Time, that then the conjugal Tye obliged him to solace her *now*, and *anon* too, and that twice in the Compass of a natural Day: But it being alledged, that no Rule could be made for it, it depending on Men's several Constitutions and Health, it was declared, that all and every Man, employed in the Bed of Matrimony and Wedlock, is engaged to content his Mate and Fellow-feeler, as often as the Strength of his Body will permit.

Their Ladyships having received this Distinction, desired them to make it (*Jure Divino*) and to publish it, that so no Husband in the Country might pretend Ignorance, whereupon their Holinesses made this ensuing Canon.

Die Jovis Mar. 1647.

It is by these Presents decreed and declared to all the World, by the Counsel called and met at *Westminster* in the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, that all Men who have, or shall take upon them the State of Matrimony, are by their Vows, and by the Sense of Holy Writ, obliged to cohabit with their Wives, as oft as their Strength of Body will permit and give them leave; and though they should pretend that it stood not with their Affairs, that they be obliged there-

unto notwithstanding: This we enjoin and command in the said Kingdom.

Adoniram Byefield, Scribe.

The Day following in the Evening, this Doctrine being brought to their Ladyships, they ordered that the Speaker of their House should give Thanks to the Members of the Assembly of Divines, for their great Care and Pains in reforming of the Kingdom, and in particular for this present Declaration, and ordered these their Votes should be printed, and so they adjourned till farther Time.

A RELATION of the Mutiny on *Tuesday* the 22d of *November*, 1653, in the *New-Exchange*, of the *Portugal* Ambassador's Followers, &c.

THIS Night was a great Mutiny at the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, such as hath scarce ever been the like. The Business, upon the best Information that I can have from those who were present in Part of the Business, and have conferred with others upon the whole, is this:

On *Monday* Night (which was the Night before) three of the *Portugal* Ambassador's Family, whereof his Brother was one, being at the *New Exchange*, they talking in *French* spake of such Discourse of Transactions of some *English* Affairs, which Colonel *Gerhard*, Sir *Gilbert Gerhard*'s Brother, understanding the *French* Tongue, hearing, told them very civilly, that they did not represent the Stories they spake of right; whereupon one of the *Portugals* gave him the Lie: Upon that they began to jostle, and all three fell upon Colonel *Gerhard*, and threw him down, and got upon him; but though he be but a little Man, yet he threw him off that was upon him, and so was bustling with him a good while: There were some Gentlemen there, but knew not who it was they so assaulted, and so never meddled with them; and yet one of the *Portugals* with his Dagger stabbed Colonel *Gerhard* in the Shoulder, and hurt him sore: But afterwards Mr. *Anfraser* spake to the *Portugals*, that it was not civil nor handsome for so many to fall upon one, three to one being very unequal, and endeavoured to pull one of them

them off, and so to persuade them to cease, and thereby he came to see who it was they had assaulted; who finding it to be Colonel *Gerhard*, which he knew well, and seeing them still pursue their Rage upon him, he drew to relieve him; and after some Bustle the *Portugals* went away, one of them having a Cut upon his Cheek: And that Night afterwards near twenty of their Attendants came to the *Exchange*, and would have quarrelled with any body; and some Cuffing there was by some, but not much more that Night, for it was late, and they returned home.

On *Tuesday* Night, came about fifty of the *Portugals* again to the *New-Exchange*, of which Number were the Ambassador's Brother, and two Knights of *Malta*, and they were led on by a *Portugal* in Buff, whom they call Captain, one well known to some in the *Exchange*, and they had generally double Arms, all or most Part of them Swords and Pistols, and Coats of Mail or Armour, some one Thing, some another, to preserve their Bodies from Swords entering upon them.

They had also two or three Coaches that brought Ammunition, in which were Hand-Granadoes, and Bottles, and some little Barrels of Powder and Bullets, and other Necessaries, if Occasion was. They had also some Boats ready to attend them at the Water-side, if Occasion was for them also.

Thus they came with a Resolution to fall upon every *English* Gentleman they should find in or about the *Exchange*; and entering in with this Equipage, the People were exceedingly frightned. For first came in the Captain in the Buff, who led them, and after him the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother, and the Knights of *Malta*, and so the rest, all with drawn Swords, and in so furious a Posture, as if they intended to kill every body they met with that stood before them.

Hereupon the People fled into the Shops in the *Exchange* to shelter themselves, and all that did not so they fell upon, though no Man gave them the least Affront, yet they pistolled and cut, and wounded many.

Mr. *Greneway*, a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, Son to the Lady *Greneway*, was there with his Sister, and a Gentlewoman whom he was to have married, who desired them two to stand up in a Shop, where he saw them safe; and they would have had him to have staid with them, but he said he would only go see what was the Matter; but he was no sooner parted from them, but immediately the Word being given by the *Portugal* Captain in Buff, which was *Safa*, which was the Word when they were to fall on. Without any Affront offered towards them, one of them pistolled him, and shot him in the Head, and he is dead of his Wounds; and many others they have dangerously wounded. Colonel *Mayo* had twelve upon him at once, yet drew his Sword, and fought with them as long as he was able

able to hold his Sword in his Hand, which being cut, he was forced to let his Sword fall, and then they cut and wounded him in many Places. Mr. *Thomas Howard*, Mr. *Cartar*, and divers others, were wounded passing by.

The Horse at the *Meuse* had taken Alarm before they returned, and returning home, passing by the *Meuse*, some of the Horse moving towards them, some of them discharged Pistols towards the Horse, and the rest run home to the Ambassador's House ; but the Horse-Guards took some of them, and carried them into the *Meuse*, and sent Word thereof to the Lord-General ; and a Party of Horse pursued them, and beset the Ambassador's House.

And Commissary General *Whalley* sent in to the Ambassador, acquainted him with this horrible Attempt and bloody Murder of his Followers, and shewed him his Men they had taken Prisoners, and required the chief of the rest of them to be delivered into the Hands of Justice, which the Ambassador was loth to do. But seeing he could not baffle them, to stop the Course of Justice in so horrible a bloody Business as that had been, he delivered up his Brother and one of the Knights of *Malta*, and some others, such as they had then Information was chief, and promised to secure the rest to be forthcoming, any of them when they should be demanded. After which the Ambassador made his Address to the Lord General, and chiefly for his Brother ; but his Excellency told him that it did concern the Public, and therefore his Addresses must be to the Parliament and Council of State. It is such a horrible Business that his Excellency would not meddle with him in it.

The *Portugals* that are in Custody are Prisoners at *James's*, and the Business is under Examination before the Council of State.

By the Council of State.

THE Council of State taking Notice of the tumultuous and barbarous Actings at the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, in the County of *Middlesex*, upon the 21st and 22d of *November* last past, the same being accompanied with the Drawing of Swords, Discharging of Pistols, and such other high Misdemeanors as are scarce to be paralleled by the Actings of any Persons living under the Protection of a civil Government, and which, in the Effects thereof, produced not only a very great and notorious Violation of the public Peace, but also the murdering of one, and the assaulting, wounding and affrightning of many other of the People

ple of this Nation, pursuing their ordinary Callings and Occasions. And for as much as the said Exchange is a place of public Resort and Trade; the Council have therefore thought it necessary hereby to declare their Resentment of those Proceedings, and their just Displeasure against the same. And as they intend vigorously to prosecute the Offenders, so, to the Intent the like Evils may be better prevented in Time to come, they do hereby strictly require and charge, That no Person or Persons, of what Quality soever, do presume, at the said Exchange, or any other like public Place, to occasion, encourage or abet, any tumultuous Meetings, or hazard a Breach of the civil Peace, or drawing there, or in any other such Place, any Sword or other Weapon, discharging, presenting, or bearing any Gun or Pistol, or firing of Powder in Granadoes, or in any otherwise whatsoever. Of which Command, it will be expected that all Persons whatsoever take Notice, and demean themselves accordingly, upon Peril of being reputed, and dealt withall, as Disturbers of the public Peace, whereof a very strict Account shall be taken: And all Justices of the Peace, and other publick Ministers, are required carefully to perform their Duties in this Behalf; as also, to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent and restrain all immodest and unhand-some Demeanors of such as shall resort to the said *Exchange*, that so no just Cause of Offence may be given to sober Minds, nor any Thing there acted dishonourable to Religion or the Nation.

STRAFFORIADOS.

STRAFFORIADOS. The Lieutenant's *Legend*: As it was first compared, and now published, according to the *Original Copie*. *Writ by his owne Hand in the Tower.*

Extincta est rabies parientis sanguine.———SIDON.

———*Fundatæ in sanguine Gentes*

Non sine teste ruunt.———

CLAUD.

Printed in the Year, 1652.

To the READER.

SOME *Rithms* (for they merit not the Style of *Verse*, much lesse the Authority of so able and active a Pen) have been lately published, and unjustly fathered upon Earle STRAFFORD. And whence came these, but from those Brothell Broakers of false Ware, who for base Gaine will frontlesly ingage their penurious Pen in any ementitious Worke? Believe it from the Mouth of him that dare avouch it, and who in Subjects of this kind, was to the Knowledge of his *Honour*, while he lived, best interess'd; that none of this sort have at any Time under his Name been heretofore divulged, which are not to be accounted fabulous, and worthily rejected; being so farre different from his expressive Character, as they beare not the least Semblance of so exquisite a Limner.

As for his *Ultimum Vale*, it has been no lesse simply then sordidly acknowledged, as well by him who ementitiously writ it, as by him who did surreptitiously print it, that his *Honour* had no Hand in it; for, Advantage of the time, with Hope of Profit, was the only Bait that lur'd them to it. Lastly, for those late disperfed Copies of his *Letters*, you may gather what Probability they beare of being his, by their *distinct Characters*.

This here presented, as it was penned by him, and transcribed by one neare and deare unto him, was his *last Piece* recommended to Posterity: and for a *Legacy* left by HIM, then whom none ever was more ably endowed, more generally hated, in dis-esteem of the *State* more unhappily suffered, nor in the Period of his Suffering by discreet Eyes more compassionately bemoned.

The LIEUTENANT's Legend.

*Dat pœnas laudata fides ; gravis exitus altis
Imminet Herois ; tuta myrica manes.*

EYE me, ye *mounting Cedars* ! once was I,
As you are, *Great* ; rich in the Estimate
Of *Prince* and *People* ; no malignant Eye
Reflected on me ; so secure my State,
It felt no *Rivals* ; then I fear'd no *Grate*
Nor a *Plebeian Storme* ; then my Renowne
Took Breath from *Such* as now would cry it down.

Honours came thick upon me, as if these,
Meant with their Weight to crush me ; Ev'ry Day
Rais'd me one *Story* higher ; Land and Seas
Were then propitious ; fresh as fragrant *May*,
Sprung my enlivened Strength ; where a Decay
In *Health, Wealth, Freedom, Popular Esteeme*,
Prove my late *Sceane* of *State* a golden *Dreame*.

I had (unhappy is the Accent *had*)
A Competence of State before I came
To this *Surprizing Grandeur* ; being clad
In *native Properties*, till th'Wing of Fame
Imp'd with a Countrey Zeale enlarg'd my Aime
To high Designs, producing such Successe,
“ My Seeming blest estate eclyps'd my Blessè.

That *vocal Forrest* or *Plebeian Vote*
Adjudge me worthy of the worthlest Death ;
Yet this *Mechanick Rabble* know me not
But by *Report*, though their empoisoned Breath
Steames ranke upon me, wishing but to sheath
Their Weapons in my Bowells ; thus am I
Become their Foe, and yet they know not why.

Go I by *Water*, or a *private Coach*,
 I'm hooted at, blind Fury findes no end;
 The Style of *Traytor* welcoms my Approach,
 Whereto mine Eares a forc'd Attention lend;
 Yet, 'mongst these *Fiends* I have one constant *Friend*,
 An un-amated loyall Heart within me,
 Which in these Gufts shall Peace of Conscience win me.

The *Prince's Declaration* it was fuch
 As it secur'd me from the Doome of Death;
 But on th' incens'd State it wrought not much,
 Such were my Acts, I'm held unfit to breath,
 Such was the Spleene purfude me underneath:
 Trades-men and Women ftill for juftice crye,
 " Wee cannot live, if *Strafford* do not dye.

The *Judges* their authentick Sentence paffe,
 And in *two Charges* vote me of High Treason;
 Which *Vote*, as is conceived, moulded was
 From their *approaching Feares* which blinded Reason,
 And caus'd thofe *Elders* to comply with Seafon.
 For th' fafeft way to fhun thofe fhip-wrackt Shelves,
 Was, as they held, t' ingratiate themfelves.

Thus do I live a dying Life, immur'd
 With Cares more numerous then my Warders be;
 Endanger'd moft, when feeming moft secur'd,
 While *Damocles'* keene Sword hangs over me,
 On publique Stage to act my Tragedie:
 Avant bafe fervile Fear; Let Law proceed;
 Though headleffe, yet I cannot lofe my Head.

I know that my *Redeemer* lives; in him
 My *Life* and *Love* are feal'd; admit it then
 A Minute Spill what many Yeares did Spin,
 I fhall refume thefe Lineaments againe,
 Reftor'd, refin'd, and purifide from Staine.

Grazy's

Crazy's my Cottage ; no Content at all
To sojourne in a Lodging like to fall.

Now if those *Prudent Houses* hold't not fit
That I unto my WENTWORTH WOOD-HOUSE goe,
To exercise my Dayes in Holy Writ,
Or like a *Recluse* in a Cell of Woe,
To pray for those I owe Devotion to ;
Let th' Sentence of sad Death come when it pleases,
The Axe's Edge gives Cure to all Diseases.

Erect your *Scaffolds* like *Pyramides*,
Let my *Corrivals* my *Appellants* be ;
Let *Ship-wrackt Judges* that have *Writs of Ease*,
Become *Spectators* of my Miserie,
Teare-poudred *Sables* cloathe my Family :
All this is nothing ! a more glorious Place
Arms me to look Death-terrors in the Face.

And yet excuse me that I thus conceave,
If these *long Charges* by me answered
Bring my *weake Body* to untimely Grave,
To After-ages 'twill be registred,
Nay, by just Priviledge authorized
That STRAFFORD such a Day and Yeare did dye
For no *High-Treason*, but to *Satisfie*.

The LIEUTENANT's *Lachrymæ* : Or, His Last Good-Night.

*No Glasse may more to Life present Man's Face,
Then THIS, the Frailty of a great Man's Place.*

— Whence I gather,

*More usefull to the Body's no Physitian,
Then for a Man to ponder his Condition.*

DRAW neer, give Ear, and hear a Peer, whose Misery was such
As Envie's State, a great Man's Fate, relentlessly did touch.
Once was I near the Prince's Eare, and dear unto the State,
But now my Blisse reduced is to this sad tragick Fate.

There was a Day when I bore Sway in publick Parliament ;
Then who but I ? which rais'd me high, to be *York's* President ;
Where Prince's Love did so improve th' *Instructions* of that Court,
As it became a *Chancery* in Confluence and Resort.

But Country Aire was my least Care, I must transplanted be,
And take my Place t'inlarge my Grace, of *Ireland's* Deputie ;
Where, as 'tis sed, no Venom bred, so 'twas my glorious Strife
To censure such who throve too much with Venom in their Life.

None were so high but would comply with me and my Commands,
For else were they forc'd to obey, and perish in my Hands,
None durst devoure the Widow, Poor, nor seize on other's Right,
But I brought in to scourge his Sin, and crush him with my Might.

But what's all this ! I did amisse, for so the Commons say ;
All this did tend to mine owne End, and Profit ev'ry Way.
My *Port* advanc'd, my *State* inhanc'd, and my *Revenues* too,
The *Common Laws* I did dispose, and wrest them God knowes how.

Law's Life did wrest within my Brest, my Will was still my Law,
No State could be, if't neighbour'd me, secured from a Flaw ;

I could

I could dispense with Acts of Bench, and dis-annull their Course,
None ever liv'd, lesse lik'd, lesse lov'd, in Men's Opinion worse.

FIRST I did fleece our *Merchandize*, and grievous Imposts raise,
For private Gaine, I truckt with *Spaine*; and with injurious Layes
Impair'd Men's State, t' increase their Hate, no Pity did I render;
Thus with all Ill I'm twitted still, my good Deeds none remember.

I should report in publick Court with an imperious Aw
That th' *Finger* of the King should bring Command ore th' *Loines* of *Law*;
Whereas a Knight to do me right that Testat did evince:
For I did say, *Lawes Loines* might sway the *Finger* of the Prince.

The *Scottish* Charge in Trifles large has taxt me in like sort,
If th' Island here invaded were, the State might thanke me for't;
For I an Army had prepar'd their Kingdome to subdue,
And to bring in that *Man* of *Sin* with his Papistick Crue.

When all Men knew I was a Foe to Superstition still,
And in the North brought Romists forth and wrought them to my Will;
When they did pay so much as they would gladly been content
The *Penal Statutes* to obey, to quit their annual Rent.

Their City *Garaway* did say, that of mine owne Accord
When He came in I mov'd the King to take away his *Sword*;
Which ever since did so incense that awful Bench, as these
Joyntly deny, unlesse I dye, to pay their Subsidies.

In a borrow'd Name, to my Defame, some say I wrote Love-letters,
To winde Youth in licentious Sin made fast with golden Fetters;
Which Purchase got, I feared not strange *lofty* Acts to make,
At th' Sonne's Desire against his Sire for his *Clorinda's* Sake.

There is no Crime at any time wherewith I'm not impeached,
My Hands in Blood, no Action good, my Thoughts at Treason reached.
What Joy then here when all Men beare such Malice to my Name?
Should *Justice* rest, with *joynt Protest*, they would display my Shame.

They

They say I stay, and stoppe the Way of *Issues* that are made,
 And that I've fought by *Poysons* brought to leave my Spirits decaid ;
 Or that I make Meanes to *escape* in counterfeit Disguise,
 When never I, by th' Death I dye, dream'd such an Enterprife.

From th' *Tower* I'm sent to th' *Parliament* with garrisons furrounded,
 Yet I persude by th' Multitude might be surpriz'd and wounded :
 Peece-meale these swear they would me teare, should Train-band me sur-
 render,

Were I as cleare as ever were they'd vote me an Offender.

Now at the Barre as Felons are, must I hold up my Hand,
 And those my strong Accusers be who stood at my Command.
 " A breaker o' th' last Parliament, an Instrument of Warre,
 " Subverter of the Common Laws, a close Adulterer.

A cruell Tyrant, and what's worse, if worfer can be found,
 No *Snake* may be compar'd to me in such a *Snakelesse* Ground ;
 See, see our humane Frailty ! what fading Honour's Worth,
 When th' Ev'ning may ore-cloud that Day the clearest Morn brought forth.

The *House of Commons* voted my High Treason long agoe,
 And they do grutch, their Hate is such, the *High-House* does not so ;
 And some do guesse they do not this for any Love to me,
 The Reason why, if I should dye, *secure* they could not be.

But now *both Houses* are agreed that I should lose my Head,
Tower-Hill must be a Stage for me, where Stories may be read,
 That never Man from Greatnesse came to such Calamity,
 Nor in high Place bore more Disgrace then *Ireland's* Deputy.

Farewell, farewell ; now to my Cell, from thence unto the Stage,
 Where th' *Hatchet* must prove *Honour* Dust, and pay my *Service* Wage ;
 Relent hard Heart what ere thou art, when thou shalt see my Fall,
 What hapned me may fall to thee, do Justice then to all.

Farewell, deare Spouse, my antient House, my tender Children too,
 Though Law on me inflicted be, it takes no hold of you,

My Blood though spilt, yee'r free from Guilt, the Prince will doe ye right,
Whose Crowne Heav'ns bleſſe with all ſucceſſe : And ſo vaine World good-
night.

A FATHER'S FAREWELL.

O Yee my *constant Cares*, but *unconstant Comforts* ; let me turn to you, before I turne to Earth ! O, to what End did I take care to waſte my ſelfe, for that which others without Care intend to waſte ? Why ſhould I become ſo *fooliſhly frugall*, as to make my *Heire* ſick of a Father ; riot in his Funerall ; and in his Death to act to Life the part of a Prodigall ? O how many Children had far'd well in the World, had their *Parents* ſet their Hearts leſſe on the World ! Oh, but who *provides* not for his *Family*, is worſe than an *Inſidell* ! Much more for his *Posterity*, being the *deareſt* of his *Family*, the *neareſt* of his *Meniey*. O my Indulgence ! What a *Diſcomfort* haſt thou occaſioned to me in the One, what a *Diſorder* in the Other ! I was leſſened by a *Good Father*, to make nothing a greater Stranger to me in the Way of my *Pilgrimage*, then towards my *Familiars* Impiety ; towards my *Servants* Severity ; towards my *Neighbours* Extremity. Which Leſſon, though I have not learned as well as I ſhould, yet I have labour'd to obſerve it as well as I could. Mean time, while I look'd upon *mine owne*, I found my too tender Nature of ſuch a Temper, as it needed no ſuch Direction. Before I was a *Father*, I muſed much how ſo wiſe a Sage as *Ageſilaus*, could ſo ſtrangely play the *Childe*, as to ride on *Hobby-horſe* with his Children. But remembering his Answer, I could not chuſe but approve an indiſcreet Act, proceeding from ſo affectionate a Nature : *Doe not condemne me of Folly, till you have Children of your owne.*

O Nature, how *ſwift* art thou in thy *descending* ! how *ſlow* in thy *ascending* !

Henry the Second, then whom none more happy in his Youth, more unfortunate in his Age, having obſerved the Mutability of his Condition, how he could not be more numerous in *Yeares*, then he was ſurprized with *aged Cares* ; being eſteemed leaſt by thoſe who ſhould reverence him moſt, deviſed this Embleme, to repreſent his parentall Affliction : An *Eagle* perſonating *Himſelfe*, with *four* young ones, preſenting his *four* Sonnes ; two whereof were ever *billing* and *pecking* at his Eyes, the other two *ſcratching* his Face. Theſe were unkind Chickens ; unnaturall Eaglets ; yet many ſuch *Branches* may we find ayding near moſt of our Neſts. But *heavy Judgements* are reſerved for ſuch *Unnaturaliſts*. The *Ravens* ſhall *pick* out their Eyes ; and the *Terrors* of *unprepared Ends* ſhall ſurprize them.

Thoſe

Those who are sick of a Father, shall find sickly Comforts in the Death of a Father. The *Inheritance* which their *Nimrod*-desires hunted after with such Greediness, shall but serve for Fuel to increase their Unhappiness. As their wishes murdered him living, so shall his ill-requited Memory present to their profuse Houres, and mis-spent Estates, Myriads of Miseries at their dying.

But admit (which were rare to finde) that these *longing Heires* should be Followers of their Father's Steps, in a thriving Providence; yet must they expect from their Children in Offices of Obedience a just Acquittance.

Such Parents seldome God blesteth with obedient Children; who neglected the Duty they ought to their Parents when they were Children. So as, whether these undutiful Ones be frugal or prodigal, Misery, through a loathed Satety, or Poverty, through their profuse Society, have ever accompanied their Evening. Yea, I have known some of these, who either touch'd with Remorse of Conscience, or driven to Want through their own Licentiousness, could have wish'd to have digg'd up their contemned Fathers with their Nayles, so they might have injoyed them: For all the Disesteem which their neglectful Youth, while they were living, exprest unto them: or poysonous Disgraces their unmanaged Course aspersed on them: yet was it no *filiall Zeale*, but an *experimental Want* that wrought upon them this Course.

O the deceiving Hopes of a disconsolate Father! What restless Cares, anxious Hopes, and solicitous Feares hourly awake him, sleeping; and daily encounter him, waking! He neglects no Time to increase his Store; no Wayes unfought to improve his Estate. He eats the Bread of Carefulness, and apporitions himselfe the very least of all his Family, to raise an higher Foundation to his Posterity. O sandie Ground-work! What an imprudent House-holder is he, who shares in his own, with the least and lowest of his Meniey? to beget *Affliction* to himselfe; *Dis-affection* in others! Where *large Inventories* commonly make *forgetfull Executors*; *loose Successors*! Poore indisposed Providence! Be these the Fruites of broken Sleepes; and needy Repasts? Is it Wisdom to lay up his Treasure in the Hopes of those, who mourn for nothing more then to be their owne Treasurers; by disseising a too industrious Father of his Care and Coyn together? O what a joyful Sound does the *Passing Bell* afford to a thirsty Prodigall! who, long before the crawling Worm has either untwisted his Shrowd, or those funeral Flowers which stuck his Corpse, lost their Colour! has buried the Memory of his indulgent Father in those *healthlesse Healths* of lasting Oblivion. Let the foolish Father, whose penurious Life has bene wholly bestow'd on *Sparing*, to give more length of Line to his Successors *Spending*, cast up his Accounts, and examine what Profit or parentall Comfort his nightly Cares and

watchful Indeavours have returned him. Methinks I see him turne over Leafe after Leafe, and Accompt Day after Day: yet he findes nothing worthy his Care, nor what may answer his Toyle.

Yet take this Notice, as an Addition to his Folly. Though he found nothing all his Time, that might promise him least Assurance in them of performing his Bequest; yet such is his groundlesse Confidence, as he recommends to their Care, what he forgot to do in his Life. Sundry *pious Workes*, which eyther his Affection, so closely cemented to the World, would not suffer him to performe: or the foolish Hope he had in his Heire, made him transferre that Worke to his Trust. But the carelesse Unthrif makes his late Father's Charge, the least of his Care: He findes in himself such Liberty of Conscience, as he can dispence with the Execution of such *Bequests*: He findes all that his Father left him, little enough for his owne Share; as he hopes within short Time the World will shew it. Memorials of dead Fathers are to be buried with them. Thus discharge such as these their Trust to Purpose. Legacies and pious Offices must become their own *Trustees*. Their *Testator* is committed to Earth, whose Memory accompanies his Obsequies; both subject to one Fate, and deposited in one Urne. And those who survive him, hold him rightly serv'd. What mad Man is he, that will intrust him, at his Death, who never answered his Trust in his Life? If *Hopes* make not a Child obedient: *Possession* of what he hoped for, will hardly doe it. O see, to what *Shadows* this Worldling's substance is reduced! Before he returne well to *Earth*, all his early and late Providence is resolved to *Ayre*. He has bid the world a long *Farewell*; which makes his jolly Spendthrift *fare well* and deliciously in it. Those *Consorts* which his Father hated, must be his onely *Copiesmates*. In their *Careere* they sing a merry *Requiem* for his Soule, whose *Rest* is the least of their Care. His Interment gives Intertainment to those, who will never leave his debauch'd Heire, till his Estate has left him. He has made *choise* of them, and for a World he would not *change* them; whose onely Office it is, to contrive the way how he may gallantly spend: as it is his, to finde a Purse how to defray the Charge of their Projects.

Thus must an aged Providence be thawed and to nothing dissolved by a youthfull Expence. Were the Length of his Dayes proportion'd to his Expence, his exhausted *State*, before he saw halfe of his Dayes, would be contracted to a *Script*: or his *Prospect*, through his numerous Ingagements, confined to a *Grate*. But Death is many times so kinde, as to impose a Period to his Miseries: and to end him before they wholly make an end of him. But be his Dayes long or short, his *Memory* cannot chuse but *rot*, being a *Branch* shred and cut off from the *Root*. It is a *Promise*, and he is faithfull in his *Performance* that
makes

makes it: *Length of Dayes* shall be unto him, who *honours* his *Parents*: which implyes an *Abridgement* to his, who *dishonours* them. The *wicked* and *deceitfull* Man shall not live to see halfe his *Dayes*. And shew me a more deceitfull Liver, than he who deceives the Trust of a Father! If *Obedience* be better then *Sacrifice*; no doubt, but *Disobedience* is the *Sacrifice of Fooles*. It seemes he desires to have his *Dayes* short, who by his rebellious Course, labours to shorten his Father's *Dayes*. The Foundation of his Hopes cannot stand. But *future Judgements* are Strangers to his Thoughts. So he may enjoy the *Pleasures* of Sinne for a Season; Eternity is quite razed out of the Calendar of his Memory.

He holds the *Pellican* a good *naturall Mother* in feeding her *young ones*, to her owne Ruine: but he holds that *Child* a meere *Naturall*, that would requite that Parentall Favour to his owne Danger. Whence it is, that he accounts no Bird more foolish then the *Storke*, in carrying his aged Parents upon his Wings: and providing for them, whose unweldy Condition cannot purvey for themselves. I have often observ'd it, nor could I well credit what my Eyes had seene: how *Nature* could possibly become such a *Changeling*, as to wish *no Being*, to those from whom they had their *Being*. Many *Children* have found their *Parents* to be their best *Stewards*: yet rather then be troubled with such *Dispensers*, they could wish that Care supplied by *Hyrelings*.

There was an ancient Decree, that he who neglected his Parents in their Age, should reap no Benefit by their Death. Now, how many Children should we finde disinherited, were this Law to all intents and purposes executed? That Law, no doubt, was well intended, if it were but ordain'd only to preserve in their Progeny, Pretenses of Duty. It is Hope of Preferment, that begets in most Children this *shady Semblance* of *Obedience*. Take away this *Hope*, and you shall finde an *Icy Zeale*. Broad-spread *Sycamours* all for *Shadow*; none for *Fruit*. Were it not then just, for *Parents* to adopt *Strangers* their *Heyres*; seeing those who should be their *Lineall Heyres*, make themselves such *Strangers* to their Cares? But the Heart of a Father is of a more waxen and indulgent Temper: so blind has Affection made him, as he generally values those most, whose Actions deserve least. These he tenderly hugs, who would follow his Hearse with dry Eyes: and who in the height of his Extreames, will rather *Prey* on him, then *Pray* for him: So apt is *Nature* to deprave Judgement: and to play the *Impostor* with her *Multiplying Glasse*; presenting more Comforts in the Worst, than can possibly appeare in the Best. When Affection has forfeited her Discretion, and lost the Eyes of her Judgement by Mistakes; Vertues seeme Vices, and Vices Vertues. It were Wisdome then for *Nature* to suspend her Eyes, : and to fixe them with an impartiall Reflexe both on Merit and Immerit.

This

This will beget that Emulation in Goodnesse, which Children before knew not; at least pursue not; because they were by their Parents undistinguished or unrewarded. But little need we to presse this Argument: Experience tells *you* whom I should admonish; that a *Father* is more ready to give, then a *Child* to requite. Be it your Care to reteine, in this my last *Farewel*, these *final Directions*; which may prove as usefull to you, as any Portion I can bequeath you.

Your Youth inform'd me, that your *Dispositions* were different; which caus'd me to bestow you severall Waies. For *Philosophy* had told me, and *Experience* taught me, that *Nature* could not be *forc'd*. Yet have I highly tax'd my *Indulgence* for giving such way to the Freedome of Youth. Some of you pretended for *Armes*, others for *Arts*. You who were for *Armes*, had got such a *Surfet* of the *Schoole*, as your Plea was Incapacity to your Booke, by reason of your Want of Memory, or Impregnancy, or some other innate Defect. So as, your Desire was to enlist your selves, after the Garbe of these stirring Times, amongst *Souldiers* of *Fortune*; to ingage your Persons for the *Campe*: but (as I conceited it) only to dis-engage your selves of the *Whip*. And I assented to it: and some Progression have you made in it, without much Losse or Increment of Honour.

March along then with this Advice: In the first Place, be no lesse *Cautious* then *Conscious* of the *Grounds* for which you fight. Be he never so valiant, if the *Cause* be nought for which he ingageth; it is *Rashnesse* and no *Valour*: For win he or lose he, the Issue Redounds ever to his Dishonour. Allegiance is a just Ground; in what *Orbe* soever the *State* be *sphered*: though in these Dayes unfortunately managed. But Actions are to derive their Equity from Event or Success: Nor to receive their Censure from the Losse of a Field. Fortune is not always Vertue's Shadow. *England* cannot be more in God's eye, then *India*: and yet *Infidels* are become Lords of that *Seat*, where our heavenly Lord and his Apostles trode.

Let me advise you; be no *Scotch* Pretenders, in making *Religion* your Colour, when *Plunder* is your Aime. Though their Booties enrich them, and their New-trall Factions seemingly secure them, they must come off with Losse, before the maine Battle determine the Quarrell.

Make not such use of your Strength, as injuriously to intrench upon another's State. Doe no Man wrong; when the *Sword* is in your *Hand*, let *Grace* be in your *Heart*. Let that daring Insolence, so familiar with a Souldier, be to you an uncivil Stranger. Walke in the Wayes of Innocency: and end these Dayes of your Warfare in it. Preferre a glorious Death, before a vicious Life. Better is it to dye with an *Abel*, then to live a *Cain*.

Be it your prime Care every Morne to make your Peace with God; suffer not your *inward Enemy* to have any Advantage of you, whatsoever your *outward* have. Though the Bullet make no Distinction betwixt a Prince and a Common Souldier: Those *Christian Memorials* recommended to you in your Youth, should better prepare you then to fall like Beasts, without remembring your future Condition.

The Marriner and Souldier ought of all others to be ever provided of this Spirituall Armour. Three Inches onely distanceth the one from Death: and a Paper-sconce the other. Of all others, every Houre may be your last: Be it then your constant Taske, in the Service of your Campe, to make Heaven your Care. March after this Manner, and the Lord of Hosts will go along with you: and improve these Actions of Valour to your Fame, His Honour.

Now for *you*, who are for *Arts*. As it has beene my Care to season you in all Sciences, Human and Divine: be it your Care not to invert them, but rank them according to their Degrees. Imploy your *Humane* as *Hand-maids*; your *Divine* as their *Mistresses*. Now, *Religion* must be the Foundation; which being strengthened and cherished by that sweetly-distilling Influence of *Devotion*, is not to consist onely in speculative Knowledge, but Proficiency of Action.

For *Religion*, being the Mystery of our Salvation, is a practicall Syllogisme, whose Premisses goe for nothing, if there be not the active Conclusion of Well-doing. The Promise is not made to Him that *knows this*, but to Him that *does this*. *Doe this and thou shalt live*.

In the Expence of your Houres, be carefull how you bestow your selves in them: Account these so pretious, as the whole World cannot reduce nor recall one Minute of them. Have not your Eye on the *Glasse* how it runnes: nor on the *Clock* what it strikes. Contemplation should be more fixt, then to be so easily distracted. He, who in his *Study* gives more Eare to the Houre, then those Lines he reades, must give me leave to hold him such a Proficient, as he is rather to be accounted a *Truant* then a *Student*. Make every Evening an Accomptant of the forespent Day. Your Age is not to be reckoned by *Yeares* but *Houres*: Many are young in Houres, who are old in Years. Bestow your time in *Learning* to your *Profit*: but intertaine such *Humility* in your *Improvement*, as with *Modesty* to acknowledge it. The *Zone* where you live admits no *Solstice*: your *Academick Studies* hold Correspondence with no *Station*. You must either be *Proficients* or *Deficients*. In one Word, make God the Beginning and Ending of all your Labours: and then with a cheerful Evening will he crown all your Endeavours.

Now

Now to you, my *Daughters*, whose choicest Conforts should be Modesty, Humility and pious Industry; though your *Mother* were taken from you, before she could well inform you, or your selves capable of what she might recommend unto you; yet are you supplied in her want, by One; who, though a *Step-Mother*, (a *Name* implying an harsh *Nature*) yet be her *Steps* so imitable, that if you walke in them, they may sufficiently enable you by her Example. Doe not then *steppe* over Her with an awlesse Reverence: But observe her Directions as usefull Lessons, for the Knowledge of your selves, and Performance of those Offices, wherein you stand obliged to God and the World. I shall be sparing in speaking much to you, being so confident of her Care with whom you are; and to whose Education and Tuition, next under God, I commend you; as she will never desert you, unlesse you desert your selves.

Now the Blessing of God, and a poore languishing, but truly-loving Father, be among you: and direct you in all your Waies and Works, to his Honour who made you.

Prov. 4. 1. *Heare ye Children, the Instructions of a Father, and attend to know Understanding.*

DEATH's DREAME.

LAST Night, me thought, I saw a Great man dye,
 And none was in the Roome but He and I.
 His vitall Parts had made their Long Retreat,
 Eyes dim, Voice hoarse, his Pulse no Strength to beat.
 Yet like two antient Friends long Time acquainted,
 His Soule, me thought, would hardly be contented
 To leave the Body: or the Flesh her Guest,
 Her living Soule, without a sharpe Contest.
 But fruitlesse was this Conflict; they must yeeld,
 To Him who still came Conquerour from the Field:
 And being ready to surprize his Fort,
 It mov'd me to advise him in this Sort.
 " Let no weake Hopes of longer Life deceive you,
 " You see how your Physitians mean to leave you;

" Whose

“ Whose choice Receipts, Apothecary Bills,
 “ At such excessive Charge their Patients kills ;
 “ Are left to your Executor to pay :
 “ And for their Wage, not for your Health, they stay
 “ For that's past Cure :—Prepare then for Remove,
 “ From this poore Vale of Tears to Joyes Above :
 “ Here is a fading, there a reall blisse,
 “ Fixe then your Heart, Sir, where your Treasure is.”

Wherewith he sigh'd : and shed a trickling Teare,
 As if the Treasure of his Heart lodg'd here.

Till my Perswasions did at last so win him,
 I found, me thought, a lively Faith within him.
 For Pearled Tears did his Repentance show,
 And Eyes the Place where he was mounting to.
 Which I observing ; “ Sir, while you have Sense,
 “ (Thus I discours'd) discharge your Conscience,
 “ And set your House in Order.” “ Friend, that Care
 “ (So he reply'd) is left unto my Heire :
 “ Portions, Doles, Legacies I shall not need
 “ To write ; His Love can my Intentions read.
 “ These Cares are recommended to his Trust,
 “ And he'll discharge them, for I hold him just.
 “ My Soule hasfu'd Divorce 'twixtth' World and me,
 “ From which my Thoughts shall henceforth Strangers be,
 “ One onely Man there is whom I could wish
 “ Might never share in any State of his :
 “ For his hydroptick Drought like thirsty Ground,
 “ Gapes still for more, the more it does abound :
 “ But that I may in Charity depart,
 “ I wish his true Conversion with my Heart.”

Having my Spirituall Physick thus applide,
 With much Compos'dnesse me thought he dide.

Now HE, whom he deputed for his Heire,
 Appear'd so well dispos'd, so debonaire ;
 As none (if Dreams may represent a Truth)
 Retein'd more Seeds of Vertue in his Youth.
 But as choice Plants oft perish in their Prime,
 While Grafts of slower Growth live longer Time ;

So he ; when those pure Beamelings should appeare
 And spread their Beauty in their proper Spheare ;
 Heart-flain with Filial Love, as Chymists gather,
 Within few Dayes Death sent him to his Father :
 Leaving a lovely Lady here behind,
 Who liv'd to wear his Picture in her Mind.
 —Good God, what strong Impressions Dreames receive !
 Scarce were these Two, me thought, cold in their Grave,
 Or those Seere Funerall Flowers their Colour lost,
 Till He stept in, whom th' Father feared most ;
 Claiming a Title in this vast Estate,
 With other Three concern'd in this Debate.
 Which to compose, They were advis'd to show
 Their just Pretences, which all yeelded to.

The Place that they propos'd for this Assay,
 Was near the Porch where those two Coarces lay ;
 Those two indeared Ones, for never were
 Syre to his Son, nor Son to Syre more deare.
 Thrice did they meet, but nothing could be done ;
 One would have all : and others might have none.
 “ Earth-glude Affections will admit no Stay,
 “ Untill their Owner be reduc'd to Clay.”
 This made me muse how Men indu'd with Reason,
 Could in a Place of Death, and such a Season,
 Converse with Earth so freely, as to plead
 For their Estates that were so lately dead !
 In this Amaze, those Corpse me thought appear'd
 To their halfe Bodies from a Statue rear'd :
 Where th' Elder pale with Anger seem'd to show
 Both Death and Passion in his furrowed Brow.
 While th' Younger, more compos'd, seem'd with a Teare
 To whisper these Words in his Father's Eare.
 “ Sir, Doe you heare how these Corrivalls fight
 “ T' invest themselves in our peculiar Right :
 “ What Projects they contrive their Ends to win,
 “ While we're forgot as if we had not bin ?
 Th' incens'd Father haveing fadly eyde
 Those violent Contests ; at last replyde

With a deep-scalding Sigh, and gasp'd Groane
 Breath'd from a stemming Urne : " Was ever Moane
 " Cloath'd with lesse solemne Rites : or funeral Beares
 " Rank'd with lesse mourning Roabs and fewer Teares ?
 " Forgot as soon as Earth'd ? unhappy State
 " To make these Men our Heirs whom we did hate !"
 After which hideous Voice their Grave-stones shak't,
 Whereat the Umpires fled, and I awak't.

'Twas nothing but a Dreame ; and Dreams Men say,
 Expound themselves the clean contrary Way.
 But Dreams have Moralls too : and such had these ;
 Expound them then, Good Readers, as you please.

D E A T H's D O O M E.

*" Tot varias facies variis spectare diebus
 " Mirror, & effigies fingere credo dies.*

GILT GULL, who lin'st thy filken Sinnes with Plush,
 And car'st not for thine inward Man a Rush,
 Some two or three Years hence, or such a thing
 Pye-colour'd Jaye, thou in a Jayle maist sing.

MADAM, who made you with your Breasts display'd,
 Apishly trim'd, fantastickly array'd ?
 Your Purles, Purples, Powders must decline,
 Nought left you but a Shade, a Shroude, a Shrine.

CHURCHMAN, who taught you such a formall Dresse,
 And to forget your mainest Businesse ?
 Sir, when you dye ; you must 'fore him appeare,
 Will ask you what you *were*, not what you *weare*.

LAWYER, who learn't you to abuse the State,
 And make Lawes Spider-webs by your deceit ?
 For all your quaint Demurres, you finde no Plee
 'Gainst the *Injunction* of Mortalitie.

SOULDIER, who gave you Discipline to fight,
 To right your felfe by taking other's Right?
 This is not right; "He is not Vertue's Friend,
 "That wrongs another for his private End."

VINTNER, who school'd you to corrupt your Wine,
 To make Men's Fronts sprout like a Procupine?
 When this rich Vintage's past, for all your Plenty,
 Your *Bush* shall be pull'd down, your *Hogshead* empty.

AUTHOR, who dipt your Penne in *Hyfiocrene*,
 To gull the World with a worldly Theame?
 Leave Earth where you do live, and strive to love
 That Sphere, where Angels may your Muse approve.

ACTOR, returne, what are you? whence you came;
 To live, lust, loiter, pander and prophane?
 This is a strange *Vocation*; ever have
 Thoughts in thy *Tyring-House* upon thy Grave.

BUT if these *Motives* will not serve your Turne,
 Heere's *Mirrors* for you, Scithe, Houre-glasse, and Urne,
 Dish up your Viands then, scrape up your Crummes,
 For loe you where the *Serjeant Major* comes!

Gull, Dame, Church, Lawyer, Souldier, Author, Actor,
 Are Merchandize to *Fate*, where the Death's the Factor.

Morphuus, Urna, Rogus, Fax Clepsydra, Virga, Coronis,
Singula sunt Fati nuntia certa tui.

HYMEN's *Golden Censer*. A Spirituall Spoufall.

HYMEN unveyle thy *sacred Censers* ; let
 This *amorous Payre* in th'Pale of Fancy met,
 When thou hast clos'd their ceremoniall Rite,
 With cordial Joyes and Wreaths be-day the Night.
 May nuptiall Twists give mutual Recompence,
 And crowne their Loves with blushing Innocence.

Lovely *Leander*, when he won the *Tower*
 Where *Hero* lodg'd, he could not rest secure.
 Feares caus'd him forfeit Freedome ; while your Love,
 Sign'd here below, and registered above,
 Admits no interposing Cloud to shade
 Those *Choice Contents* for which you both were made.

Pure tender Tinder of Affection's Flame,
 Crowne *their* joynt Votes with Fancy, Fortune, Fame,
 And all that's good ; that their streight levell'd Line,
 May be a *Mirror* to this crooked Time ;
 Where *Vice* enfranchis'd strutts without controule,
 And *Vertue* droops as though she had no Soule.
 While these *pure Soules* march in that Regiment
 Where their *Restraint* is th' Orbe of their Content.

If't seeme a Paradoxe, observe that Tye,
 Which leaves Love in a linked Liberty.
 " Blest Spoufall Tye ! which though it *Captives* make
 " Those *Bonds* seeme easy for the *Keeper's* Sake."

LEDA's various Censure.

LEDA grows violent when she does heare
 Any Disgust that she has showne ?
 And welcomes her Reprover with a Teare,
 For other Refuge hath she none.
 Streight will she dye, yet knows not why ;
 O what a Salve is this, said I,
 When Crimes begge Cures from a revenging Eye !

Yet

Yet some there be hold *Leda's* Temper sweet
 Though native Passions take their Course ;
 And when those Christall Founts with Silence meet,
 They are not to be valued worfe.
 For those rins'd Eyes clearly discryes
 She feares those Foes that Vertue flyes,
 So as her Teares become Sinne's Sacrifice.

That very Night she in my Bosom lay,
 Eyes shed a Teare, Heart bred a Sigh ;
 I ask't her what she ayl'd ? She would not say,
 Onely she wish'd that Death were ny ;
 Wiping her Eye, (poore Foole,) said I.
 What wants thou, while thy *Cinna's* by ?
 She with a Smile replide, I will not dye.

Thus Fancy by a soft Remorce grew mild,
 Enliven'd with a sacred Heat :
 And to her Foe became so reconcil'd ;
 As *Fancy* took up *Furie's* Seat.
 May *Hymen* bring like *Marriage* Ring
 To Subjects Spoufall and their King.
 Still may my *Leda* touch upon this String.

What is complexion but a deep lay'd Dy
 Upon a Clot of breathing Clay ?
 What is my lovely *Leda*, or what I
 But a quick Shade, a Flower in *May* :
 Yet if our Mind be so combin'd
 As Heaven's pure Eye no Soyle can find ;
Leda's in me, and I in her inshrin'd,
 —Blest *Ordinance* that votes us so confin'd.

LIFE's HARVEST. Green Fruit.

LIGHT vading Joyes, a fading Life
 Doe ever keep me Company ;
 Where though a *Turtle* be my Wife,
 And Hopes in her Posterity,
 They are in their Minority.
 So as who justly these compares
 May finde *greene* Hopes, but *riper* Cares.

A Precious MEDALL.

LOOKE on him, who was ta'ne and tide,
 Was tofs'd and push'd to every fide,
 First deifide and then defide,
 Arraign'd for thee and crucifide.

A Thought of these will humble Pride,
 And render thee so mortifide,
 As no Earth's Losse shall thee divide
 From *Him* who for thee liv'd and dide.

The Speech of his Highness the Lord Protector, made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on *Thursday*, the 27th of *January*, 1658.

The following two Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of *Richard* the Son of *Oliver Cromwell*, the Protector, as they are very scarce, and the former serving to give us a perfect Idea of that *new* Protector; the Desire he had to continue his Father's Usurpation; the Contrivance for gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a *mixt Government*, composed of a *Parliament* and *Chief Magistrate*, as you will find in his Speech, which, abstract from the Cant of his Education and the fulsome Encomiums of his deceased Father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preserve it as well as his *Letter* to the Parliament, when he found it resolved to restore the royal Family to the Throne of its Ancestors; which shews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous Resolution of his Father, and how soon the greatest Tyrants are reduced to a State of Submission, when God pleases to release his People from their Bondage.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected some Months since to have seen this great Assembly at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; considering the great and unexpected Change, which it hath pleased the all-disposing Hand of God to make in the midst of us: I can assure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And, therefore, it will become both you and me; in the first Place, as to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands our Breath is, and whose are all our Ways, because of his Judgments; so to acknowledge him in his Goodness to these Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highness's Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

Peace was one of the Blessings of my Father's Government; a Mercy after so long a civil War, and in the midst of so great Division which that War bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a People in so great a Measure.

The Cause of God, and these Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Opposition; the
Archers,

Archers, privily and openly, forely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himself, he died full of Days, spent in great and fore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated, as it was said of *Moses*, He was serviceable even to the last.

As to these Nations, he left them in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at Home: All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* dwelling safely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, from *Dan* even to *Beersheba*.

He is gone to rest, and we are enter'd into his Labours; and if the Lord hath still a Blessing for these Lands (as I trust he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthen'd out to this Day, so shall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harvest of what his late Highness has sown, and laid the Foundation of.

For my own Part, being by the Providence of God, and the Disposition of the Law, my Father's Successor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the *public* Good to call a *Parliament* of the three Nations, now united, and conjoin'd together in one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my *Trust*, but to my *Principles*, to govern these Nations by the Advice of my *two Houses of Parliament*. I find it asserted in the humble Petition and Advice (which is the corner Stone of this Building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the chief Magistrate, in whose Advice both he and these Nations may be most safe and happy*. I can assure you I have that Esteem of them: And as I have made it the first Act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the Value I have of you, by the Answers that I shall return to the Advice that shall be given me by you, for the Good of these Nations.

You are come up from your several Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together their Good: I can say I meet you with the same Desires, having nothing in my Design, but the Maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both civil and Christian, of these Nations; which I shall always make the Measure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to spend my Life for.

We have summon'd you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them; and, I believe, a Parliament was never summon'd upon a more important Occasion.

It is true, as I have told you, we are, through the Goodness of God, at this Time in Peace; but it is not thus with us, because we have no Enemies: There are enough, both within us and without us, who would soon put an End to our

Peace, were it in their Powers, or should it, at any Time, come into their Powers.

It will be becoming your Wisdoms to consider of the securing of our Peace against those who, we all know, are, and ever will be our implacable Enemies ; what the Means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, That the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Interest of these Nations, and it will be found so, and that they are a consisting Body, and useful for any good Ends ; and, if they were not the best Army in the World, you would have heard of Inconveniencies, by reason of the great Arrear of Pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great Necessities : But you shall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual Way. And, this being Matter of *Money*, I recommend it particularly to the *House of Commons*.

You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carry'd on by the Advice of Parliament ; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the Honour and Safety of these Nations, that That War be *vigorously* prosecuted.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Affairs in all our neighbour Countries, and round about us (as well Friends as Enemies) is very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Posture able to maintain and conserve our own State and Interest.

Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be set forth into these Seas, and considerable Armies of several Nations and Kings are now disputing for the Mastery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Islands and Countries ; among which is the *Roman* Emperor, with other popish States ; I need not tell you of what Consequence these Things are to this State.

We have already interposed in these Affairs, in such manner as we found it necessary for the Interest of *England* ; and Matters are yet in such a Condition in those Parts, that this State may, with the Assistance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

The other Things that are to be said I shall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes*, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already said.

And, *first*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in these Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater Prudence should be used to cement them.

Secondly,

Secondly, The good and necessary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Administration of Justice, that Profaneness may be discountenanced and suppress'd, and that Righteousness and Justice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the *Protestant* Cause abroad, which seems, at this Time, to be in some Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe, that the old *English* Zeal to that Cause is still among us.

Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will, in all your Debates maintain and conserve Love and Unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have sent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wisdom and Peace may be among you; and this shall also be my Prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost Endeavours for the making this an *happy Parliament*.

His late Highness's Letter to the Parliament of *England*; shewing his Willingness to submit to this present Government: Attested under his own Hand, and read in the House on *Wednesday* the 25th of *May*, 1659.

I HAVE perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other Night; and for your Information, touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament; I trust my past Carriage; hitherto, hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of God, and that I love and value the Commonwealth much above my own Concernments; and I desire, that by this a Measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which, through the Assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same Witness, having, I hope, in some Degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however in respect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of these Nations;

yet, through the Goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in its being made, and do hold myself obliged, as (with other Men) I expect *Protection* from the present Government, so to demean myself, with all Peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my Power, that all, in whom I have any Interest, do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

News from BRUSSELS: In a Letter from a near Attendant on his MAJESTY's Person, to a Person of Honour here: Which casually became thus publick. 1660.

Honest JACK,

THINE, by *T. L.* our true Post Pigeon, and (I would I could not say) only expeditious Person, was mine before the Morning; and our Masters the same Minute, who took no small Delight therein: For he read it thrice, and is resolved (and swore to boot) thou art the first shall kneel under his sacred Sword. Sir *C. C.* has his Heart, and at first View he thought of waisting thither, lest he should think his Loyalty was flighted; but *H. I.* and I advised otherwise, and with some ado diverted that Intent, and got him to signify his Royal Pleasure in the inclosed; which, instantly dispatch by *Minyard* way: *F. H.* has always Passage ready. Sir *M. M.* two Hours after brought good News from his cold Country, but *Calvin* smells too rank for us to venture thither; they first betrayed his Royal Father, and after that his sacred Self: Nor are our Fortunes now at that low Ebb, to reimbarck our All in that old leaky Bottom. Prithee perswade *Sam.* to be silent, tell him it is our Master's Pleasure. Thinkest thou none knows as well as he who first conjured up this Devil, and cursed them that would not curse and fight against his Majesty in *Meroz* Name: yes, we can look, tho' through our Fingers: This Rebellion first bubbled up in Presbyterian Pulpits; yet it's impolitick to say so much: We also know, 'tis more for Fear of the Fanaticks, than for Love to us, they now are loyal; so also it is our Necessity, not Choice, that makes us court them: Hug them, you cannot hang, at least until you can: Would *Lall* had longer Lips; I hate to shew the Teeth before we bite: We choak our Dogs with Crufts as well as Pins; no Cur will eat a Pin alone: A blue Ribbon and a Star we know will unbecome a Rebel's Shoulder, but Fishes bite at Baits; he is an Afs that angles and hides not his Hook: How
most

most unhappy is my Sovereign Lord, that the Impatience of his Friends should be as perillous to his Fortunes as the Pikes of his Enemies ; we never yet well minded our next Work ; he's a Fool that thinks when the Needle's in, the Thread wont follow : Set then your helping Hand to this, let that alone ; procure the Cause, and 'tis impossible to separate the Effect. But he comes in on Terms? and is bound up? Tush ! remember that blessed Line I marked in *Machiavel* ; he's an Oafe that thinks an Oath, or any Tender, can tame a Prince beyond his Pleasure. *Zeruiah's* Sons lived to *David's* great Dislike, but 'twas but till he could kill them more conveniently : and prithee what did *Shimei's* Pardon do but planch him up : They can't abide to see his House a Round-head Hive ; 'tis true, 'tis much that any can : Are you yet to learn to make Necessity a Virtue ? Who doubts but that *C. Borgia* did his Business better, by lulling *Vitelloz* asleep, than to have hazarded all by the uncertain Chance of Fortune : 'Tis a Romance to think Revenge can sleep, but like a Dog, to wake at will : 'Tis true, served we a Prince that needed Spurs, this Humour might be cherished ; but alas, we rather use all the Art and Arguments we can to rein him in : Hadst thou but seen his Passion when *Ms Pedigree* came over, thou wouldest have said he had Steel enough—Seal *Rob. Lips*, I pray thee, for Fear it may disserve him at Dinner ; 'twas, and in some Degree is, too publick. There need no Record for a Rival ; yet is it laid (by strict Command) next *Murrye's* Manuscript, and will one Day be reviewed ; till then *Plantagenet's* in Pickle. But I'll retain our (most absolutely necessary) Discourse, for thy farther Satisfaction : Canst fancy, that our Master can forget he had a Father, how he liv'd and dy'd, how he lost both Crown and Life, and who the Cause thereof? Never Monarch yet had a Memory half so bad. Ne'er fear it, there's Fire enough in his Father's Ashes (though yet invisible) to burn up every Adversary ; only our clamorous Impatience would have all at once : Give Time, he ascends most safe, that does it *gradatim* ; overstraining not only spends the Strength too fast, but does endanger falling more : Remember our dread Liege Lord (if ever guilty of an Error) miscarried here ; from what a Hope fell he and we, for want of following *S. S.* Advice : All or none, is a Game not for a Prince to play, but Desperadoes, whose Fortunes rise and set with every Sun. The *Presbyter* will give up the *Fanatick*, a handsome Bone to pick at first : I like it better far than all at once ; Excess brings Surfeits : Thus half the Beard they shave themselves, let us alone with t'other : Drown first the Kitlings, let the Dam that litter'd them alone a little longer : They glory they are *Orthodox* ; hear, and hold still thy Head, let us alone to find out fresh *Fanatics*, and beat them back into King *Harry's* Cod-piece. We know the Sec-taries had a Sire, and whose spurious Brood they are ; even as the Puritan was

the Off-set of the Protestant : *Spain's* Attack revive as oft as well thou canst ; 'tis a good Blind, and propagates our Master's Interest : *Wat* came since my last, and will not let our Lord alone, till he fees a Lecture up in Court, and Chaplains preach before him, ordained by the Presbytery ; and one *Waldense* is come already. O *Jesu* ! *Jack*, I want an Iron Hoop to keep my Sides from Splitting, to see my poor Prince bite's Lips for half an Hour long, while that *Dulmano* begs a Blessing (as he calls it) as our Mech-beggars do their Bacon at the Farmers Doors : *G.* got behind him yesterday and made Mouths, which the Puppy by an unhappy Turn of his Head perceived ; but his Majesty seeing all, prudently anticipated his Complaint, and with a Royal Gravity, not only rebuked *G.* but immediately dismiss'd him his Service.

We all made Application to the Parson to mediate to our Master for *G.* his Restoration, which he did ; and after much Intreaty, his request was graciously granted ; but not for *G.* his Sake, but for his ; and but on future good Behaviour neither : *M. H.* and I, were in the Presence at Night, but I thought we should have split our Spleens with Laughing : But by these Means all was healed ; and henceforward we are all commanded to be plaguy godly. *H.* bid me hand his Service to thee ; he swears he hath horn'd 15 Cuckolds within these 14 Days.—Mind the Militia most, talk not of disbanding, one Pin naturally drives out another. *A. B.* at parting swore he would see that execrable Exit rased out ; whom so assist he may not suffer. Let *T^h.* continue his Caresses, and bid him not jeopard such broad Jokes no more ; he says she stinks of Piss and Horse-spice. *D. F. C.* and —— court upon all Occasions : If *M. M.* and —— stand right, we ask no more, City, Land, and Sea is our own : That Reformation likes us rarely well, though we wonder he would hazard all upon such a rash Adventure. Bid *Phil.* and his Brother both be close, they now may list and none the wiser : we dared not let the *Nuntio* see the Sun. We hope our Friends droop still, and curse him whom most they covet.—Let not thy Lady know our *Italian* Tye : The Devil can't track us if we three keep our Tongue within our Teeth. Fret not, nor afflict thyself nor Friend, for we resolve the Rogues that left the Rump, shall feel the Scourge that loyal Hearts lash Rebels with, as well as others ; a Roundhead is a Roundhead ; black and white Devils all alike to us.—Thinkest thou that we can breath in Peace, while we see a little Finger left alive that hath been dipt in Royal Blood ? or his Adherents ? No, a Thought of Mercy more hateful is than Hell : But Cooks may be Conquerors, and a Plate perform equal Execution with a Pistol, and with less Report. Be quiet then, let's use all Art to make them take the Halter tamely. Press the speedy raising of the City Regiments—and out the Rogue at Stern ; what Folly is't to think we can safely ferry, while the Fleet's Fanatick ?

natick? This done, let our Cause miscarry if it can. *Maz.* met *Wat.* and gave him sound Advice. Get Arms, but buy them not in such suspicious Numbers; that if all fails, we may repair to them, and cut our Passage to the Throne through Traitors Blood. Farewell.

Brussels, O. S. March 10, 1659.

The late News or Message from *Bruxels* unmasked: And his Majesty vindicated, from the base Calumny and Scandal therein fixed on him.

As this Paper was not inserted in the original Collection of the *Sommers-Pamphlets*, it has not in strictness a right to a place in this Selection. But it may be fairly presumed, that, having so immediate a reference to the foregoing Piece, its omission can only be accounted for, on the idea, that the former Editor was not in possession of it: the introduction of it therefore in the present volume, can need no apology, both, as it tends to make a curious little tract from the pen of the celebrated *Mr. Evelyn* better known; and also forms a natural and proper sequel, in an elegant and loyal answer to the foregoing fierce and bitter republican invective.

It is reprinted from a Copy in the possession of *Mr. Bindley*.

THE last night came to my view, a Paper intituled, *News from Brussels, &c.* At the reading whereof, I could not but in some measure be astonished, to Imagine, that such exquisite Malice, should still have its continuance, and prevalence amongst some people, against that person who should (if they duely considered their duties,) be most Dear, Tender, and Sacred to them; such a vein I perceived there was of forged and fictitious stuff, put into a most malicious dress of Drollery, running through the whole Tenor thereof, and snapping and biting all along as it went, in that sense, as might be sure most to fix calumny and slander upon that royal person, whom it chiefly intended to wound; That I could not but contemplate thus with my self: Is it not enough that, That Innocent Prince, ever since his Tender years, hath been hunted like a Partridge upon the mountains from place to place, from one nation to another people, robbed and spoyled.

spoiled of his large and ample Patrimony and Dominions, and enforced to live (as it were) upon the Alms and Charity of his Neighbour Princes, But his bright and shining vertues, most manifest and apparent to the whole world, must still be subject to the reproach and scandal of every lascivious, black, and sooty quill? Wert thou a Christian (Base forger) and not a foul feind rather, clothed with humanity; Methinks the consideration of this very particular, should draw Tears from thine eyes, or rather blood from thy heart, then such cursed drops of mischievous malice, to issue from thy disloyal and corrupted brain? But if thou call to mind that transcendently barbarous murder, of his most glorious and Martyred father, such as no Age since *Adam*, ever paralell'd; And the deep stain of that Sacred and Royal blood (now crying under the Altar) which fasten upon thee; and thy therein guilty and bespotted Soul: (For, it is more then guessed who thou art) what horreur and trembling should justly seize thy joints, and shake the scribbling instrument, of such thy traitorously invented mischief, out of thy loathed and bloody hands? After which contemplation, I took a more strict and wary view of the particulars in that scandalous Scrole: And having observed, what cunning subtilty, This forger had shewed, and what tools he had made use of, to stamp and Mint this false and counterfeit Coyn, I resolved to publish it, which I am perswaded will not be ingrateful to any, unless such, who are of the Forgers crew; and of what sort and principles they are, it is well known.

First, he hath prepared a number of letters, which he would have the reader think, to intend the persons now about his Majesty, whose names relate to them: But see, how in *ipso Lumine*, he bewrays his own fictitious guilt; for this *H. I.* which he would have thought to be the *L. Iermin*, this person was known to be elsewhere, far distant from *Bruxels*, at the time of the date of that piece of Forgery: In the next place, it is observable, That before he hath wrote five lines, he fixes a Notorious lye upon his Majesty, and chargeth him with Swearing; A thing it is most manifestly known, he is so free from, That all his Attendants may be challenged to relate, if they can, whether, ever they heard a profane oath to come from him, much less used upon such a ridiculous idle occasion, as this forger mentions; It being Notorious that he is, and ever hath been, so reserved in bestowing those ready Jewels of honour (The only Treasure he is, or can be unrob'd of) That it is not any way probable, he should squander one away, for a Letter, and less likely, that he should publickly say and swear this. Within a few lines after he Talks of his Majesties Resolution to waft over into *Ireland*; For his *S. C. C.* he would have understood, to be meant Sir *Charles Coot*; a very probable business, as he relates it: Pray Sir which way should he waft (as you phrase it) it is a sign you have more skill in Forgery then in Geography, and the situation

situation of places, and nations: Next, he fains News to arrive out of *Scotland*, which is the cold Country he means; But his two hours mentioned, smells so rank of brags, that it renders it, at first scent, a perfect counterfeit: And what must this News do? onely introduce an occasion to abuse and slander his sacred Majesty, and render him odious to those of the Presbyterian Tenets, which indeed is the whole scope and Tenor of this scurrulous doughty Epistle, and to make some persons here think, that there is such a stock of rancour and malice, and such deep thoughts of revenge, harboured in the hearts and minds of all persons attending the KING, and in his own Royal heart likewise, That whatever pretences and shews are at present made to the contrary, to compass their ends, yet the issues and effects of this Malice and Revenge, shall in due time so appear, and manifest it self; That there is not a man, who hath shewed any opposition to himself, or his late Royal Father, but sooner or later shall feel their sad and direful stroke: And this Impress he hath so Machiavelianly, and with such art and cunning, besprinkled and scattered over the whole Paper, and in such several subtle and wiley ways, and such seeming real phrases, proper for such persons, who he would fain to be the Writer, and Receiver, That none but his grand Tutor and Instructor, The Devil himself (and scarce he neither) could possibly outdo him, in some parts, of this piece of artificial forgery: Others there be, which clearly discover the Rat by his squeaking: But above all, that bold and impudent lye, in representing that meek and gentle PRINCE, to have no need of spurs to Revenge, but rather a Rein to hold him in from it, is such a piece of open and notoriously known falshood, That it is to be wondered at, That he should escape a Dart from heaven, into his false and hollow fly heart, whilst he was staining the *paper*, with that most mischievous malicious expression, it being so known and manifest to all about him; That nothing hath ever been, or is, more frequent with him, in his ordinary converse; Then to express his firm and constant resolution, to adhere close to the advertisement of his Royal Martyred Father, who *inter voces extremas* (as it were) left a preceptory advice to the contrary. Of such sort likewise, is this Pasquil of the Pedigree he mentions; false fictions of a son of *Belial*, which will remain in pickle to arise up against this forger, at a Tribunal, where the offspring of a *Plantagenet*, whose most innocent blood he hath suck'd, will bring in a Record beyond *Murryes* Manuscript, which will fright his guilty soul down to that place of horror, prepared for him and his fellow *Regicides*, his Pin, Crust, and Dog, Dam, and Kittlings, Piss and Horse-spice, King *Harry's* Cod-piece, and the concealed Nuntio, and all that sort of ænigmatical and Ribbald (yet very significant and malicious) Drollery; what is it, but the filthy foam of a black and hellish mouth, arising from a viperous and venomous heart, industriously

and maliciously set upon doing what cursed mischief lies within the sphere of his cashiered power, in such a conjecture of Time as this, when the Nation's hopes are in a full and just expectation of receiving a perfect cure of those bleeding deep wounds, and wastful, and consuming miseries made, and continued by him, and his fellow plotters, which they have so long lay panting and groaning under?

The Star and blew Ribbon, he speaks of, will be every way as fit, for the shoulder which hath given him and his party such a shove, and as deservedly, as a hempen halter will be for this forgers own Neck: And 'tis very possible and probable too, They may both take their different effect in due time, though we see what art is used to thrust that shoulder from its due merit by such the Forger subtleties. The *Romance* of his *Waldense Dulmano*, Byting the lip, with all the Dependent sequel of such a parcel of Montebanquery, that it confutes it self in its own relation; as also other his so openly known falsities, insinuated by bits in a subtle way of seeming Drollery, but very saw-tooth'd in its sense and signification: And the aim of all is, to catch the common and vulgar apprehensions, & draw them again into such amaze & delusion, As they may yet once more (if possible) fall under the worrying power of him, and such like Ravenous Beasts of Blood, Prey, and Rapine: Sir, your Nets are seen, and your fallacies fail you, The hooks you mention are laid too visibly; The fish you would catch, are so far from swallowing, they will not bite at all; you were best therefore go shave your own beard, as you have those, in your Letter, and your Scull too: And if your brain prove not thence more pregnant, 'Twill serve (However) to stuffe your powch in stead of what, such your Angels were intended, to have holpen you to: And I would wish you also to take this Advice from a friend, Give over your Angling this way, and appear no more in publick at the side of this Pool, least you be tumbled in over head and ears, and your self become both the Bait and Prey to those you thus endeavour to catch, and delude by such your Drolling subtleties.

And now having done with your forged Calumnies, I shall upon this just occasion, desire leave to tell you, and those whom they were intended to beguile and work upon; that the Prince and Sovereigne (whom it is so apparent, your grand aim by this designe was to wound, though through the fictitious sides of others, set up in your own Fancy) is one, to whom both you and they, owe a Duty, and Allegiance, by all the Laws of God, Nature, and the Land. And however, you for your part, have a minde to forget, and are not pleased to own it, it is (however) not the lesse his due: And it is not altogether impossible, but

upon better and due consideration, of the horrid guilt you lye under, Divine Grace may hereafter be so infused into you, and you thereby be made so sensible of your Crime, that perhaps you may yet cheerfully return to such your bounden duty, and by your future demeanour, wash off those stains, wherewith your guilty Soul is now so foully bespotted : which that you may the more readily doe, I shall truly, and as knowingly, as I believe it is possible for any in this Nation, give you this just and due character, of that most vertuous and excellent Prince, whom (whatever your thoughts are now) it is possible you may one day esteem it your chief honour to style, your dear and dread Lord and Sovereigne, which is truly such, that in the opinion of very many wise and knowing men, it would put the whole Christian world upon some difficulty, to find his parallel or equal in all respects ; His Birth and Extraction is known to be so transcendently illustrious, that what Prince is there upon Earth, that can challenge a greater or a more Noble, and Kingly, and for longer continuance, for Centuries of years : His Person so lovely, amiable, and gracefull, that it even captivates the eyes of all Beholders, and every where generates, a noble and generous affection respect, and clemency, from the chiefeſt Enemies of his Ancestors, and of our Nation and Dominions. His parts and endowments such, that were we free from subjection to him, by all Laws, and to make search throughout all Nations and People, for a complete and well accomplished Personage to Rule over us, common Fame and Report could not but send us to him ; so meek, gentle, and sweet of Behaviour ; so firm, constant, and obliging in his Friendships, so milde, modest, and patient in his Afflictions and Sufferings ; yet upon occasion so full of Princely courage and magnanimity, so knowing and discerning in his Reason and Judgement, and by his retirement, so fitted and adapted for moderate Government : but above all, so firmly and irremoveably fixed, to the profession of the true Protestant Religion, testified many wayes against the cunning Arts, and subtle attempts and allurements, of the most inveterate enemies thereof : That it is an infamy, never to be washed off from this Nation, (unlesse the now general vote and desire thereof be hearkened to, and take effect in such manner, as may in some sort purge the same) that such a Prince as he, so qualified in all respects, and so innocent likewise, as to the first cause of difference, and ever since, also, saving his desire, and pursuance of his just and undoubted Birth-right ; a thing which the meanest of us would be condemned for by all, even by our very selves, should we omit, or be negligent of, were it but for a poor Cottage ; I say, that such a Prince as He, together with his Illustrious, Heroick, and high-born Brethren, (all of them, even in this their eclipsed obscurity, the renown and glory of our Nation) should (as is

hinted before) be chased from such an ample and splendid Patrimony, and large Dominions, and that by his own Native Subjects, and Liege People, and suffered to wander, nay, by their means hunted from place to place, from one Nation (as is premised) to another People, and forced to live upon the Almes and Charity (as it were) of those, who doubtlesse are not without their grand designe upon Him, and all his Dominions, as (it may be feared) Time will sooner or later cleerly manifest, besides, the subjecting Him, and that whole Royal race, by this means, to the Enticements and Allurements, and to the Stratagems, Nets, and Entanglements of those Romish Rooking Gamesters, who are ranging in all parts for their prey, and will be fure to leave no stone unmoved, to work their wicked ends, where such a quarry of Royal Game, are to be flown at, and with such advantage (as the case stands with them) to be attempted; that the very contemplation thereof, cannot methinks but draw Tears from the Eyes, and almost Blood from the Hearts, of all Pious, Loyal Protestant Christians, who have any sense and feeling, as they ought, of that deep dishonour and reproach, which by this very meanes, must needs redound to the professors of the true Protestant Religion, in all parts and places whatsoever, and no lesse sport and pastime to the great Vicar general at *Rome*, and his Court and Conclave: but as in the ground where Gold grows, nothing (it is said) will thrive but Gold, so God hath hitherto preserved this vertuous Prince, most firm, sound, and entire, in the true Orthodox Faith, and no doubt but will so continue Him, and make him not only in Title, but really and indeed a most magnanimous Defender thereof, against all its adversaries.

And whereas there is either a real or seeming fear in some sort of guilty people (and thereby the desired settlement much disturbed and retarded) that if the old Government take place againe, and the right Pilot come at the Head and Stern thereof, that there will be such rankor, malice and revenge put in practice, by the all along adherers to the Royal Interest, against such as any time opposed them; and thereby such losse, damage and sufferings sustained, with divers other vain and empty fears, jealousies and conjectures. Now, as the true Character of his sacred Majesty himselfe, is before very faithfully expressed, so surely it will not seem incongruous and impertinent upon this just occasion likewise, to interpose this sincere and unfeigned protestation, on the behalfe of those Adherers to the Royal Interest; That as their principles are truly Christian, so they most earnestly desire to pursue the due practice of them accordingly. And whatsoever is forged in that malicious piece, before at large spoken of that Loyal party, especially the main bulk and body of them (who are only considerable in this case, and Extravagants and not to be regarded) are so far from

from any thoughts of Rankor, Malice, and Revenge, in that particular, or any aime of making good their Losses by the Estates of others (a usual vogue raised by our Peace-opposers) that they do as fully and unfainedly forgive them, and all sorts of them, as they desire of Heaven the forgivenesse of their own transgressions, and do so far detest the thought of repairing their losses, that way feared, that to see his Majesty restored, and thereby a firm and lasting Peace settled, that so it may be conveyed to posterity, they would not onely very cheerfully sit down by all their Losses and Sufferings, but many thousands of them willingly sacrifice much of their present Fortunes, and some of them their Lives too, as a grateful offertory for such a seasonable and all-healing mercy.

KING CHARLES II. His Declaration to all His Loving Subjects of the Kingdom of **ENGLAND.** Dated from His Court at **BREDA** in *Holland*, the $\frac{4}{14}$ of *April*, 1660, and read in Parliament, *May* 1, 1660. Together with His **MAJESTY'S** Letter of the same Date, to his Excellence the Lord General **MONCK**, to be communicated to the Lord **PRESIDENT** of the Council of State, and to the Officers of the Army under his Command.

The *DECLARATION.*

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith. To all our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever greeting. If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a Desire and Longing that these Wounds which have so many Years together been kept Bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no Purpose. However after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty, to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto. And that as we can never give over Hope in good Time to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will in Compassion to us and our Subjects (after so long Misery and Sufferings) remit us and put us into a quiet and peaceable Possession, of that our Right, with as
little

little Blood and Damage to our People, as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanting and deserved.

And to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers and People, to their just ancient and fundamental Rights: We do by these Presents declare, That we do grant a full and general Pardon, which we are ready to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within forty Days after the Publication hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall by any public Act declare their doing so; And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects, excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*, those only excepted: Let our Subjects how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present *Declaration*, That no Crime whatsoever committed against us or our Royal Father before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question against any of them, to the least Indamagement either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estate; or (as far forth lies in our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputation, by any Reproach or Term of Distinction from the rest of our best Subjects. We desiring and ordaining that henceforward all Notes of Discord, Separation and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolished among all our Subjects, whom we unite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under our Protection, for the Re-settlement of our just Rights and theirs in a *free Parliament*; by which upon the Word of a King we will be advised.

And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed or better understood: We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man shall be disquieted or called in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: And that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence: And because in the continued Distractions of so many Years, and so many great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to, and by many Officers and Soldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon
several

several Titles, We are likewise willing that all such Differences, and all Things relating to such Grants, Sales and Purchasers, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the Purposes aforesaid, and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of General *MONCK*: And that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manuel and Privy Signet at our Court at *Breda*, this fourteenth Day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

Received the First of *May*, 1660.

A seasonable ADVERTISEMENT to all that desire an happy Settlement, particularly to those of the Royal Party. Being, I. The Extract of a Letter from *Breda*. And II. A Letter written upon it to a Friend in the Country.

[We are told by Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, in his History of *England*, that Chancellor *Hyde* had a constant Communication with many of the King's Party, but with none more cordially and effectually than Dr. *John Barwick*, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*, and who had been ejected out of his Fellowship in *St. John's* in *Cambridge*. As therefore we can scarce help concluding, that the following Extract was writ by the said Chancellor, it may be fairly presumed, from the Scope and Tendency of it, that the Doctor was the Person to whom it was address'd: But whoever were the Correspondents, the Papers themselves are not only a Matter of Curiosity, but of Use; as they serve to shew what a Spirit of Meekness the Court affected to put on, while the great Affair of the *Restoration* was depending, and how much the wisest Men among the Clergy then thought it for their Interest, not to be so transported with their *Loyalty*, as to forget their *Christianity*.]

The EXTRACT.

S I R,

WHEN Mr. *W.* left us, I had so much upon my Hands to dispatch, that I obliged him to make my Excuse to you for not writing, which he promised to do very confidently; and next to not writing at all, the Dispatch I shall now send you will need a new Excuse. For the Truth is, I am now almost in as much Haste as when he left me. The King came hither but on *Wednesday*, and I but last Night, so that having but two or three Hours to make use of a safe Messenger, I can hardly find the Letters I am to answer.

I am heartily glad that Mr. *D.* is with you, whom you will find a very *worthy* and *discreet* Person, and fit to join with you in allaying the *too much Heat* and *Distemper* which some, that pretend to be our *Friends*, are in this present Conjunction very much accused of: Infomuch as this very last Post hath brought over three or four *Complaints* to the King of the very unskilful Passion and Distemper of some of your *Divines* in their late Sermons, with which they say both the *General* and *Council of State* are highly offended, as truly they have great Reason to be, if (as they report) there have been *Menaces* and *Threats* used against those who are in Power, and seem very willing and desirous to improve all Opportunities towards a happy *Settlement*. One *D. Gr.* is mention'd for having *preach'd a Sermon in that Kind*, and since *printed* it, and dedicated it to the *General*, who they say is extremely offended at it. *Other Persons* are likewise named, as guilty of the same *Indiscretions*, who are so well known to me that I do not believe it. It is too much that the least Occasion of Offence is given by any, especially those that should be the *Lights* and *Guides* to others, and teach them, by their Examples as well as Doctrine, to make better Use of their late Sufferings than to retain any *Bitterness* or *Uncharitableness in their Hearts*. The King hath been very earnestly desired, by some of his Friends there, to send some such *Order* and *Reprehension* under his own Hand, as may restrain those Excesses, and prevent the like hereafter, in all that profess Devotion to his Service, both of the *Laity* and *Clergy*; but it is not easy to do it in the Way that is prescribed, and the *Informations* being several, and not very coherent, we cannot possibly believe they are exact in all Particulars. However, the King is really troubled at it, and extremely apprehensive of the *Inconvenience* and *Mischief*, both to the *Church* and *Himself*, from Offences of that kind; and so are all that are about him, notwithstanding (you tell me) the *contrary Opinion* is so much endeavoured by the Enemies of Peace to be infused into the Hearts of the credulous

credulous People, of which I hope we shall in Time convince them by our *Actions*. And he hath *commanded* me, not only to desire you and Mr. *D.* to use your Credit and Persuasions with those that are thus complained of, and to let them know from his *Majesty* what Sense he hath of it; but, if you find Occasion, that you also desire *B. E.* and *B. S.* to interpose their *Authority* to inform or reprove them into such a Temper, as may qualify them to make a better Judgment of the Season, and not to give the least Occasion of awakening those *Jealousies* and *Apprehensions* which all good and prudent Men should by all means endeavour to *extinguish*; and the rather, because it is the Interest of some Men to make a Mountain of every Mole-hill of this kind which they can possibly meet with. And truly, I hope, that if these Occasions of Offence be but carefully avoided, our public Affairs, both in relation to the Church and State, are in a better Tendency towards a happy Settlement, than these indiscreet (though never so well meaning) Men imagine; who, I presume, will be more troubled that the *Church* should undergo a new Suffering by their *Imprudence*, than for all they have suffered hitherto in themselves. I should not have enlarged thus far upon this Particular (being thus much straiten'd in Time) but only that I have *Special Command* for it: Nor had that Command been laid upon me, if his *Majesty* had not had very particular Information and Complaint in this Point. And I am sure this Advertisement cannot be without some Fruit, though in Truth there should be no just Grounds for the Complaint. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily,

S. I R,

Breda, April $\frac{6}{18}$,
1660.

Your most affectionate Servant.

The LETTER.

S I R,

IF the *Inland-post* had but fallen out as pat for conveying this inclosed Extract to you, as the Passage by Sea was favourable to bring the Original to my Hand, it might have been sent a Day sooner than it is; though when you compare the Date, you will wonder it should be so nimble as it is. But the Subject is of that Nature, as required not only Communication to Friends, but Haste; and when I have once lodged this in the Post-Office, I have discharged

Z z

myself

myself of both as well as I can, in reference to you. I am very sorry any of us should need a Monitor, (after *God's* Hand has been so long upon us) to teach us that vital Act of *Christianity*, *Charity*, which *suffereth long*, and is *kind*, *envieth not*, (ὁ περπερεύεται) *does nothing* (*perperam*, or) *rashly*, *thinketh no Evil*, *beareth all Things*, *believeth all Things*, *hopeth all Things*, *endureth all Things*. It is visible enough, that the want of this great *Virtue* was the *Original* of our *Sufferings*; and till it be reduced into the Hearts of all Persons, of what Party soever, (the Patients as well as the Agents) we cannot hope to see that perfect and durable Composure and Settlement of these unhappy Differences, which all Men now so earnestly desire, excepting those only that desire to make their *private Gain* out of the *public Loss*. You see how perfectly this *formalis ratio* of *Christianity* is planted, how exactly this Image of *Christ* is formed in the Heart of him, whom we ought to look upon as his *Vicegerent* over us: And if we had no more but his Example to teach us the same Lesson, it is such a *Topic* as was wont to be argumentative beyond all Exception, even among the very Heathens, when *Regis ad exemplum*, &c. became, in a manner, a proverbial Aphorism. And surely, I cannot now see how any Man can pretend to be of his *Party*, that will not be of his *Affections*; considering that, beside this, nothing can now denote a Man of *his Party*, since of the two old characteristical Notes, *Doing* and *Suffering*, the one is at an End, and the other very near it, if our Sins or Follies do not continue us in it. But beside this, when we have so many and strong Motives to what is our Duty, pressed upon us by him whose Commands ought to be sacred to us, and signified by so good an Hand as you know this was; I hope none will be so foolish as not to yield a free and full Obedience to what is here enjoined; and to bless *God* for his good Hand upon the Heart of him from whom it comes, who is so careful of us all, while some are so careless of themselves. I hope you will excuse that little Passion wherein this is written, which has no other Motive than an earnest Desire of the public Good of this Church and Kingdom. I confess it hath transported me to use these superfluous Arguments to you, which I might have received much improved from you, if I had not prevented you in them: But in that the Loss is mine, and therefore I hope it will expiate my Fault herein, without begging your Pardon for it. All that I desire of you, is to peruse over the inclosed Extract, and to make what Use of it among your Neighbours and Acquaintance, your own Piety and Prudence will think necessary or convenient. I must not conceal from you, that I have already been advised by Friends (whose Wisdom I much reverence) to print it: But you see, the Person that writes it doubts whether the *Information* was *exactly true* (which I hope he has good Reason to do,

seeing I never heard of any *Menaces* or *Threats* used by any); and besides that, it is too palpable a Transgression of the Rules of corresponding, to print another Man's Letter (though the Person were of much meaner Quality than this is) without his Consent; though I confess I should otherwise have thought it not unnecessary. Instead of that, you see I have made use of this Way, tho' more laborious to me; and the rather, that I may take an Occasion with it to hint unto you (as I do to my other Friends) how convenient it is thought to be by our Friends here, for the Nobility and chief Gentry of your County, who have heretofore been of the King's Party, to make some public Declaration of their Willingness to *forget what is past*, and lay aside all *Animosities* for the future, and freely acquiesce in what the Parliament shall do, in order to a happy Settlement; which healing Method is already under Consideration (if not perfectly concluded upon) by the County of *Somerset*, and I believe will be made use of in many other Places. I shall willingly confess my Opinion to agree with yours, if you shall think it convenient that the *suffering Clergy* should go before the rest in such a *Christian Duty*, either by *Exhortation* or *Example*. But the Truth is, they are so far dispersed, as I cannot conceive how they can do it by *Example*: And I can assure you, those that are here, are not wanting to use their *Exhortations* to it, both in private Persuasions and Letters to their Friends; and those that have the use of the Pulpit, preach that Doctrine in the general, whereof this is a particular Branch: and I hope those in the Country will do the like. That as most of them have given a good Example of *Patience* in their Sufferings, so they may do the like in *Charity* in their future Actions, and thereby declare to all the World, how perfectly they are the Disciples of our great Master, and how really the Ministers of the *Gospel of Peace*.

I beseech you pardon this impertinent Tedioufness, which can signify nothing to you, but only that my Heart is full; and yet I find a continual Stream of the same Thoughts and affections flowing in from all our Friends here, which makes them vent themselves by this Exundation. But however, I shall here shut the Sluice, with this Assurance, that I am,

S I R,

London, April 12,
1660.

Your most affectionate Servant.

Out of the Collections of the same noble Duke.

The Three Royal Cedars, or GREAT BRITAIN'S glorious Diamonds ; being a Royal Court Narrative of the Proceedings, Travels, Letters, Conferences, Speeches, and conspicuous Resolutions of the most High and Renowned KING, *CHARLES*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great-Britain, France, and Ireland*, His Highness PRINCE *JAMES*, Duke of YORK, and the most Illustrious PRINCE *HENRY*, Duke of GLOCESTER.

With a brief History of their memorable Transactions, Results, and judicious Councils, since their too-much lamented Exile in *Flanders*, and the Lord Chancellor HYDE, the Marquess of ORMOND, the Earl of NORWICH, the Lord WENTWORTH, the Lord DIGBY, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen created Lords of His MAJESTY'S Privy-Council.

Also, The resplendent Vertues appearing in these *Princely Pearls*, to the great Joy of all Loyal Subjects, who have for their Sovereign a just KING to govern, a valiant DUKE to defend, and a wise COUNSELLOR to advise.
1660.

By E. SANDERS, Esq; a Lover of his Country's Liberty, and a Loyal Subject and Servant to his Sacred Majesty.

DIVINE Providence having been pleased to return the Subject to his due Allegiance, and to give Encouragement to those who have constantly continued Loyal, that they may at length once more enjoy Happiness, and every Man sit under his own Vine, and under his own Fig-tree, which the God of Heaven be praised, we have now greater Hopes of than ever ; Moderation and Impartiality are the chiefest Virtues of a loyal Pen ; tis such a Task I chiefly aim at, no less than the difficult Travels of our most high and renowned King, with his exiled Nobles, *Charles* the Second, Heir apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and Crowned King of *Scots*, touching whom I intend to treat. He was born on the 29th of *May*, 1630, to the great Joy of the King, Queen, and indeed the whole Kingdom ; for never yet had *England* a Prince born of so Noble
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an Extract, and Grand Alliance ; his Father, by lineal Right and Descent, King of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* ; his Mother, Daughter to that thrice Illustrious Prince *Henry IV.* King of *France*, and worthily surnamed *the Great*, and *Isabella* Infanta of *Spain*. By his Grandmother's Side was he nearly allied to the Kings of *Denmark*, by the Marriage of his Aunt, the Noble Princess *Elizabeth*, to the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, and King of *Bohemia* ; and afterwards, by the Marriage of his Royal Sister the Princess *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange*. Thus was he allied to most of the potent Princes in Christendom. And happy might this Nation have been under his Government, if we may believe the Vogue of that wisest of Men *Solomon*, who pronounces that Kingdom blessed, whose Prince is the Son of Nobles.

But to return to his Majesty in *Flanders* ; of whose itinerary Life we have already given you a particular Account ; it will not be impertinent to say somewhat of his sedentary and retired living, that by his Œconomy we may judge of his Monarchy, and of the Government of those few Subjects in his Family, of that of his three Kingdoms.

His Majesty hath spent most of his Time, wherein he hath been out of his Dominions, in *Flanders*, under the Protection of the Catholick King of *Spain*, nor had he ever any where else so settled a Court and Habitation as here, where his chief Attendants are the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Digby*, and many others, Nobles and Gentlemen, whose Loyalty to his sacred Majesty, and his Royal Father hath many Exiles to their Country ; a particular Number of which he makes use of for his Council, doing nothing without serious and mature Advice ; and yet being of so sagacious a Judgment, that whatever he says is seldom contradicted by the most judicious of his Councillors, not out of Fear or Flattery, but out of a real Assent to, and Concurrence with his Judgment.

And indeed those great Opportunities which he hath had, by his so long being Abroad, of diving into the great Counsels of Foreign Princes and States, must necessarily make him a Person of a very perspicuous Understanding, endow him with all those Qualities which may deservedly attain the Name of Great, and render him as well an able Statist, as a King ; he having during his expulsion travelled through, and lived in the Countries of three, the most potent Princes in Christendom, *viz.* the Emperor of *Germany*, and the Kings of *Spain* and *France* ; and so to the *German* Resolution added the *Spaniard's* Prudence, and the *Frenchman's* Expedition.

To these extraordinary Helps which never Prince in Christendom can boast of, we may yet add, those more than ordinary Gifts wherewith Nature hath been pleased

pleased to endow him, which being so extremely improved, we can hardly now discern ; but that it may be known what they were, take the Character of an Honourable Lord upon his Death-bed, who speaking of him when about fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, hath these Words: *Truly I never saw greater Hopes of Virtue in any young Person than in him : Great Judgment, great Understanding, strong Apprehension, much of Honour in his Inclinations.* So that both Nature and Industry have seemed to use their utmost Endeavours to make him a perfect Prince, his very Affliction turning in his Benefit, and making him in Knowledge and Sufferings (the Refiner of Knowledge) unparallel'd. Some foreign Princes as well envying, as pitying his Expulsion.

This perfect Knowledge of his he hath indeed had but small Occasion to practise, except a little in *Scotland* ; where, I think, he demonstrated himself a Person so prudent and careful in his Affairs, that it is beyond my Pen's Expression.

His Subjects Good was his only Care ; nor did he ever act any Thing but what might tend more to theirs than his own Interest ; still consulting whether it might benefit them, not himself.

His Letter to Col. *Mackworth*, the Governor of *Shrewsbury*, sufficiently demonstrates his Affection to his very Enemies ; he would win, not conquer the Hearts of those, who though they have broke their Allegiance to him, yet he would esteem still his Subjects.

He would not conquer with Blood, lest he should be thought a Tyrant. He endeavours by fair Means to attain the Love of his Subjects, that (whatever his very Enemies think of him) he may approve himself to be a just Prince.

And did Fortune give him Power, yet would he rather attempt Blandishments than Force. He knows that whilst he kills a Subject he weakens his Kingdom. Rebels themselves may be found useful, and though Justice cannot, yet his Majesty's Clemency will admit their Pardon ; but if they resist to the utmost, their Blood is on their own Heads. *What Man is not willing to destroy him who he knows would be his Murderer.*

Thus is his Justice and his Clemency mix't together ; he would not kill, where he might with Safety save. Nor does his unspotted Innocency raise Fancies or Fears in him. As he is guilty of nothing, so there's nothing he fears. Whilst he endeavours to be true to his Subjects, those Endeavours force a Belief in him that his Subjects will be true to him.

His very Nature inclines him to Compassion. He pities those that will not pity themselves ; and whilst they are conspiring his Destruction, his Prayers procure their Safety. Nor can the utmost of their Injuries provoke him to a Retaliation.

liation. He hath learned not only of God, but of the King his Father, to forgive his Enemies.

Nor is it his Desire to obtain his Kingdoms that makes him willing to forgive his Enemies, but his Desire to forgive his Enemies that makes him willing to obtain his Kingdoms: He counts the Possession of his Royalties but as a transitory Dignity, the Pardon of his Enemies a Divine and lasting one.

Neither is his Pity less than his Justice, they are both in the superlative Degree, he hates Wickedness, not because the World should see him Glory (that would make him an *Hypocrite*) but because God abhors it; 'tis Love not Fear makes him Religious, he fears God only because he loves him.

He hates not the Vicious, but abominates their Vices, his Hatred extends not to Persons, but to Things: He dislikes not the Swearer, 'tis his Oaths he abhors, he hates not the Drunkard but his Drunkenness.

Yet does his Mercy extend beyond their Sins, as he is a King so he is a God, he is gracious to pardon, as well as just to punish; nor can a Submission or Reformation but overtake his Remission.

His constant Service of God excites others to live by his Example, he sleeps not without invoking the Blessing of the Almighty, nor do his Eyes open without a returned Thanks. He knows 'tis God alone which can restore and protect him; nor can the Wickedness of Man prevail against Him.

Nor does his publick Devotion shew him less zealous than his private, the one demonstrates him full of Zeal, the other void of Hypocrisy; he would have others holy as well as himself; he knows that Saying concerns him, being a King, above all private Men, *Non nobis solis nati sumus*.

Private Persons are not alone born for themselves, much less Kings, the publick Concern is their Duty: 'Tis not enough for the Master of the House that he be godly, whilst his Family is wicked. There must be Precept as well as Example; and, if Need be, Correction as well as Instruction.

This makes his Majesty deservedly famous; he counts it as great a Fault to suffer a Sin in another, whilst he hath Power to correct it, as to commit it himself. He knows that what Crimes soever a Magistrate suffers willingly to be committed, he brings upon his own Head.

He is therefore above all Things careful not to farther Vice, lest he should be accounted vicious; he detests that in another which did he commit, he knows he might justly detest himself for; and endeavours by Example to reform that in others, which he knows were it in him would seem odious.

He abhors Vice, as well because it is so, as because God abhors it. His Nature inclines him to Vertue, and as he cannot admit it contrary in himself, so he cannot endure it in another.

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His Constancy in Religion is no less conspicuous than his Piety. His discerning Judgment knows what is Truth, and that Truth is followed by his settled Will: Yet he hates not the Popish Religion, but their Idolatry; he abhors not them, but their false Worship. He loves all that know *Christ* at all, but wishes that they might know him more.

His Stedfastness in Religion proceeds not from Self-Interest; he sticks not so much to the true Protestants, because he knows the *English* to be addicted to that Religion; because he thinks it for his Benefit; because he imagines that it would prove very difficult to obtain his Crown and leave it. But, because he knows it to be true.

He knows the Prince is born for the People, as well as the People for the Prince. He knows their Interests to be interwoven. He knows that without them he cannot stand; yet will he sooner lose them than relinquish Verity.

He is the perfect Pattern of Piety, but more of Patience; his Afflictions have not made him repine, he knows God to be just: He believes that as God restored *Job* twofold, so will he likewise restore unto him his Kingdoms: Yet he thinks it just in God to suffer them to be detained from him.

He laments more his Subjects Slavery than his own Exile; he grieves that they have been so long blind, yet rejoices for their Sakes that they have now a Glimmering; he constantly prays for the Restoring of their Sight, not so much because they should restore his, as their own Rights and Privileges.

He is inwardly troubled and perplexed at the many Schisms, Sects, and Heresies that are raised in the Church of *England*; he is sorry that their Rise is from some Men's Envy towards him; he pities, and his Pity produces his Prayers for them: He is willing that though they will not obey him, yet that they may serve God.

He was never heard to curse his Enemies, many Times to pray for them, and desire God to forgive even his Father's Murtherers; his good Will surpasses their Cruelty; and whilst they are conspiring his Destruction, he is praying for their Salvation.

He is a perfect Enemy to all Debauchedness; he is sorry those who pretend themselves his Friends in *England* are so great a Scandal to him; he wishes that they would so carry themselves, that he might adventure to own them as his Friends; for he understands not the good Will of those who drink his Health for the Liquor's Sake, nor wishes for their Help, who over their Sack only swear they will fight for him.

He is no greater a Hater of Vice than a Cherisher of virtuous Actions; he loves them in his very Enemies, and oft he grieves when he finds Occasion to think

think that many of them will rise up in Judgment against his most pretended Friends.

He is most exactly just in all his Commands, and faithful in Performance of all his Promises. Take the Character given him by the dying Marquess of Montrose: *For his Majesty now living* (saith he) *Never People I believe may be more happy in a King, his Commands to me were most just, in nothing that he promiseth will he fail: He deals justly with all Men, &c.* So punctual is he, that when a Word is once gone out of his Mouth, he will rather suffer by it than break it.

To conclude, he is the Pattern of Patience and Piety; the most righteous and justest of Kings; the most knowing and experienced of Princes; the holiest and the best of Men; the severest Punisher of Vice; the strictest Rewarder of Virtue; the constantest Perseverer in Religion; and the truest Lover of his Subjects.

This is a short Character of his illustrious Majesty, which I fear those that know him will rather think to come short of, than reach his due Praise; so sweetly vertuous is he in all his Carriages, so affable in his Discourse, so void of Passion and Anger, that he was never yet heard or seen in Choler; the utmost Extent of any Passion that ever was discerned in him, being towards one of his menial Servants, who justifying himself in what he had done amiss, his Majesty with some Motion told him, that he was an insolent Fellow.

Yet this is that Prince whose Virtues we have given Leave to Foreign Nations to admire, whilst we ourselves have rested as well ignorant of his Deserts, as destitute of our own Liberty; whilst either infatuated or blinded by those who have Tyrannically usurped Governments over us, we have been contented to sit still, and see him expelled and exiled from his due Rights and Royalties, and our selves from our Freedom and Privileges.

Nor hath God alone been merciful to us in endowing his sacred Majesty with such heroick Virtues, but he hath given us a Stock of Noble Princes, who seem to emulate Virtue in one another, and grow up like Royal Oaks, to maintain the Honour and Glory of this Nation, but are yet and have a long Time been the Disgrace of it, all the Nations in *Europe* laughing at the *English* Folly, who slight that Happiness which they might enjoy.

As for the illustrious Duke of *York*, his Fame is spread so far over the World, that myself have heard the very *Turks* commend and applaud his Valour, which was so esteemed among the *French*, that before he arrived at twenty-one Years of Age he was by that King thought worthy the Command of Lieutenant-General of his Armies; which he managed with such Care and Prudence, that seldom an Affair he took in Hand, produced not its desired Success; and since, his being in Requit of his Services, complemented out of that Kingdom of *France*, though he

hath not had such eminent Commands conferr'd on him by the *Spaniard*, yet they have always thought him worth the highest Employment and Respect.

As for the Duke of *Glocester*, he is esteemed by most to be fitter for a Counsellor than a Soldier. His Carriage is grave and somewhat severe; of a sagacious Genius and Understanding, and very much prying into State Affairs, which have made most judge him fitter for a Council-Board.

These three Princes are like three Diamonds or Pearls, which we have ignorantly cast away, and not come to know the Worth of them till we come to want them: Their Virtues having made them resplendent throughout all the World, and render'd them, if we justly consider it, the only Means whereby we can attain to Happiness; for what Nation can be more blessed than that which hath for her Prince a just King to govern, a valiant Duke to defend, and a wise Counsellor to advise.

A Narrative of the Manner of Celebrating His MAJESTY's most glorious and joyful Coronation, in the City of BATH, *April* 23, 1661, by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens thereof, and their adjoining Neighbours of the Gentry and Commonalty.

Sent in a Letter from JOHN FORD, Esq; Mayor of the City, to WILLIAM PRYNNE, Esq; one of their Elected Citizens for the Approaching Parliament.

Honoured SIR,

HAVING yesterday solemnized his *Majesty's* Coronation here within our City of *Bath*, I thought it an Obligation upon me to give you a short Account thereof, which you may please to take as followeth, *viz.* Whilst the Morning was ushered in, and welcomed by the *Bells*, the *Drums* beat, calling to such as would demonstrate their good Affections to the King, to shew themselves in Arms: For the Celebrating the Day, whereupon all Men that had Arms fit for that Employment, appeared by this Time; (that we might the better mix our Joys with pious Contemplations of Prayers and Thanksgivings unto the King of Kings for returning unto us, and Crowning this our unparallel'd earthly King) Myself and the Aldermen in Scarlet, attended on by the rest of our Corporation in their Gowns, went to Church, the Streets

Streets being guarded by these forementioned Persons in Arms, on both Sides, leaving a passage for us to pass between, and crying out, *God save the King*, with great Acclamations of Joy; after us followed, *above four hundred Virgins*, most in *white Waistcoats and green Petticoats*, going two and two, each two bearing aloft in their Hands *gilded Crowns and Garlands, made in the Form of Crowns, bedecked with all manner of rare and choicest Flowers*: These ushered *Mistress Mayorefs* to the Church, who was attended on by the *Aldermens Wives* and *Common Councilmens Wives*, and diverse other *Gentlewomen of the City*: These being pass'd, the *Soldiers* marched after, and having laid by their Arms, came into the Church, as generally the whole City did; so that our Church was never fuller, all Persons *expressing as much Piety towards God, as Loyalty towards their King*. After Mr. Masters, our Minister, had given us a most excellent and learned Sermon, instructing us both in our *Duty towards God and towards the King*, taking his Text out of *Matt. xxii. and 21st Verse*. The Sermon being ended, the *Soldiery* again made a Guard for us, and we having now the *loud Musick* playing before us, and being followed by the said 400 *Virgins*, and the *Gentlewomen* before mentioned, we passed from the Church to the *Conduit in the Market-Place*, being also guarded by the Way with a Company of Foot, (from the Parish of *Weston* a mile from us) led by Capt. *Sheppard* of the same Parish, and also by a *Troop of Horse*, being Volunteers, commanded by your Nephew, Mr. *George Clark*: Having passed these and come to the *Conduit*, it began to run with *Claret*; where we drank a Health to his Majesty, which was seconded with *loud Acclamations of Loyalty*, each Person crying out, *God save the King*. From thence we passed to the *Guildhall*, where having entertained the Gentlemen of our City, and such Gentlemen as came out of the Country to us, we with the *Soldiery* marched from thence, with the *loud Musick* playing before us, through every Street in our City: In the mean Time, the *Gentlewomen* and their *Virgin Attendants*, were entertained by my Wife at home. All which being performed with many Volleys of Shot, and *loud Acclamations of Joy*; the Night began to participate of our *Mirth*, which we entertained with *Bonfires* and flying *Fireworks*, prepared by certain Persons, sent to for that Purpose from *Bristol*, who excellently well performed their Undertakings for several Hours; which being done, the People civilly dispersed, and the whole Day's Work carried on with *great Sobriety and Temperance*, I hope to the great Credit of our City. This Day again the *Soldiery*, having part of their Yesterday's Allowance of Powder left, and resolving not to rob his Majesty of that Honour they ought to do him therewith, met together, and spent this Day also, marching about the City, giving several Volleys of Shot, and *great Expressions of Loyalty*; and are now concluding the Day

with more *Bonfires*: Thus do all People give great *Expressions of their Loyalty to the King, for whose prosperous Reign* (according to my bounden Duty) *I most heartily pray.* And now craving Excuse for troubling you with these Relations, I take Leave, and subscribe myself, as I truly am,

Bath,
April 24, 1661.

S I R,

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

JOHN FORD.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament
aſſembled,

The humble PETITION of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioner, after fifteen Years Service to his late Maſteſty, of ever bleſſed Memory, in foreign Negotiations, having contracted therein a great Debt, and being left abroad, deſtitute of all Supply for his Subſiſtance, he was forced to return home at ſuch a Time as his Maſteſty's own Afflictions had made it unſeaſonable and impoſſible for him to expect any other Relief or Recompence than his Maſteſty's Acceptance and Royal Compaſſion, of both which your Petitioner had a large and ample Teſtimony.

That ſtaying in Town by his Maſteſty's Command, he was, by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, put upon the Office of Maſter of the Ceremonies, which he ſeveral Times performed to his Maſteſty (who well knew and conſidered your Petitioner's ſad Condition) with his Favour and Approbation; yet after an innocent and faithful Diſcharge, for ſeveral Years, of his Truſt therein, he was again, upon that fatal Uſurpation and Change of Government, left in a State much worſe than when it was firſt put upon him, as by the humble Narrative annexed more fully appears.

That for the third Stroke of this Shipwreck of his Fortune, he was thrown upon executing the ſame Office to Perſons whom he could not reſiſt, and by his

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own invincible Necessities he was forced to act passively ; in which, his least Misery was the utter Ruin of himself and Family, and his only Consolation, his constant Refusal to repair it, in that detestable Way, out of the Spoils of his gracious Master, the Ruins of the Church, or the Desolation of private Families, although often pressed and urged upon him.

Your Petitioner therefore, far stricken in Years, and out of all Employment, with the so near Concernment of a Wife and Children, yet unprovided for, in extreme Poverty, humbly begs, that your Honours would commiserate his deplorable Condition, and take into Consideration his Debts contracted in the public Service, and order such Relief as his extreme pressing Calamities require, and as shall seem fit to the Justice, Charity and Generosity of the Parliament.

And your Petitioner, shall pray, &c.

The Humble Narrative of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight; shewing the Manner how I came to execute the Office of Master of the Ceremonies, with my Comportment and Sufferings therein for the Space of near eighteen Years.

I Had the Honour to serve his late Majesty (of blessed Memory) in the Quality of his Resident, for the Time of fifteen Years, to the Cantons of *Switzerland*, *Grizons*, *Geneva*, several *German* Princes, and to some Imperial Cities; but by Reason of the then growing Troubles at home, I found myself totally abandoned, great Arrears due to me, no Money transmitted for my Subsistence, nor could I expect any for the future, and not able to suffer any longer my extreme Misery, being incredibly afflicted to see his Majesty's Honour and the public Reputation wounded through my Sides, I was forced to come home.

At my Arrival, I acquainted his Majesty with my sad Condition, who was graciously pleased to be very sensible of it, but not able at that Time to help me. I also acquainted his Majesty with some secret Negotiations which I had had, with the Directors of the late Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*'s Army, according to Instructions I had to that Purpose. Some Propositions were made unto me of great Importance, concerning *Brisac*, and the rest of the said Duke's Conquests in *Alsatia*, and other adjacent Parts, which I then delivered his Majesty in Writing. It did much trouble his Majesty, that the Posture of his Affairs then was such, as that he was altogether unable to lay hold on those Overtures, so
honourable

honourable and advantageous. I was commanded to return them Thanks for their good Will and Affection to his Majesty; but they finding themselves destitute of their Hopes, were forced to stick close to their former Agreement with *France*.

His Majesty was then at *Windsor*, when I waited on him; and at his Departure thence was pleased to command me to stay at *London*, and to make what Shift I could for my Subsistence, promising and assuring me, that when God should restore him to his Authority again, he would take Care for the Payment of my Arrears, and some fitting Encouragement for my long Service. He was then also pleased to command me to be vigilant and industrious to keep Life in that Business of *Brisac* and *Alsatia*, hoping that in Time he should be in a Condition to embrace it.

After his Majesty's Departure, the Ambassadors and Residents continued their Residence in *London*; where having observed from time to time the Beginnings, and seen some sad Events of our civil Wars, they did successively make their Addresses to the Parliament.

It was then thought necessary to find out a Person fitly qualified, to execute the Place of *Master of the Ceremonies*. Some were pleased to name myself, and so I was commanded, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to discharge that Place.

This was done, not only without my seeking (not having spoken to any Friend either for this or any other Place whatsoever) but to the contrary; (from a serious Desire to be excused from that Employment, and in a private Station to attend the good Issue of his Majesty's Concernments) I did urge some Friends of mine, that I might be dispensed with, which can be witnessed by Persons of eminent Quality yet alive. But the Ordinance being passed both the Houses, I did, not without Reluctance, accept of it, and this is the Manner of my being engaged in that expensive, and to me ruinous, Employment, which I have ever since executed with unwearied Diligence; and so far as the Calamities of the Times, so full of Distraction, Factions, Disorders, and Confusions, would permit, constantly managed the Things which came within the Sphere of my Activity, with all possible Prudence and Dexterity, to the Profit and Honour of the Nation.

This punctilious Place I was constrained to execute alone, without any Help, only when the Lords and Commons sate, I made Use of some Gentlemen of Quality, that out of Affection to the public Reputation did voluntarily assist me, when there was Occasion of any such public Service, during which Time, and his Majesty's Restraint, I was commanded, upon several Occasions, and to several Places, to conduct Ambassadors to his Majesty's Presence, who was pleased to approve of those Services, and graciously to reiterate his former Promises to me.

Shortly after, it pleased God for the Sins of these Nations, to permit wicked Men to perpetrate an Act of the greatest Atrocity; the King was put to Death with no less barbarous Cruelty than unheard of insolent Ostentation, such as no History can parallel since the Creation. This fatal Blow given, and the Peers ignominiously laid aside, and left a Skeleton only of their innate Dignity and Honours, and the most zealous, faithful, and prudent Patriots of the House of Commons forcibly seclused, and the whole Foundation of the antient Government subverted; a Democratical Commonwealth was declared for; but, in effect, it proved to be a lawless and tyrannical Oligarchy, which was ingenuously confessed by some of the most judicious amongst them, foretelling that all would come to Confusion and Ruin.

Foreign Princes and States send their Ambassadors to acknowledge and congratulate this new Government, with great Obsequiousness, conforming themselves with great Difficulty and Aversion, to the Capriciousness of those that did manage the Affairs, who did unhinge all Decency and Order therein.

They did send their Emiffaries abroad, with great Expence and Ostentation, accompanied with extravagant Instructions, which was Matter of Laughter to some of our Neighbours. The great Concourse of foreign Ministers, made some of them think it fit to have a committee to regulate Affairs of that Nature, and how to manage the public Negotiations with foreign Ministers, and what Course and Form to be established in the Distribution of national Civilities towards Strangers, according to their several Characters and Qualities; but no such Committee was appointed. Some were of Opinion, that all Ceremonies were superfluous, that Substantials were to be minded, as if there were no Substance in the Transactions betwixt Nation and Nation; that such trivial Things might be taken into Consideration, according to the emergent Occasions. The Duty that I owed to the Honour of the Nation, begot in me an afflictive Resentment of these Disorders, yet from a plain hearted and sincere desire to be as instrumental as I could, to prevent further Violations thereof, and from a Necessity against which I had no Defence (my then Condition considered) I was forced to act in this Place, and (to the Intent I might better accomplish those public Ends, which I then designed) having more Work than I was able to wield, and no Gentleman persuaded to assist me as formerly, they being weary of that Trouble and Thankless Office, I did remonstrate the Necessity of having some Help, alledging the Example of the King's Court, and of all other Courts and Governments; and did instance in Sir *Lewis Lukenor*, who had for his Assistance Sir *William Button*, and Sir *John Finnet*, beside a Marshal of the Ceremonies, whose office was to go before, and to make Way at Audiences, and to be sent by the Master, upon ordinary occasions, to the
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public Ministers. The Assistants did officiate; in case of Sickness, or other necessary Absence of the Master, but all my Endeavours proved fruitless. I was told by some of them that they needed no Pedagogue to instruct them; that their Government was of that Power and Authority, that they could establish Things of that Nature, without being minded of former Examples in *England*, or of what was practised in foreign Parts; that I ought to rest satisfied with what Orders I should receive from time to time, and for to help and assist me they would give Order to their Messengers to wait upon me to that Purpose. I desired that it might be seriously considered how much it would reflect upon the Honour of the Nation, to employ Men of that Condition, Breeding, and odious Employment, no ways capable nor qualified to act in a Business of such a punctilious and delicate nature; that the public Ministers could not choose but be sensible of such Attempts and Affronts put upon them; but all I could say was in vain, and as I did foresee, the public Ministers did greatly storm at this Indignity, and did make their Complaints, but no Redress was given, and they calmly at last did endure it with Patience, contenting themselves to laugh at our extravagant Ways, and despotical Actings, making themselves merry with the Gallantry of the Sergeants and Goalers (as they called them) that were appointed to accompany them to their Audience. All which I was forced to hear and see, to my extreme Grief and Vexation; and sometimes taking occasion to speak of these Things, hoping thereby to procure a Remedy, I was answered they were sent, and not sent for, and that they might return whence they came, if not pleased with the Government of *England*.

When Ambassadors came, then on a sudden all things were huddled up with Confusion and Disorder, and acted according to the imperious Humour of some few, who, with great Superciliousness did arrogate to themselves an infallible Knowledge of all State Negotiations and Affairs, which others taking for granted, did acquiesce in the Judgment of those self-creating State-Grandeess, who created also these Innovations in Matter of Audience, that it must not be demanded of the Master of the Ceremony, according to the general Practice of all Nations, but must be demanded by Letter to the Speaker; when granted, then the Master of the Ceremonies did bring them to the House, where being fate, they delivered their Credentials to the said Master, and he to the Speaker. In private Audience with the Council of State, it must likewise be procured by Letters from the public Minister to the President, and then an order to the Master of the Ceremony to bring him: None were permitted to have Audience in the House, but extraordinary and ordinary Ambassadors, other public Ministers of lesser Characters must not be admitted into the House; but a Committee was chosen and sent up to the House of Peers, and the Chairman received his Credentials from the Hand
of

of the Master of the Ceremonies. The House of Lords was not constantly made use of, but sometimes the inner Court of Wards was appointed, which sometimes did beget Disputes, because they who had not their Audience in the House of Peers, conceived it a Disparagement to their Masters: But that which did most justly offend those public Ministers of the lesser Classes, and in them their Masters, was, that contrary to the Practice of the whole World in all the Sorts of Government, they were not permitted to deliver their Credentials themselves, to that which was looked upon as the supreme Authority; but when they saw their Complaints and Quarrellings did produce no Satisfaction, they were ordered by their Masters to connive at such Punctilios, to the End it might not be an Impediment to more material Buſineſſes. The public Ministers in their reciprocal Viſits would comfort one another, that they muſt do in *England*, as thoſe that did reſide in *Turkey*, *Muſcovy*, and other barbarous Princes Courts; and as to their State Negotiations, that they had as little Satisfaction; for they did meet with ſo many Difficulties, Delays, unaccuſtomed and uncivil Ways of Treating, that they could not tell how to behave themſelves, their Commiſſioners being often changed, and ſo conſtrained to ravel into Buſineſs, that had been upon the Matter already agreed upon.

The Truth is, that the public Ministers were generally ill uſed, unequally and uncivilly dealt withall, the Laws of Nations violated, affronted in their Perſons, arreſted in their Coaches, violent Hands laid upon them by Bailiffs.

An Extraordinary Ambaſſador from *Venice*, being upon his Way hither, had ſent ſome of his Goods by Sea, the Ship being of *Holland*, was taken and brought into *England*, and the Goods ſeized upon by the Prize Office; the Secretary of that State claims the Ambaſſador's Goods, but no Reſtitution endeavoured: A while after the Ambaſſador comes himſelf, and at an Audience prays, that his Goods might be reſtored unto him again, offering to diſcover ſome Perſons that had ſome Part of his Things, eſpecially ſome fair Looking-glaſſes, and had nothing but fair Promiſes, and went away without Satisfaction.

This is but a Touch, incidental to this Diſcourſe, it would require a Volume to enumerate the Injuries that have been put upon public Ministers. When great Faults were committed, and of ſo groſs a Nature, that even thoſe who had uſurped the Authority, were aſhamed of them, then was I made Choice of, to excuſe and apologize for them, and deſired to take the Fault upon myſelf; ſome of the Ambaſſadors would ſmile, and ſay there was a little Civility in the Excuse, but that they knew well enough from whom thoſe Affronts came. Theſe Things were ſwallowed and diſſembled, to the Admiration of all thoſe who had any Knowledge in foreign Affairs.

No Presents were to be given to public Ministers, contrary to the Custom of all Nations and Governments ; no, not the Warrants for Bucks and Does in their Seasons, as was constantly used to be in the regal Government ; and to the End that this might not seem to be a fordid Frugality it was tempered with an Act of Generosity (so called by them) towards public Ministers, which was to forbid me to accept of the Donations due to my Place, and an odious Command laid upon me, not to permit any others employed in the Service of public Ministers, to receive any Gratuity from them ; but some said that this was a great Wrong and Injury to me, and that I and others ought to be reimbursed out of the public Purse, which was promised, but not performed in the least. With no small Difficulty and shameful Sollicitation, the public Ministers had their wonted Proportion of Wines allowed them, Custom and Excise free ; but towards the latter End, the Residents were abated a fourth Part of their accustomed Proportion, all which I was constrained to bear upon my Heart as Matter of much Sadness and Sorrow, having no other Comfort left me, but the Constancy and Integrity of my Endeavours, to prevent the prostituting of the Nation's Honour by such Miscarriages.

I humbly conceive, that this rational Question may be asked me, why I did act all this Time, and that in all Changes whatsoever, whether my Reason could dispense and approve of these frequent Revolutions ? To which I answer in the Negative : For as I was unwilling, at first, to meddle with this Office, which hath been my Undoing, so did I from time to time express my Dislike of Proceedings, when and where I could do it with Prudence and Safety, in a Time when the Power of the Nation was wielded with so much Passion and Violence.

But my invincible Answer is, that lawless Necessity is an irresistible Tyrant, which forced me to act passively, or to perish ; for, as I humbly shewed, in the Beginning of this Narrative, I was deeply engaged for his late Majesty (of ever blessed Memory) which Debts are since doubled, the Creditors reckoning Interest upon Interest for twenty Years together, this made my Burden so heavy and sad, nay almost insupportable, that Men did admire how I was able to bear it.

And I seriously considered with myself, that my serving in that Place was very innocent, as consisting in holding forth to Strangers the Civilities of the Nation ; and indeed, during the whole Course of my Service in this Office, my End was fixed upon the Service, Interest and Honour of the Nation, constantly hoping, that God, in his Providence, would, in his good Time, deliver us out of our Distractions, and resettle the three Nations again, upon the ancient Basis of our former Government, which we see now effected, in great Mercy, by the happy Return of his sacred Majesty to his Throne. That this is not a flattering
Insinuation,

Insinuation, but a sincere and real Truth, is sufficiently known to such, as I durst open my Thoughts unto. Besides, the Duty of my Loyalty, and my Confidence of the Public's Re-establishment, and therein my own particular Concernments, were a strong Motive thereunto; for I found that I could not expect any Justice, much less Favour, from Men that did look upon me as an old Courtier, and so not much to be trusted; and to this I may add, the Hatred that some leading Men did bear me secretly, for having with Freedom of Discourse expressed my Aversion, against Enthusiasts, and their new heterodox Principles in Matters of Religion.

I acted all along by the abovesaid Ordinance of Lords and Commons, who had declared for a King and Parliament; during which Time, I had the Honour to be commanded to conduct Ambassadors to his late Majesty's Presence, who was graciously pleased to accept of my Service, as is above-mentioned; and I have in all Changes, constantly shunned all other Patents, Commissions, and Powers of whomsoever, which was not without great Difficulty and Increase of Jealousy and Distrust, which, besides the Operation it had, in obstructing the just Payment of what was due to my Place, did even hinder the Re-imbursing of what I was out of Purse for their public Service; nay, their Suspicion went so far, that some that had the Management of State Affairs, did secretly request the public Ministers not to acquaint me with their Negotiations; but they frequently coming to visit me, did impart to me what had been said to my Prejudice, blaming greatly their Ingratitude, Jealousy and Ignorance, professing the greatest Comfort they had here was my Conversation.

This can be witnessed by many Ambassadors and others yet alive. The Necessity of speaking of these Things, I hope, will apologize for this seeming Ostentation. I did easily perceive, that their Drift in revealing these Things concerning myself was to have wrought a Discontent and Resentment in me, and to have made some Use of me to the public Prejudice, which our raw Statesmen (not having past their Noviciate) did not dive into; and the Truth is, that upon this Score of Revenge, and my known Poverty, some of them thought they had gotten such Intimacy with me, that they might attempt to feel how the Pulse of my Fidelity did beat; not doubting but their Injuries, added to my extreme Necessity and ill Usage, would make me malleable enough for their Ends, and to become an Instrument for the furthering of their Master's Designs: To this Purpose, considerable Sums of Money were offered, but were by me refused with a generous Resentment, justly abhorring any thing of that Nature that might any way tend to the Dishonour or Disadvantage of the Nation, or to my particular Infamy. I am ready, when required, to name the Parties. It may easily be con-

ceived, that during the Space of so many Years, and the constant Concourse of so many public Ministers, and important Negotiations, if I had sought myself, I had Opportunities, many and great, to have made my Fortune, especially considering that I (almost alone) was permitted to converse with them daily.

When his Majesty (of blessed Memory) his Goods and Moveables were sold, then was I earnestly advised and pressed to lay hold on that Opportunity for the Payment of what was due to me, and fitting Recompence for my Service. The same was offered me when the King's, Queen's, and Church Lands were to be sold to pay those to whom they were indebted, but I did loyally, constantly and conscientiously decline and shun those Ways of Payment and Compensation; neither would I meddle with any confiscated particular Man's Estate, rather chusing extreme Poverty, than to be obnoxious to the Curse of the true Owners; and this I did, in Times when there was little or no Probability to be called to an Account by Man. I was also told, that I should be employed on some considerable Embassy, but in a prudent Way did shun all Occasions that might engage me in any such odious Employment, although the Allowance was incomparably beyond all former Precedents, and better paid, being permitted to draw Bills of Exchange upon their Masters, a Thing never heard of heretofore.

Many other great Promises were made to me by the successive Powers, but none performed in the least; nor could I ever obtain so much Justice as to have some appointed to sign my Bills, according to Custom, for the Money I had continually Occasion to disburse for the public Service. By the Ordinance of Parliament, I was to enjoy the Office, with all the Allowances, Perquisites, Rights and Privileges as hath at any Time, or doth belong to any Master of the Ceremonies; which I found did formerly arise by 200*l.* annual Fees, an Allowance of twenty Shillings a Day, for every Audience, twenty Shillings a Day for a Coach out of Town; if in Town, ten Shillings; and besides other Incidents, one of the greatest Benefits, the Right of receiving the accustomed Donations and Presents from Ambassadors, and other public Ministers: But I have not received any of these Perquisites and Rights belonging to the Place, according to the Ordinance; only I received a great Part of the two hundred Pounds Salary *per Annum*, with great Pains, Sollicitation, and extraordinary Expence. What I received on that Account will appear on the public Receipts. I am out of Purse above a thousand Pounds for Coach-hire, and a thousand Pounds for Audiences and Conferences; and besides the several Journies to his Majesty, for five and twenty Journies to *Gravesend*, and elsewhere, to fetch in, and to reconduct Ambassadors back again; each Journey, computed one with another, did cost me ten Pounds at the least, considering the Expensiveness of Distance of the Places,

Places, and the Number of such as were ordered from time to time to attend that Service. The Donations and Presents due to the Place, from Ambassadors and other public Ministers, were courteously sent by them to me, and by me civilly sent back again. What those Presents did amount to in so long a Time, I cannot exactly set down; but according to my best and most conscientious Estimate, I conceive that it might amount to something above five thousand Pounds.

I find myself, after near five and thirty Years public Service abroad and at home in this sad and unparalleled Condition, that I am eight thousand Pounds worse than nothing, although far beneath what is justly owing me from the Public. I have been forced to pawn and sell what I had of Worth, even to my wearing Cloaths. What I have set down in this Narrative (as to the Substance of it) I affirm to be a positive Truth, and ready to make Oath upon it, if required: Therefore I do humbly pray, that some present Relief may be afforded me (to prevent my otherwise inevitable Ruin) and that a Course may be taken for discharging a Debt contracted in his late Majesty's Service abroad and at home, in Obedience to public Commands, upon an indeclinable Necessity.

I do in all humble Manner crave Pardon for this prolix Discourse; but I hope the Extremity of my Condition will apologize for me, and plead my Excuse.

A BRIEF of the CASE and Title of *George Porter* of *London*, Esq; unto a Deputation and Management of both the Letter-Offices, together with the Profits thereunto belonging, derived from the Right Honourable *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* Baron of *Harrington*.

THAT the Office of Postmaster-General of the Dominions of *England*, is one of the ancientest Offices of *England*.

That the nominating of all Postmasters, and Carriage of all Letters, both Inland and Foreign, both of his Majesty's and of his Subjects, are Members of, and incident and belonging unto the said Office, together with the Profits and Perquisites thereby accruing, as appears by ancient Deeds and Custom beyond the Memory of Man.

That *John Lord Stanhope* had a Grant of the said Office in the 30th of *Elizabeth*, 1588, under the Broad Seal of *England*; and by himself, his Deputy, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters by Post, both Foreign and Inland, both of his Majesty's and of his Subjects, for about forty Years, until he died.

That *Charles Lord Stanhope*, who is now living, had a Reversion of the said Office, and by himself, his Deputies, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters, until he was illegally disturbed by one *Matthew Dequester*, who having been the Lord *Stanhope's* Deputy for the Carriage of Foreign and *Irish* Letters about twenty Years together, under Pretence of a Grant of a new Office by him obtained, upon untrue Suggestions, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions* (a Reversion whereof Mr. *William Witherings* now claims by) by Authority thereof took upon him the Carriage of Foreign Letters.

That in the Year 1624, the said *Charles Lord Stanhope* brought his Action against the said *Dequester* for taking upon him the Carriage of Merchants Letters, and receiving Moneys for the Postage thereof from *London* to *Antwerp*, without the Licence, and against the Will of him the said Lord *Stanhope*, who is Postmaster-General, and recovered a Verdict against the said *Dequester*.

That the Parliament, in the 4th of the late King, upon Report of a select Committee, taking Notice of the said *Dequester's* undue Suggestion for the gaining of the said Patent, *for Services to be done in foreign Parts, out of the King's Dominions*, and of the Lord *Stanhope's* Verdict against *Dequester*, did declare, and give Judgment against *Dequester's* said Patent, in favour of the Lord *Stanhope's* Patent.

That the said *George Porter* hath the Deputation, Management, and Profits of the said Offices during the Life of the said *Charles Lord Stanhope*, in due Form of Law settled and confirmed upon him.

That the said *George Porter* his Agent was in Possession of the said Offices at the first assembling of the long Parliament.

That Mr. *Thomas Witherings*, who procured a Reversion of *Dequester's* Patent, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions*, well knowing the Invalidity thereof, made over his Interest unto the Right Honourable *Robert* late Earl of *Warwick*; upon which one Mr. *Pulley* and others, found Means to have a Mail of foreign Letters to be betrayed into their Hands, whereby the said Earl of *Warwick* came to get the Possession of the foreign Letter Office.

Hereupon the said *George Porter* his Agent was prevailed upon to call in *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; then a Parliament-man, to protect him in the more sure keeping of the Inland Letter Office, and Recovery of the Foreign from the Earl of *Warwick*; but instead thereof, the said *Edmund Prideaux* removed the Inland Office

Office unto a sequestered House, and took the Profits to himself, saying that he did it by the Liberty of the Subject.

Thereupon the said *George Porter's* Agent (far before any Undertakers thought thereon) through the Insight he had in the said Offices, being well assured, *That if he undertook to carry Letters thrice a-week, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux carried but once; and if he did require but 3d. for a single Letter, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux took 6d. that there would be sent, for time to come, above six Three-penny Letters for every Six-penny Letter, which had been sent in the said Prideaux his Time, resolved upon sending thrice a-week, and instead of 6d. to take but 3d. for a single Letter at the most, and for Scotland, Ireland, and foreign Parts accordingly; with an Intention to have reduced the Rates to 2d. or 1d. a Letter, for the Benefit of Trade and other Correspondencies: And to make more sure Work (as he had Cause to hope) did take the Subscriptions of most considerable Merchants and others, in and about London, York, Hull, Newcastle, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, and other Parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Foreign Parts (which are yet extant to be seen) thereby obliging themselves, so far as the Laws of the Land did permit, to send all their Letters, both Inland and Foreign, unto the said *George Porter's* Agent, whensoever he would undertake the Conveyance of them upon the Terms aforesaid; and in order thereunto the said *George Porter's* Agent settled Postages up and down, from one End of *England* unto the other, provided with sufficient Number of Post-Horses for this Purpose, and made several Journies into *France, Flanders, Brabant, and the United Provinces*, for treating with his Agents, and settling his Correspondents in Foreign Parts, all at his and their own proper Costs and Charges; and just as he was ready to publish the same, and give Notice to all Persons, when, and to what Places they should begin to bring their Letters, the said *Edmund Prideaux* prevailed with the then Convention, by passing certain Resolves to prevent the same; but the Improvement of the said Offices being thus discovered, and the late Usurper *Oliver* being informed thereof, did then, and not till then, without so much as any pretended Course of Law, seize both the said Offices into his own Hands.*

Object. 1. But if it be said, that the Lord *Stanhope*, in Consideration of a Sum of Money, hath surrendered his Patent, and that in such Case, the King or Parliament may appoint another Comptroller or Postmaster-General.

Ans. It is answered, that the Lord *Stanhope* hath often denied to have made any such Surrender; and it doth not appear in Fact that there is such a Surrender, much less that there is any Judgment or Verdict in the Case, for evidencing that there ever was any such pretended Surrender.

Object.

Object. 2. If it be said, that it can be no Prejudice for the Parliament to pass an Act for his Majesty's constituting of another Comptroller or Postmaster-General, with a Provisee for saving of all Right and Title unto the said Lord *Stanhope*, and unto all Persons claiming under him.

Answer. It is for Answer humbly conceived, that scarce any Person will apprehend it to be agreeable, either to Justice or Equity, to have his Office settled in the King by Act of Parliament, and by Provisee to be put to suit to recover the same back again; or that any Person will be found, who holding either Land or Office from the Crown, whether for Life or Term of Years, will be content to have his Possession taken or with-held from him, because he hath improved the same, before the said Term of Years or Lives be expired.

Object. 3. If it be said, that the Parliament may now first hear and adjudge the Lord *Stanhope's* Surrender to be real and good, and then dispose of the said Offices, referring the said *George Porter* to take his Remedy at Law against the Lord *Stanhope* for having so surrendered.

Answer. It is for Answer humbly conceived to be a hard Case for the said *George Porter* and his Agents, who have done the Service of improving these Offices to a Revenue of 21500l. a Year, and of saving 5000l. a Year, which till then the Crown was at, to be defeated (by the Lord *Stanhope's* undue Surrender) of their Labours, Industry, and Charges, and not to be relieved by a Parliament; especially since it is possible that another Court may find it to be no good Surrender in Law, or in Equity at least: And last of all, although the said Surrender, upon a Trial or Hearing, should prove real, and the said *George Porter* recover Damages, it may possibly prove so long first, through the Lord *Stanhope's* Peerage, and such other Delays as may be made, as that his Lordship, being very aged and infirm, may possibly be dead first, or his Estate be found entailed, or otherwise disposed of in such manner as the said *George Porter* and his Agents may still be left remediless until they be relieved in Parliament.

The said *George Porter* therefore humbly hopeth and prayeth, that neither himself, nor his Agents, may fare the worse for their having been ingenuous in contriving, and at great Charge in compassing so great an Improvement of the said Offices, which will come clear unto his Majesty after the Decease of the said Lord *Stanhope*, who is very aged and infirm; but that either the whole Matter may be heard and determined in Parliament, and that the said *George Porter*, if there be just Cause, may be relieved by the Justice of this Parliament against the Lord *Stanhope*; or that the whole Matter be referred to the Law; and that in the mean
time

time it may be permitted unto the said *George Porter*, and his Agents, to enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, Charges, Contrivance, and Improvement; or that they may be otherwise satisfied for the same, before the said Offices be farmed out, or otherwise disposed of by Act of Parliament.

George Porter.

A View of the Fallacies contained in a late printed Paper, intituled, *The Lord Stanhope's Case and Title to the Office of Postmaster of the Posts and Messengers.*

Hereby also may be answered Mr. Henry Robinson's pretended Claim to the Post-Offices, the said Claim being (as he alledgeth) under the Lord Stanhope.

HOW easy a Thing it is for a Man to make his own Case seem fair and plausible, and to traduce and cast a Prejudice upon another Man's; especially where both Parties are Competitors for the same Thing, it is no hard Matter to determine.

The Skill and Scope in framing the *Lord Stanhope's Case*, was to prepossess Men's Belief with this Prejudice, that *Mr. Witherings*, to whom, and to one *Mr. Frizel*, the late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* granted the Office of Postage in Foreign Parts, not being within his Majesty's Dominions, had no Title thereunto, but that the same was an Encroachment upon the *Lord Stanhope's Patent*; and that nothing was granted to *Mr. Witherings* and *Mr. Frizel*, but what was before granted to the *Lord Stanhope*; but whether this be so or no, is the Question. The Truth of the *Lord Stanhope's Case*, upon View of the several Patents therein alledged, appears to be no other than as followeth:

Queen *Elizabeth* (20 Junii, 32 Eliz.) granted the Office of Master of the Posts and Messengers, as well within the Kingdom of *England*, as in foreign Parts beyond the Seas within her Dominions to *John Lord Stanhope*, Father of the now *Lord Stanhope*, for his Life, with the Fee of one hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and Power to make a Deputy.

John Lord Stanhope (25 July, 5 Jac.) procures a new Patent, (upon Surrender of the old one) for the same Office unto himself and his Son *Charles*, now *Lord Stanhope* (then being an Infant) for their Lives, viz. To hold to the Father first for

his Life, and after his Death, Surrender, or Forfeiture, then to *Charles* the Son, for his Life, with a Fee of one hundred Marks *per Annum*, and Power of Deputation.

Matthew Dequester (30 April, 17 Jac.) obtains a Patent from King *James* of the Postmaster of *England*, for Foreign Parts being out of the King's Dominions, and this to be a sole Office of itself, and not Part or Member of any other Place or Postmaster.

Our late sovereign Lord (15 Martii, 7 Car. I.) King *Charles* grants unto *Thomas Witherings* and *William Frizel* the same Office for their Lives, after the Determination of *Dequester's* Patent.

Charles Lord *Stanhope*, after the Death of his Father *John* Lord *Stanhope*, complaining to King *James* that *Dequester's* Grant did trench into his Office, his Majesty referred the Consideration thereof to *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, Mr. Attorney *Coventry*, and Mr. Solicitor *Heath*, to certify their Opinions; who certified, that the Places and Employments were distinct (the Lord *Stanhope's*) being within the Kingdom, and within his Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas, and Mr. *Dequester's* being in Foreign Parts out of the King's Dominions, and that the Lord *Stanhope* had not shewed any thing to them to impeach *Dequester's* Grant, but that both the Grants were consistent; and thereupon King *James* confirmed *Dequester's* Grant made 17 Jacobi, which Complaint, Reference and Certificate, are recited both in the Confirmation of *Dequester's* Patent, and in the said Patent to *Witherings* and *Frizel*.

Of the same Opinion that the Referees certified were divers other learned Lawyers (whereof Three were afterwards Judges) who further also declared their Opinions to be, that the Patent to the Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, of the said Office, being an Office of Trust, and granted to *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, during his Minority, was void in Law at the Time of the Grant, albeit he attained his Age of one and twenty Years before his Father's Death.

And further it plainly appears by the Record at the Chapel at the Rolls, that the Lord *Stanhope's* Patent was vacated upon his own Surrender thereof: And because this Truth stares every Man in the Face, the said printed Paper (not being able to contradict it) takes Liberty to insinuate a scandalous Accusation at once against the Lords of the Council, Secretary of State, Clerk of the Council, the Kings Attorney, the antientest Clerk of the Rolls, and that of no less Crimes than Bribery, Forgery, and other strange Practices. This Patent being surrendered and void, Mr. *Witherings* having with infinite Pains and Travel, and exceeding great Charge found out the true and exact Way of Correspondency, not formerly understood, obtains a Grant of the Inland Post-Office during his own Life,
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the sequestration whereof, although it was voted by the Parliament to be illegal, and ought to be taken off; yet by the great Power of Mr. *Prideaux* (who slipt into the Execution thereof) the said Mr. *Witherings* was by force, during some Part of the latter End of his Life, deprived of the same.

It is true, that *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* supposing an Encroachment upon his Office, by *Dequester's* Patent, had about the 18th of King *James* brought an action at Law against *Dequester*, and by Surprise or other Miscarriage at the Trial, got a Verdict; but it is as true, that the Plaintiff could never obtain Judgment upon that Trial, although endeavoured by all possible Means, admitting it to be true, that the King's Council at Law (upon a Reference to them) certified the Lord *Stanhope's* Right to the Foreign Office, as is pretended in the said printed Case of the Lord *Stanhope*; yet still that is to be intended to extend only to the Foreign Parts within the King's Dominions, and not to the Foreign Parts without the King's Dominions (24 Jan. 4 Car. I.) The like may be said of the pretended Vote in Parliament, which was long Time before the Grant to *Witherings*.

By this which hath been said, it will easily appear what Art was used in framing the Lord *Stanhope's* said printed Case: But further, to take away all Scruple and Pretence whatsoever, let the Patents themselves speak their own Language. It will be expedient therefore to set down the very Words of the several Grants.

And first the Words of the Grant made by the Queen (20 Jan. 32 Eliz.) are *Officium Magistri Nunciorum & Cursorum communiter vocatum Postarum nostrarum tam infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, quam in quibuscunque aliis partibus transmarinis in nostro Domino existentibus.* The very same Words are used in the Grant made to *John* Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, which Words (25 Julii, 5 Jac.) (as appears to every sensible Man) “ extend not to all Foreign Parts beyond the Seas (as is “ suggested by the said printed Case) but do restrain and limit the said Grant to “ all such Foreign Parts only as are within the King's Dominions. Now the Words “ of the Grant made to *Thomas Witherings* and *William Frizel* are these, viz. *The “ Office or Place of Postmaster of England, for Foreign Parts, being out of the Domi- “ nions of us, our Heirs, and Successors;*” which Words do in no wise trench upon the Grant to the Lord *Stanhope*, but do very clearly distinguish the several Grants, certainly this must needs be a wilful Mistake, if the Composer of the printed Case had ever consulted with the Patents; but it may well be conjectured that he never saw them, but took the Matter up upon Trust; and the rather, because the Dates of all the said Grants are quite mistaken in the printed Case, besides divers other Misprisions therein committed.

The continual Claim of the Lord *Stanhope* is by the printed Paper made to be a great Argument of the Truth of the pretended foul Practice therein alledged to be put in Execution against him: But surely it is a far better Argument against his Title, that notwithstanding such continual Claim, and all Endeavours used, the Lord *Stanhope* could never be thought fit to be restored upon any Address, either to the Lords of the Council, to his Majesty, or to the Parliament and other Courts, before any of which it cannot (without great and bold Presumption) be imagined he should not (upon just Cause) have been relieved.

Now though *William Witherings* never claimed any Thing in the Inland Office, by reason the Interest thereof determined upon the Death of *Thomas Witherings*, and is now in the Disposition of his Majesty, yet he proposeth these Lines to vindicate his own Right to the Foreign Post-Office, in regard the Insinuations of the said printed Paper have a Tendency to prejudice his Right, of which he humbly hopes there will be a just and tender Care had.

REMARKS on the LIFE and DEATH of the famed Mr. BLOOD; giving an Account of the Plot in *Ireland*, to surprize *Dublin* Castle; several Transactions in his Headquarters in the City; Rescue of Captain MASON at *Doncaster*; Attempt on the Person of his Grace the Duke of ORMOND; Seizing on the Crown and Scepter in the *Tower*; coming into Favour with his Prince; Concern about his Grace the Duke of BUCKINGHAM; Sicknefs, Death, and twice Interment. Published for publick Information, 1680.

S I R,

I HAVE endeavoured as far as in me lies, to satisfy your Curiosity, in reference to that Account, which you were pleased to require of me, concerning the most memorable Actions of Colonel *Blood's* Life; a Person who has given the World no small Occasion of Discourse: Wherein, if I have not had the Happiness punctually to answer your Expectations, you must impute it to my Justice,
that

that would take nothing upon Report and Rumours, but only what was dictated to me from the Mouths of one or two of his most intimate Friends.

His Birth was such as gave him those Advantages that usually distinguish a Man from the Vulgar. For though Wit, and Parts, Courage, and Strength, are not hereditary to the Gentility, yet is it a great Felicity to be born of such Parents, as are above those Wants that deprive them of bestowing the Benefits of Education upon their Children; and so far from the Reproaches of Poverty, that they are never spoken of by the World, but with a decent and becoming Character. Such were Mr. *Blood's* Parentage, serious, honest, and of no inferior Credit, and Possessions in the Country where they lived: Which made them take that Care, that their Offspring should not degenerate from the Virtues and Repute of his Ancestors, by forming and shaping his Conditions according to the Rules of a strict and sober Education, which had that Influence upon him, as to preserve him from those Extravagancies that usually attend upon metalled and active Spirits. Infomuch that the great People of *Ireland*, who at that Time sat at the Helm of Affairs, thought fit to put him into the Commission of the Peace before he was two and twenty Years of Age. A Sign they had a good Opinion of his early Conduct of himself, who made him the Judge and Punisher of the Vices and Miscarriages of others. Nor did he fail their Expectations; for all the while he was in that Station, he won both Esteem and Favour of them who at that Time were the chief Rulers of the *Irish* Nation, especially from *Henry Cromwel*, by whom he was looked upon, as a Person fit for Employment and Promotion. For indeed the main use which he made of his Authority was to assert and uphold, as much as lay in his Power, the Protestant and *English* Interest in that Kingdom; in order whereunto he managed his Zeal with that Prudence, which was then looked upon as a kind of Wonder considering his Years.

He married in *England* a young *Lancashire* Gentlewoman, the Daughter of one Mr. *Holcraft*, by whom he had several Children.

During his Abode in *England*, then the Stage of a bloody and rebellious War, he gave his Prince all the Assistance his personal Valour was capable to afford him; wherein he performed several Pieces of good Service.

Much about that Time Colonel *Rainsborough* was slain at *Doncaster* by a Party of Royalists that had made a Sally out of *Pontefract*, then besieged by Sir *Edward Rhodes* and the County Forces. This was done as the said Colonel was in his Inn, with all his Myrmidons about him, upon the Pretence of delivering him a Letter from *Cromwel*. Their Intention was only to have taken him Prisoner, and have carried him through his own Leaguer, which he refusing, they pistoled him in his Chamber and so departed. This being a bold and desperate

Adventure,

Adventure, Mr. *Blood* was by most People adjudged the Contriver and Associate in the Enterprize ; but he having so frequently disowned the Fact himself, it would be a Crime to impute the Honours of other Men, to a Valour that has no need of those shifts.

Upon the King's Restoration, Mr. *Blood* returns again for *Ireland* ; But being disgusted by some hard Usage, which he thought done him by the Court of Claims, who made no haste to restore him in his Land that had been taken from him ; whereby he saw himself stripped of all, his Wife and Children sent a begging, and himself outlawed ; He went to the *Irish*, *Scots*, and discontented *English*, who being just ready to brake loose, and wanting a Head, were not a little glad of his Appearance ; so that they not only very highly caressed him, but having a more than ordinary Confidence in his Conduct and Prudence, they made him their General, and surrendered their Obedience to him in all Things. So that now become a petty Prince, he began to put his Complaints into Form and Method, publickly to throw his Declarations abroad, and to make his Demands of Redress ; Which not being answered according to their Expectations, they pushed forward, believing there was no better way, than to render themselves formidable, and by that means to draw their Enemy to a good Composition. In Prosecution of which Design they ran themselves into a Plot for the Surprise of *Dublin* Castle ; For which his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Leckey*, who was deep in the Confederacy, being at length taken, was sentenced, and accordingly executed.

In this Tragedy happened something of a comical Disturbance. There was at that Time to see the Execution, which is common, a Confluence of above two thousand People. At what time a Rumour was spread among the People, that Mr. *Blood* was coming with a Party to the rescue of his Brother. The People no sooner heard this, but, as there is oft times a vain and idle Terror that possesses the Mind of the silly Multitude, consternated with some strange Fury that threatned them, they all ran and dispersed themselves from the Gibbet. Nay the Executioner himself left his Station, and took his Flight, believing that he should be first aimed at, leaving the Person that was to suffer, in the dreadful Posture of a Person preparing for his untimely Death, the Rope about his Neck, and nobody to do the Office ; so that had any thing of Resistance been made, the unfortunate Gentleman's Delivery had been easy.

The Design was to have been put in Execution the one and twentieth of *May*, the Duke of *Ormond* being first to have been seized. To which Purpose diverse Persons with Petitions in their Hands were to have waited in the Castle, while about fourscore Foot, in the Disguise of Handicraftmen waited without, whose Business

Business it was to trifle about in Expectation of an Opportunity to surprize the Guards. The Plot being discovered, Five Hundred Pounds a Head were proffered for the Apprehension of the Ringleaders.

Mr. *Blood* being thereupon forced to fly for these Things, made his Escape into *Holland*, where upon his Continuance in those Parts for some Time, he became at length well known to that great and famous Admiral *De Ruyter*, who, though the greatest Enemy the *English* had, in respect of his Conduct and Success, which many Times put a Stop to the Current of their Victories, yet had that generous Kindness and Love for a Nation so long in a bloody Competition with his Country, that he could not chuse but frequently declare it to several, but more particularly to Mr. *Blood*, whom he was pleased to admit often into his Society, and honoured with an Entertainment answerable to that Respect and Affection, which he bore the Nation of *England*.

To whom that great Admiral was so kind, as to give him an Account of his own miraculous Deliverance, which a Friend of mine had from Mr. *Blood's* own Mouth. Which was thus.

That renowned Person *De Ruyter*, being born of mean Parentage, the greatest Part of his Father's Substance being two Horses, with which he supplied the Wants of his Family by the usual Labour of that Country, which was about two Miles Distance from *Bergenopzoom*: It happened that both his Father's Horses were taken from him by certain Troops of the *Dutch* Army, and carried to their Camp in *Flanders*. This Loss being so considerable to *De Ruyter's* Father, who thereby saw himself and his Family totally ruined, he made haste after them to the Camp, but finding his Addresses fruitless by the Delays and Neglect of the Officers, he resolved upon a more speedy way of Reparation, which was privately to regain his own from those that had robbed him, by a more justifiable Stealth. And having discovered where his Horses were, he watched his Opportunity, secretly conveyed them away, and carried them to a Place somewhat remote from his own House.

The Soldiers missing their Booty, and concluding the Owner had them again, returned in the Night with an Intention to have taken them away a second Time. But being disappointed, in revenge they set on Fire the poor thatched Cottage about the Ears of the sleeping Inhabitants.

In the Horror of this Surprize, while the awakened Father, Mother, and Servant, endeavoured to save themselves by breaking through the Flames, with that Care of Self-Preservation, which is common to all Creatures, and which at the same Time puts all the Faculties of the Memory and Understanding into a strange Confusion, the poor helpless Infant, afterwards the Glory and Preserver
of

of his Country, lay void of Succour in his swadling Bands fast asleep in an upper Room. But the Mother, now free herself, remembering the Danger of her only Darling, with a masculine Contempt of the threatening Peril of the Enterprize, and assisted by that high Protection, which saved the Children in the fiery Furnace, she threw herself through the compassionless Flames into the House again, resolved to live or die with the only Hopes and Comfort of her Life.

And so having broken through the Smoak and Flames into the upper Room, she first threw the Child out at Window into a Sheet, held by the Father and the Servant to receive his tender Bones, and afterwards jumped out herself.

Thus saving from the Flames the Person, that was designed, *Salamander-like*, to spend the chiefest Part of his Days in Fire and Smoak. A remarkable Story concerning that great Person, for which we are beholding only to Mr. *Blood's* Converse with him, as being quite omitted, or else unknown to the Author that published his Life in *Holland*.

Returning out of *Holland* into *England*, he fell in with the *Fifty-Monarchy-Men*, resolving to venture all in the Bottom of their Interest. He found them to be a bold and daring Sort of People like himself, and their Principles so suiting with his Discontents, that he judged them very proper for his Management. For it was his Maxim, never to put his Confidence in any that were not engaged either by Principle or Interest to his Designs.

These People it is well known had laid a Design, not confined to one Quarter, but almost general all over *England*; it was said to be first contrived in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, from whence the Contagion spread itself into *Yorkshire*, *Suffolk*, and several other Counties in the West of *England*; between all which Places several Correspondencies were held, and Agents employed under the binding Obligations of Oaths of Secrecy. Their Pretences were the Opposal of Excise, Subsidies, &c. to re-establish a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry, to restore the Long Parliament, and lastly to curb the Gentry, Clergy, and Lawyers.

Sometime before this at *London* sat a secret Committee, of which Mr. *Blood* was chief, to carry on some great Design, which he then had in his Head (for I cannot learn that he was ever concerned in the Plot more than for his Friend, as you shall hear anon:) This Committee, for their Security, had always a private Court of Guard abroad, seldom less than thirty out a Day. At this Committee all Orders were given out, all manner of Intelligence was brought, examined, and all things sifted and debated in reference to their grand Design.

But

But as there seldom happens any Confederacy wherein there are not some false Brethren, two of their Gang, whether out of Remorse, or for Hopes of Reward, had begun to make some Discovery of this Project at Court. But it happened that Mr. *Blood*, who was always vigilant and active in his Affairs had got the Wind of these two Deferters, and was therefore resolved to prevent them if he could.

To which Purpose, he appoints to meet the two Persons, whom he had more than reason to suspect, at a certain Tavern in the City, who were no sooner come according to their Summons, but he took them both Prisoners, and from thence carried them to a certain Place of Darkness, which they had found out and hired for their Conveniency.

In this Place Mr. *Blood* very formally calls a Court-Martial of his own, and tries the two Men for their Lives; who being before such Judges, were soon found guilty, and sentenced to be shot to Death, within two Days in the same Place. When the Time for Execution came, they were both brought to the Stake, and being without any other Hopes, were forced to prepare for Death. But then at the very Point of Despair, Mr. *Blood* was so kind as to produce them a Pardon, and so releasing and giving them their Freedom, bid them go to their Master, and tell him what they had done; and withal, that they should request him in the Name of the Confederates, to be as favourable to his Soldiers, when they fell under his Mercy.

But it being impossible to hold out long in these mutinous Courses of Life, where nothing was acted, but by the Dictates of Discontent, he betakes himself to a more safe and quiet way to get a Livelyhood. To which Purpose he settled his Wife and his eldest Son in an Apothecary's Shop, where they lived by the Names of *Weston*; while he himself turns Doctor, by the Name of *Ayliff*, and retiring to *Rumford* practised Physick there for a long Time.

By this Time the Northern Plot came to be fully discovered, wherein as I said before, I cannot learn Mr. *Blood* to have been any way concerned, but only in the Rescue of his Friend.

Upon the Discovery of this Conspiracy, several of the Confederates were apprehended, tried, and executed. Among those that were apprehended, was one Capt. *Mason*, a Person for whom Mr. *Blood* had a particular Affection and Friendship. This Person was to be removed from *London*, to one of the Northern Countries, in order to his Trial at the Assizes; and to that Intent was sent down with eight of the Duke's Troop to guard him, being reckoned to be a Person bold and couragious. Mr. *Blood* having Notice of this Journey, resolves by the way to rescue his Friend: The Prisoner and his Guard went away in the Morning, and Mr. *Blood* having made Choice of three more of his Ac-

quaintance, set forward the same Day at Night without Boots, upon small Horses, and their Pistols in their Trousers, to prevent Suspicion. But Opportunities are not so easily had, neither were all Places convenient. So that the Convoy and their Prisoner were gone a good way beyond *Newark*, before Mr. *Blood* and his Friends had any Scent of the Prisoner. At one Place they set a Centinel to watch his coming by; but whether it was out of Fear, or that the Person was tired with a tedious Expectation, the Centinel brought them no Tidings either of the Prisoner or his Guard. Infomuch that Mr. *Blood* and his Companions began to think their Friend so far before them upon the Road, that it would be in vain to follow him.

And yet not willing to give over an Enterprize so generously undertaken, upon Mr. *Blood's* Encouragement they rode on, though despairing of Success, until finding it grow toward Evening, and meeting a convenient Inn upon the Road, in a small Village not far from *Doncaster*, they resolved to lie there all Night, and return for *London* the next Morning. In that Inn they had not sat long in a Room next the Street, condoling among themselves the ill Success of a tedious Journey, and the Misfortune of their Friend, before the Convoy came thundering up to the Door of the same Inn with their Prisoner; in regard that Capt. *Mason* had made Choice of that Inn, as being best known to him, to give his Guardians the Refreshment of a Dozen of Drink. There Mr. *Blood*, unseen, had a full View of his Friend and the Persons he had to deal with. He had bespoke a small Supper, which was at the Fire, so that he had but very little Time for Consultation, finding that Capt. *Mason's* Party did not intend to alight; so that he only gave general Directions to his Associates to follow his Example in whatever they saw him do. In haste therefore they called for their Horses, and threw down their Money for the Reckoning, telling the Woman of the House, that since they had met with such good Company, they were resolved to go forward.

Capt. *Mason* went off first upon a sorry Beast, and with him the Commander of the Party and four more; the rest staid behind to make an End of their Liquor; then away marched one more single; and in a very small Time after, the last two. By this Time Mr. *Blood* and one of his Friends being horsed, followed the two that were hindmost and soon overtook them. These four Rode some little Time together, Mr. *Blood* on the right Hand of the two Soldiers, and his Friend on the left. But upon a sudden, Mr. *Blood* laid hold of the Reins of the Horse next him, while his Friend, in Observation of his Directions, did the same on the other Hand, and having presently by Surprise dismounted the Soldiers, pulled off the Bridles, and sent the Horses to pick their Grass where they pleased.

pleased. These two being thus made sure of, Mr. *Blood* pursues his Game, intending to have reached the single Trooper. But he being got to the rest of his Fellows, now reduced to six and a Barber of *York* that travelled in their Company, Mr. *Blood* made up, heads the whole Party, and stops them. Of which some of the foremost looking upon him to be either drunk or mad, thought the Rebuke of a Switch to be a sufficient Chastisement of such a rash Presumption, which they exercised with more Contempt than Fury, until by the Rudeness of his Compliments, he gave them to understand, that he was not in Jest, but in very good Earnest. He was soon seconded by his Friend that was with him in the first Exploit. But there had been several rough Blows dealt between the unequal Number of six to two, before Mr. *Blood's* two other Friends came in to Assistance. Nay, I may safely say, seven to two. For the Barber of *York*, whether out of his natural Propensity to the Sport, or that his Pot-valiantness had made him so generous to help his Fellow-travellers, would needs shew his Valour at the Beginning of the Fray; But better he had been at the latter End of a Feast; for though he shewed his Prudence to take the stronger Side, as guessed by the Number; yet because he would take no Warning which was often given him, not to put himself to the Hazard of losing a Ghittar Finger, by meddling in a Business that nothing concerned him, he lost his Life, in regard they were forced to dispatch him in the first Place, for giving them a needless Trouble.

The Barber being thus become a useless Instrument, and the other of Mr. *Blood's* Friends being come up, the Skirmish began to be very smart; the four Assailants having singled out their Champions as fairly and equally as they could. All this while Captain *Mason* being rode before upon his Thirty Shilling Steed, wondering his Guard came not with him, looked back, and observing a Combustion, and that they were altogether by the Ears, knew not what to think. He conjectured it at first to have been some Intrigue upon him, as if the Troopers had a Design to tempt him to an Escape, which might afterwards prove more to his Prejudice; just like Cats, that with a regardless Scorn seem to give the distressed Mouse all the Liberty in the World to get away out of their Paws, but soon recover their Prey again at one Jump. Thereupon unwilling to undergo the Hazard of such a Tryal, he comes back, at what Time Mr. *Blood* cried out to him, *Horse, Horse quickly*. An alarm so amazing at first, that he could not believe it to be his Friend's Voice, when he heard it; but as the thoughts of Military Men are soon summoned together, and never hold *Spanish* Councils, the Captain presently settled his Resolution, mounts the next Horse that wanted a Rider, and puts in for a Share of his own Self-Preservation.

In this bloody Conflict Mr. *Blood* was three Times unhorsed, occasioned by his Forgetfulness, as having omitted to new girt his Saddle, which the Ostler had unloosened upon the wadeing his Horse, at his first coming into the Inn. Being then so often dismounted, and not knowing the Reason, which the Occasion would not give him leave to consider, he resolved to fight it out on Foot. Of which two of the Soldiers taking the Advantage, singled him out and drove him into a Court-Yard, where he made a Stand with a full Body, his Sword in one Hand and his Pistol in the other. One of the Soldiers taking that Advantage of his open Body, shot him near the Shoulder-Blade of his Pistol-Arm, at what Time he had other Bullets in his Body that he had received before. Which the Soldier observing, flung his discharged Pistol at him, with that good Aim and Violence, that he hit him a stunning Blow just under the Forehead, upon the upper Part of the Nose between the Eyes; which for the present so amazed him, that he gave himself over for a dead Man. Yet resolving, like a true Cock of the Game, to give one sparring Blow before he expired, such is the strange Provocation and Success of Despair, with one vigorous Stroke of his Sword, he brought his Adversary with a Vengeance from his Horse, and laid in a far worse Condition than himself at his Horse's Feet.

At what Time full of Anger and Revenge, he was just going to make an End of his Conquest, by giving him the fatal Stab; but in that very Nick of Time Capt. *Mason*, having, with the Help of his Friends, done his Business; where they had fought, by the Death of some, and disabling others that the opposed them, came in and bid him hold, and spare the Life of one that had been the civilest Person to him upon the Road, a fortunate Piece of Kindness in the one, and of Gratitude in the other. Which Mr. *Blood* easily condescending to, by the joint Assistance of the Captain, the other Soldier was soon mastered; and the Victory, after a sharp Fight that lasted about two Hours, was at length compleated.

You may be sure the Fight was well maintained on both Sides, while two of the Soldiers, besides the Barber, were slain upon the Place; three unhorsed, and the rest wounded. And it was observable, that though the Encounter happened in a Village, where a great Number of People were Spectators of the Combat, yet none would adventure the Rescue of either Party, as not knowing which was in the Wrong, or which in the right, and were therefore wary of being Arbitrators in such a desperate Contest, where they saw the Reward of Assistance, to be nothing but present Death. After the Combat was over, Mr. *Blood* and his Friends divided themselves and parted several Ways.

And

And it was Mr. *Blood's* Misfortune to ride all that Night and lose his Way, nothing but Blood and Gore all over from Top to Toe, before he could get to his Friend's House, whither he designed, and have the Assistance of a Surgeon, which he there obtained. The rest got safe in some few Days to their several Sanctuaries.

However, such was the Occasion of their Departure, and the Necessity of their parting without Compliments, that several Weeks were past before they united again, or knew what became of one another. Such a Coherence there is between the Departures of Death itself, and those occasioned by the Fear of Death.

So soon as this remarkable Skirmish was over, Mr. *Blood* lay close for a while, there being no less than Three Hundred Pounds set upon his Head, for a Reward to any Person that should apprehend him. To which Purpose, believing he could be no where so safe, as under the Disguise of a Doctor, he returned again to his old Sanctuary at *Rumford*, and there fell again to his former Practice of Physick.

But whether his active Spirit were impatient of this Quiet, or that the Temptations of Opportunities engaged him to new Enterprizes, he seemed now desirous to repair the Damage of his lost Estate, believing that they who either detained, or had disposed of his Right (and certain it is, he assumed to himself both Right and Title) ought to make him Satisfaction.

To this Purpose, after several Consultations and Deliberations with himself, Mr. *Blood* comes to Town, and having mustered to his Assistance about five or six Persons more, in whose Resolution and Secrecy he could confide, it was resolved at length that the Person of the Duke of *Ormond*, then living at *Clarendon-House*, at the upper End of the Street leading from *St. James's* Palace, should be seized, designing to make those Advantages of his Person, which they had before concluded upon.

This Enterprize being resolved, Mr. *Blood*, with five more of his trusty Gang, being well armed and mounted, having set the Duke's Coach, upon the Sixth of *December*, in the Year 1670, at Night, and finding he was to pass from *St. James's* through the long Street to *Clarendon-House* with a very small Attendance, they soon secured the Flambeaux and Lackies that carried them, and having stopped the Coach, and made sure of the Driver, they forced the Duke out of his Coach, and set him behind one of the Company, who was not then to enquire what he was to do with a Purchase of that Value, having received his Orders before, to ride through thick and thin with him, till he got to the Place appointed,

pointed, where they would not be long absent from him to have made better and more secure Provision for his Father, and more private Conveyance.

An Attempt which might perhaps have succeeded, had it been made upon a Person whose Courage and Valour were not so easy to be quelled. But those Virtues meeting in the Duke with a Strength proportionable; the stout Resistance which he made, and the struggling with his Assailers, gave them no small Trouble, and the Duke the Leisure to have the News of the Attempt carried to his House, which soon brought the Porter at the Gate to his Assistance. The Assailants made away for *Fulham-Ferry*, where they got over and conveyed themselves to their Places of Refuge where they lay concealed, though great Rewards were proffered for their Apprehension, and a Thousand Pound particularly set upon Mr. *Blood's* Head, which took no Effect, till his next Attempt discovered him.

Thus had Mr. *Blood* attempted several ways to repair the Losses, which he supposed himself to have sustained, either from the Neglect or Permission of that Authority, which he thought was concerned to make him Satisfaction. One Project yet remained, which he was certain would either make or marr him; if he escaped, he thought himself made: if he failed in the attempt, he knew the Enterprize would make such a Noise in the World, that he was sure to be another *Herostatus*, and to live in Story for the Strangeness, if not the Success of his Attempts, and to make himself whole by the Spoils of the *English* Crown, which though it lay in a safe Place, the Tower, he was resolved to fetch from its Sanctuary.

Having therefore resolved upon the Fact, the ways of accomplishing the Design were duly consulted. And because such Enterprises are not to be carried on without Accomplices, he made choice of three or four more, who he knew would not flinch from him.

As for his own Part, he put himself into the habit of a Doctor of Divinity, with a little Band, a long false Beard, a Cap with Ears, and all those other Formalities of Garb belonging to that Degree, except the Gown, rather choosing to make use of a Cloak as being most proper for his Purpose.

Under this Disguise he made it his Business to get acquainted with the Keeper of the *Regalia*, an old Man: he brought several Persons to see the *Regalia*, who were no unprofitable Guests.

He treated and caressed the Keeper at a rate not so much expensive, as kind and obliging, by which means he had created such a Familiarity, and Intimacy with the old Man, that he took the Doctor to be no Wolf in Sheep's-Clothing,

but one of his greatest Friends; infomuch that the old Man having a Son, and the Doctor pretending to have a Daughter, the two Parents were upon concluding a Match between the young People, which had proceeded so far, that the Doctor and keeper gave each other the Appellation of Brother.

The Day before the Fact was to be done, the Doctor came and informed the old Man, that he had some Friends to go out of Town the next Morning, to whom he had promised a Sight of the *Regalia* that were in his Custody, and desired he might have the Kindness to gratify their Curiosity, though perhaps the Time might be not so seasonable, as being a little too early.

The next Morning the Doctor and two more, having prepared their Conveniences of a Wallet and a wooden Mallet, went directly to the old Man's House where the *Regalia* lay, leaving one of their Companions to hold their Horses that staid for them at the Iron Gate.

The old Man no sooner saw his new Brother the Doctor, and his Friends, but he was ready to shew them the Civility which the Doctor had requested the Day before, and accordingly opened the Doors where the Treasure lay.

It seems, it is the Custom of the Keeper of the *Regalia*, when he exposes them to publick View, to lock himself within a Kind of Grate or Door with open Bars. to the end those Things of high Value may be seen but not soiled, by the Touch of so many People, as daily came to see those precious Ornaments.

But the Doctor and his Companions were too quick for the old Man, and followed him so close at the Heels, that he had no sooner opened the Door, but they were likewise in with him. Presently they seized the old Man, for whom, though he struggled much to preserve his Reputation and the Charge he had, it was in vain to make a long resistance, for they had soon put him beyond making a Noise, as having received several unkind Knocks with the wooden Mallet.

One of the Company was for killing the old Man outright, but his Brother the Doctor would not permit so great a Piece of Barbarism, as being under a Disguise that would have rendered the Fact doubly heinous, had he added Murther to Robbery under the Notion of an Ecclesiastical Person.

Having thus got possession of their Purchase, they made flat the Bows of the Crown to make it more portable, and so having conveyed it into their Wallet, together with the Scepter, and Dove, they began to set forward.

But just in the nick of their Departure, a Son of the old Man's, who had not been in *England* in ten Years before (so strange a Providence attends the Discovery of great Crimes) coming to the House to see his Father, and making Enquiry where he was, was told he was in the Treasury shewing the *Regalia* to some Friends.

Thereupon

Thereupon out of a zealous Impatience of filial Duty to cast himself at his Father's Knees he flew to the Place, where he was soon surpris'd with a Sight, not more unexpected and amazing, than sad and dreadful to behold, his Father weltering in his Blood, and the Royal Treasury robbed.

It was no time then to make unnecessary Lamentations which would have given the Criminals Liberty to have escaped, and therefore with a prompt and ready Courage, knowing the Persons again by their Habits as they went out, he presently pursued them, put the Centinels and other Soldiers upon their Duty, by his Outcries, so that although the Doctor and his Friends made all the Resistance they could, as it behoved them; yet all the Resistance they could make was in vain in such a Place as that, for both the Doctor and his Accomplices were all taken; but he that held the Horses, who fled upon the Rumour, and the *Regalia* were all recovered again, all bruised and battered, yet without the loss of one Stone, unless it were one which was afterwards found by a poor Cinder-woman, and restored to the Keeper or those appointed in his stead.

This Fact being made known among the People, and aggravated with the Murder of the Keeper, as it was then reported, made a great Noise about the Town, so that Mr. *Blood* had received several Sentences before the Particulars of the Crime were fully examined.

But the People not being the proper Judges of the Crime, Mr. *Blood* upon his Apprehension, was carried before his Majesty himself, by whom he was examined with a Lenity and Moderation not to be paralleled.

It was in vain to deny a Fact so easy to be proved upon him; and therefore he thought it more convenient, and more suitable with his Condition, to appear with a Resolution, which perhaps would much better have become a nobler Act.

As the Passages of this Examination were known but to few, so they have been but to as few communicated.

But it is to be presumed that a Man of his daring and adventurous Courage was not wanting to himself in the Justification, as far as lay in his Power, of the Offence which he had committed. No question but that he made a full Declaration of the Wrongs, Injuries, and Losses which he had sustained (and Men in such Cases will pretend to be the most proper Judges of their own Causes) and the Disgraces and Disappointments he had met with in *Ireland*.

However it were, his Majesty was graciously pleased to make him a Proposition, that could not choose but be welcome to a Person under his Circumstances, by asking him this single Question, *What if he should grant him his Life?* To which Mr. *Blood* is said to have replied, *That he would endeavour to deserve it.*

How

How or which way that could be, is a Secret, which it cannot be expected should be here discussed, but the Consequences of the whole Proceeding, which were his Pardon, not only for himself, and his Followers, or rather Assistants and Accomplices, together with his Re-admission into his Majesty's Favour; were assured Signs that he had given that Satisfaction, which if they that received it were willing to accept, no Person else had Reason to misdoubt.

This is evident, that soon after *Desborough*, *Kelsey*, and others appeared publicly about the Town, coming over from *Holland*, and surrendering themselves to his Majesty. Which, by whom ever procured, might be thought a good Piece of Service at that time, when the two Nations of *England* and *Holland* being embroiled in open Wars, the Conduct and Advice of such Persons might have been of no small Prejudice to us, and Advantage to the Enemy.

However it was publickly taken Notice of that Mr. *Blood* was daily with the said Persons at the same Time, at Mr. *White's Coffee-House* behind the *Royal Exchange*, where they met in a Room by themselves. So well and smoothly did Mr. *Blood*, both then, and since, behave himself among those, that are called the Dissenting Party.

But as Ingratitude is a Vice that reigns among all sorts of Religions, and all the Varieties of Opinions; it is not without good Presumptions thought, that those very People, that in some measure may be said to have owed their Lives to his painful Endeavours, have since been so unkind as to prove altogether off, their duly merited Acknowledgments.

What is to be said as to his late Troubles there is little, but what is already in Print or the common Town-talk.

He says, or else it is said for him, that he was desired by the Woman that keeps the *St. John's Head*, or *Heaven Tavern*, to come and speak with her at such a Time.

That upon his coming to her, she told him, that two shabby Fellows had been with her sometime before, to tell her, that they had something of great Consequence, in reference to the Welfare of the Publick to reveal, but that they wanted a discreet Person to manage it.

That thereupon Mr. *Blood* made answer, that if there were any Thing fit to be taken Notice of, he would bring them to those that had sufficient Authority to take Notice of it, and thereupon promised to meet the Persons.

That upon his second coming to speak with the Discoverers, they refused to speak with him, for that understanding he was the Person with whom they were to discourse, they averred they would have nothing to do with him, for that he was the Duke of *Buckingham's* Friend.

That thereupon, the Woman of the House, that Mr. *Blood* might see she had not told him a Lye, perswaded one of the Persons to shew himself to Mr. *Blood*.

Who to that purpose, as he passed by stepped into the Room where Mr. *Blood* was, and going in, told, that he and his Fellows had Business of great Concernment to discover, but could not then by Reason of another Appointment, and so concluded upon another Day.

That Mrs. *Bradley* upon this came to him to his House, and told him she believed the Fellows were Rogues and Trapans, and advised him to seize them and carry them before a Magistrate.

That Mr. *Blood*, weighing the Consequence of the Woman's Advice, and being informed by her of their Lodgings according to the Directions of one Mr. *Curtis*, went to Dr. *Chamberlain*, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*, and told him the Story; who thereupon not only gave Mr. *Blood* his Warrant, but accompanied him till the Execution of his Warrant.

That two Persons were by him apprehended by the Names of *Philemon Codan*, and *Samuel Ryther*.

That upon their Apprehension, and first Examination Severally, before Dr. *Chamberlain*, they seem to wonder what he meant when he told them, he heard they knew of a Plot, and wanted a Magistrate to reveal it to.

That thereupon the Justice of the Peace told them all that Mr. *Blood* had told him concerning their Discourse with Mrs. *Bradley*, and their Appointment of meeting Mr. *Blood*.

That to this, one of them, viz. *Codan* replied, that it was about the Duke of *Buckingham*, who he said, owed them several Hundreds of Pounds upon an Account of Wages, and that they wanted some Body that was able to cope with him. To whom one *Curtis* standing by, replied in these Words.

How! did not I hear you say at such a Place that you knew of a greater Plot yet undiscovered than either Mr. *Oates*, or Mr. *Bedloe* had hitherto made out? To which the said *Codan* gave no satisfactory Answer; and *Ryther* protested he knew nothing of a Plot, or any thing like it.

That to all this the Doctor urged, that it was not to be that any discreet Person should be so overseen as to interpose between Master and Servant about Wages, especially so great a Person as the Duke was, and therefore that could not be the Reason of their meeting at *Heaven*.

That thereupon one of them starting up in a violent Passion before the Justice of the Peace swore, that he would be revenged upon the Duke of *Buckingham*,
and

and that he would swear any Thing that could tend to the doing him a Prejudice, and that he himself would swear Sodomy against him.

That upon this the Justice of the Peace having told them that he neither did believe nor would hear any Thing relating to the Duke, asked them jointly, what was the Reason they ran away at the Sight of Mr. *Blood* at Mrs. *Bradley's*? To which they replied, that they were mistrustful of him, because they had heard he was the Duke's Friend.

That thereupon Dr. *Chamberlain* taking them for impertinent Fellows, dismissed them, with Directions to consider what they had said, and to attend him at such a time at his House, where he would be ready to hear whatever they had to discover concerning any Plot.

That accordingly they came with one *Whitaker* and *Jenks*, where Mr. *Blood* likewise attended. At what time Dr. *Chamberlain*, asking them the meaning of their former shuffling Stories, they replied they had a farther Design to carry on for the Good of the Publick, but would come to no Particulars. Whereupon Dr. *Chamberlain* dismissed them.

That soon after Sir *W. W.* sent for Mr. *Blood* to a Tavern in *Westminster*, whither when he came, he found *Ryther*, *Codan*, *Whitaker*, and *Jenks* in Sir *William's* Company: And what more surprized him, he found *Ryther* and *Codan*, in a genteel Equipage, and alamode Accoutrements, whom he looked upon before as very mean Fellows.

That presently then, Sir *William* told him he was very much troubled for the Premunire he had brought himself into; for that *Ryther* and *Codan* were come to depose upon Oath, that he had attempted several times to corrupt them with Money, and other Rewards, to swear Sodomy against the Duke of *Buckingham*.

That upon Mr. *Blood's* making strange of it, *Codan* started up and confirmed the same.

That thereupon Mr. *Blood* asked them how they could be so impudent, as to invent such a thing against him, whom they had never seen but once at *Heaven*, and another time with Dr. *Chamberlain*?

That thereupon Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Jenks* stood up, and bid Mr. *Blood* be honest, and just, and confes. To whom Mr. *Blood* replied, you that have been these two Years last employed to asperse me, Could you find no better Invention than this?

That after this, Mr. *Blood* directing his Discourse to Sir *William Waller*, desired of him to know the meaning of the whole Story, which was a Thing so unknown to himself. Upon which, Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Jenks*, jointly affirmed *Codan* and *Ryther* to be honest Men, and pressed Sir *William* for Justice.

That thereupon Sir *William* desired Mr. *Blood* very civilly to put in Bail ; to which Mr. *Blood* replied, that he would consider of it, and so for that time went about his Occasions.

That the next Morning he went to Sir *William*'s House, for a Copy of his *Mittimus*, which at length was granted him.

That the next Day he was met by a Constable, who told him he had a Warrant against him from Sir *William Waller*, mistaking a *Mittimus* for a Warrant, and thereupon he went away with the Constable to a Tavern, where he continued under Restraint of the Constable several Hours.

That while he was under Custody, Sir *William*, apprehensive of some Mistake, as is pretended, sent one of the Witnesses to the Constable, to know how he had disposed of Mr. *Blood*, and whether he had carried him to Prison ; who made Answer, that he had not sufficient Authority for so doing, and that Mr. *Blood* might bring him into Trouble for so doing, as not having been carried before a Justice of Peace, as he ought to have been first of all.

That thereupon the Witness went back to Sir *William*, and not long after returned to the Constable, and brought him a Warrant to seize Mr. *Blood*, and for want of Bail to carry him to the *Gatehouse*.

That upon that Warrant Mr. *Blood* gave in Bail before Sir *William Poultney* to answer the Accusation.

Upon which Accusation Mr. *Blood* with the rest were found Guilty.

The Verdict being given in against them, his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* lays a great Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against Mr. *Blood*, whereby he was forced for Refuge to the *King's Bench* ; where I will leave him until the next Term, at which time I shall be farther capacitated to enlarge upon this Subject ; and whereas at this Time I have acquainted you of Things concerning this Business only by Report, I shall endeavour to become a more near Inspector myself as to what may ensue upon the whole, that in all Things I may approve myself,

S I R,

Yours ready to be commanded,

R. H.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

S I R,

I MAKE no doubt, but as the foregoing Account of the most remarkable Passages of the Life of Mr. *Blood*, did in some measure satisfy your Curiosity; so likewise by what I promised in the Conclusion, it left you in Expectation of more: And indeed, I resolved to have made what use I could both of my own Friends Acquaintance with him, to have procured a true Information of many other material, though minuter Occurrences of so singular a Life; which no Man but the Person himself was able to give, with the true Light of those Circumstances that made them, as to him, observable, who seldom or never set about any Thing which was not inspired by somewhat above the common Principles of Conduct: But the last Term of human Life has prevented the Term wherein (as I told you) I hoped to have been capacitated to give you a larger Account of that Subject; and the Death of that noted Man confines now my Relation to what preceded, and was subsequent to his End.

I left him in the *King's Bench*, into which he had turned himself over by a *Habeas Corpus* from the *Gatehouse*; but his Stay was not long there, for having given Security for his Imprisonment, he returned to his own House in the *Bowling-Alley* in *Westminster*, not far from the House of Sir *William Waller*. When he was thus retired unto the quiet Recess of his own private Habitation, he began with more than ordinary Concern to reflect upon his Condition, both as to his personal Reputation, and the Interest of his Family; the one he saw extremely blasted, not through any Injustice of the Court, but (as he still affirmed) the Malice of Enemies; and the other in a probable way of Ruin, partly by Disappointments from Debtors, especially when he stood most in need of his own; and partly by that heavy and crushing Action of Ten Thousand Pounds which his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* thought fit to lay upon him, for his having laid a Scandal on a Peer of his Grace's Quality.

These dismal Thoughts assailing a Man of his high Spirit, (that by the Circumstances he was in then, found no probability of getting out of the Mire by his former Methods of contriving and daring, but perceiving himself in a manner manacled at this Time, whereas in all the other Exigencies of his Life, he had constantly trusted to his Hands and Action) brought upon him a pensive passion of Melancholly, the usual Rock on which great and aspiring Spirits at last split:

split: And the sickly Season of the Year having fitted his Body for the Impressions of a discontented Mind, he fell sick of a fatal, though no violent Distemper.

His Sickness lasted fourteen Days; during which, he was often visited by some of my Acquaintance, and particularly by a Minister that went to administer to him what spiritual Assistance he found him capable of: This Person acquainted me, that he found him apparently in a sedate Temper of Mind as to the Concerns of his Soul, nothing startled at the Apprehensions of approaching Death; that he told him, he had set his Thoughts in order, and was ready and willing to obey, when it pleased God to give him the last Call; but that he desired not to spend much Time in Discourse, as being neither suitable to his Condition nor Humour: And indeed, for the remaining Time of his Sickness (except in ordering his domestic Affairs) he seemed unwilling to be engaged in any Conference; but continued in Bed, like one who suffered more under the Discipline of a discontented Heart, than the Violence of any bodily Distemper, which many Times appeared by those involuntary Sighs, that in the Intervals, betwixt his frequent Slumbers, he was observed to fetch. On *Monday* before his Death he was taken speechless, and continued so, in a kind of Lethargy, without much Motion or Action, unless a drowsy heaving and fetching for Breath, until *Wednesday* the 24th of *August*, about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time he expired.

It hath been given out by some (according to the manner of this censorious Age) that he made use of some narcotick and stupifying Medicines, either to hasten or facilitate his Death; and they would ground their Presumptions (for Evidence have they none) upon his Drowsiness and Insensibility during the last Days of his Sickness: From what Cause that Torpor proceeded is the Province of Physicians to determine; but that every one who dies in that manner must have had Recourse to Art, I think none dare affirm; and therefore no Man ought, on partial Conjectures, to judge rashly of one, who had the Courage not to despair in the worst Circumstances of Life, and far less should be thought to do it, on a Death-bed of no painful Sickness.

An Arrow out of the same Quiver is another malicious Report, that he died a Papist; but it would be needless to produce the Testimonies of Persons beyond Exception, who were constantly with him in his Sickness to refute this Aspersion, since the Education, past Life, and Interest of Colonel *Blood* at this Time, may be sufficient to convince all candid and unprejudiced Men, that this Surmise is but a Calumny raised by those Enemies of his, who would willingly have had him worse than they could make him.

On *Friday* after his Death he was decently interred in the new Chapel by *Tot-hill-Fields*, near the Place where his Wife lies buried, in Hopes of a more joyful Resurrection than his Body soon after met with; for a Rumour that came abroad, that some Persons had seen Mr. *Blood* alive, and that the Report of his Sicknefs, Death, and Ceremony of his Burial, was but a Farce and Piece of Pageantry to carry on some Design, his Body was on *Thursday* after disinterred, and the Coroner with his Jury appointed to sit upon, and take Cognizance of the same. The Coroner accordingly, with his Jury, who were all, or most of them supposed to have known the Colonel, met and viewed the Body; but found his Face so altered and swollen in those six Days it had lodged in the Earth, and so few Lineaments and Features of their old Acquaintance, that they could not agree on their Verdict. And though a Captain that was present, and an intimate Acquaintance of the deceased Colonel, shewed them his Thumb, which by some Accident he had received in his Life-time, had grown to a prodigious Bigness, and was taken Notice of by all that kept him Company; yet the Jury, not thinking it so easy to discover Colonel *Blood* by his Thumb, as it was of old to know *Hercules* by his Foot, demurred upon it, and for what I can hear have not as yet given in their Verdict.

It is not very strange that lifeless Flesh and Blood, hastening to return to the Dust from whence it was taken, and ready to dissolve into Putrefaction, should in six or seven Days be disfigured beyond kenning; but it is somewhat extraordinary, that such a Person as Mr. *Blood*, who in all the Changes of a restless Life never wanted a competent Subsistence for himself and Family, should at last, after he had weathered the greatest Storms of Adversity, made many Friends, recovered the Favour of his Prince, settled himself and Family in a neat and splendid Habitation, and had Money abroad in the World, that such a one, I say, should die, and have so inconsiderable a Cash by him, that it would be thought too small a *viaticum* for a forty Miles Journey; and yet this through Disappointments was his Case, which, without doubt added no small Weight to the other Pressures of Mind that first sunk, and at last broke that great Heart, which had often despised the Danger of many astonishing and bold Attempts, in the Course of a very singular and remarkable Life, of Fifty-three Years Duration.

Characters of Men, Sir, are best drawn from their Actions; and I should be bold to give a Judgment of this Person, after that you have a candid Relation of the greatest Atchievements of his Life: Yet I think it may not be altogether presumptuous, if I offer to assist your Remarks upon the preceding Narrative, by a rough, yet plain Representation of the Sense that judicious Men, who were acquainted

quainted with the Colonel better than myself, have had, and still have of his Value.

He was a Man, in their Opinion, fitter to imbroid than compose a disconcerted Society; to be a Mate to some hunting *Nimrod*, rather than an Assistant to a peaceful Magistrate; not that he wanted a Reach of Understanding, and with a prompt Comprehension of Things a clear and distinguishing Judgment; but his ambitious and restless Spirit, suitably lodged in a strong and vigorous Body, always directed his Thoughts to such stirring and active Counsels, as not only were inconsistent with Temper and Mildness, but required a necessary Concurrence of undaunted Resolution, with plodding Sagacity, before they could be brought to Effect: And indeed his Heart and Head clubbed so equally, and kept so true a Pace together in all his Undertakings, that if the great Things he set about failed of the projected Success, yet they were still brought so near an Issue, that Providence seemed concerned, by defeating them at the last nick, to make good that Oracle of Scripture, *That God brings to nought the Counsels of the Wise*. And his Designs were generally laid with so much Artifice, and managed with that Confidence of Undertaking, that in all Probability human and ordinary Circumspection was not sufficient to way-lay him in many of his subtile and politick Contrivances.

They cannot deny but that there was a great Obliquity in his Morals, since his most noted Actions can allow of no other Appellation, than that of splendid Crimes; but whether the Injuries which he always pretended to have received, disjointed the original Rectitude of his Nature and Education, by bending him to Revenge, or that powerful Ambition, which seems to be the greatest Excess that swayed him, set him upon unusual Methods of Conduct, it is still certain, that he pursued none of those mean and sneaking Actions, that leaves an indelible Character of Ignominy upon those who would be thought Gentlemen, when they tread in the Steps of Villains. He was indeed for forbidden Game, but never on the King's Highway, always in Royal Parks and Forests; Crowns, Scepters and Government were his Booty; and the surprising of Castles and Vice-Roys his Recreation. For compassing those great Ends, he had a wonderful Art of insinuating into the Affections of the Leaders of all discontented Parties; and maugre the Differences of Remonstrances of the various Persuasions in Religion of those he rallied with, he still won so much upon the Minds of the Cabals, that (unless it be of late) he was never suspected by his Party; though it appeared at his last, that he either fell back, or had in his Heart constantly adhered to the Religion wherein he was educated. In sum, Sir, when they have considered

considered him on every side, in the Heat of Bustling, and in the Cool of his Retreat, which seemed only to be his quarter of Refreshment, wherein he plotted and laid new trains for Action, they think that Part of the burlesque Epitaph that was made on Mr. *Prynn*, may very fitly quadrate to this famed Man:

*That he went through thick and thin,
Was never out, nor never in.*

And so I shall leave him to his Judge, and recommend myself to your good Wishes; being,

S I R,

Yours.

A full and true Relation of his Excellency the Pope's Nuncio making his public Entry at *Windsor* on *Sunday* the third of this Instant *July* 1687.

Printed in the Year 1687.

THE Town of *Windsor* was so full of all sorts of People, from all Parts, that some of the Inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get Provisions or Room, either for Horse or Man; nay, many Persons of Quality, and others, were forced to sit in their Coaches and Calashes almost all the Day.

So great were the Expectations of all People to see this Ceremony, supposing it to be greater than ordinary, by reason there has not been any public Minister of State from the Pope, for above an hundred and forty Years, that hath made any public Entry, as I am informed.

All the Spectators supposed he would set out a little after Noon, but did not till between five and six of the Clock in the Afternoon; at which time his Excellency took Coach, it being one of his Majesty's, for that purpose, at his own Lodgings, the Duke of *Grafton* and Sir *Charles Cotterel* being in the Coach with him; his Excellency was clothed in Purple, and a Gold Crucifix hanging at his Breast.

The first that appeared in this Ceremony. was one of the Knight-Marshal's Men on Horseback, and after him two others followed on Foot; after them went

his Excellency's Footmen, being twelve in Number, their Coats being all of a dark-grey coloured Cloth, with white and purple Lace. After them followed the Coach of State, in which was his Excellency, having four Pages to attend him two on each Side, taking hold of the Coach; their Coats were very richly laced. His Excellency had three Coaches, with six horses a-piece in each Coach. Immediately after his Excellency, in two of his Coaches, were ten Priests, his Coach of State going empty. After them went the Lord Chancellor's, two of the Lord-President's, the Lord Privy Seal's, and the Lord Chamberlain's Coach. There were eighteen Coaches more besides them, with six Horses a-piece; in which Number the Lord Bishop of *Durham's* was one, and the Bishop of *Chester's* another. In this Order they went up to the Castle, where they stayed about a Quarter of an Hour, and then his Excellency returned back to his Lodgings.

By the KING a DECLARATION.

Printed at *Holy-Rood-House*, in the Year 1688.

JAMES R.

AS we cannot consider this Invasion of our Kingdoms, by the Prince of *Orange*, without Horror, for so unchristian and unnatural an Undertaking, in a Person so nearly related to us; so it is a Matter of the greatest Trouble and Concern to us, to reflect upon the many Mischiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels must unavoidably bring upon our People. It is but too evident, by a late Declaration published by him, that notwithstanding the many specious and plausible Pretences it carries, his Designs, in the Bottom, do tend to nothing less than an absolute usurping of our Crown and Royal Authority; as may fully appear by his assuming to himself, in the said Declaration, the Regal Stile: Requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Persons of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in the Execution of his Designs, a Prerogative inseparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing can satisfy but the immediate Possession of the Crown itself, he calls in Question the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, our Son and Heir apparent, though, by the Providence of God, there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses, of unquestionable Credit, as it seemed to have been the particular Care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparalled Attempt.

And in order to the effecting his ambitious Designs, he seems desirous, in the Close of his Declaration, to submit all to the Determination of a free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with our People; though nothing can be more evident, than that a Parliament cannot be free, so long as there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of our Kingdoms, so that in Truth he himself is the sole Obstrueter of such a free Parliament: We being fully resolved, as we have already declared, so soon as (by the Blessing of God) our Kingdoms shall be delivered from this Invasion, to call a Parliament, which can no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen, since we have actually restored all the Boroughs and Corporations of this our Kingdom to their ancient Rights and Privileges, and in which we shall be ready, not only to receive and redress all the just Complaints and Grievances of our good Subjects, but also to repeat and confirm the Assurance we have already given to them, in our several Declarations, of our Resolution, by God's Blessing, to maintain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and all other their just Rights and Privileges whatsoever. Upon these Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Allegiance, we can no ways doubt, but that all our faithful and loving Subjects will readily and heartily concur and join with us, in the intire Suppression and repelling of those our Enemies and Rebelious subjects, who have so injuriously and disloyally invaded and disturbed the Peace and Tranquillity of these our Kingdoms.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the 6th of *November* 1688, and of our Reign the Fourth Year.

A LIST of the Foot and Horse that are come with the Prince of Orange, as printed in Holland.

HORSE.

The Life-Guard,	<i>Fioddorff,</i>		
Regiment of Guards commanded by	<i>Seyde,</i>		
<i>Benting,</i>	<i>Oye,</i>		
<i>Waldeck's Regiment,</i>	<i>Suylestein,</i>		
<i>Nassaw,</i>		In all,	
<i>Ginckel,</i>	Troopers.	- -	1683
<i>Mompellian,</i>	Life Guard,	- -	197
Count <i>Vander Lip,</i>	Regiment of Guards of <i>Benting,</i>		480
The Prince's Dragoons,	Prince's Dragoons,	- -	860
<i>Marrewis's Dragoons,</i>	<i>Marrewis's Dragoons,</i>	- -	440
<i>Sgravemoer,</i>			
<i>Saphbroek,</i>			
	In all	- -	3660

3 F 2

FOOT.

FOOT.

Foot-Guards, commanded by	Holstein,	-	-	10 Comp.
C. Solmes,	-	-	-	25 Comp.
Mackay,	-	-	-	12 Comp.
Balfour,	-	-	-	12 Comp.
Talmash,	-	-	-	12 Comp.
Regiment which was former-	Carelson,	-	-	12 Comp.
ly Bellise's,	-	-	-	12 Comp.
Regiment which was former-	Brander,	-	-	10 Comp.
ly Wachop's,	-	-	-	12 Comp.
Prince of Borkevelt,	-	-	-	10 Comp.
In all,	-	-	-	164 Comp.
Regiment which was the	At 53 in a Company, is,	-	-	8692
late Earl of Offory's,	-	-	-	10 Comp.
Of Guards,	-	-	-	2000
Barkevelt,	-	-	-	10 Comp.
Summa	-	-	-	10692

Foot 10692
Horse 3660

14352

All these Troops (if compleat) would have
amounted to this Number, but, as they
are not, they amount but to about

12000

LIST of the FLEET.

Men of War,	65
Fly-Boats,	500
Pinks,	60
Fire-Ships,	10
In all,	635

A true

A true Account of the Preservation of the Regalia of *Scotland*, viz. Crown, Sword, and Scepter, from falling into the Hands of the *English* Usurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet; with the Blazon of that Family.

The Atchievement of Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet, sometime Governor of the Castle of *Dunnottor*, and Preserver of the Regalia.

ARGENT, a Lion passant, guardant, Gules, crowned with an Imperial Crown, holding in his dexter Paw, in Pale, a Sword, hilted and pomelled. Or, in the dexter chief Point a Thistle proper, ensigned with a Crown of the last, and in the sinister the Badge of *Nova Scotia*, as a Knight Baronet; which Shield is timbered with Helmet and Chachements befitting his Degree, on a Wreath of his Tinctures, for Crest a Demi-man armed at all Points, pointing forth his Right-hand towards the Motto on an Escrol, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*; which Blazon is thus matriculate 27th of *December* 1673.

This Family carries the Lion passant, guardant, for the Paternal Coat of *Ogilvie*; the Sword, Crown and Thistle, as additional Figures of Honour granted to him by Authority, for special and eminent Service done to his King and Country, in preserving the Honours of *Scotland* from falling into the Hands of the *English* (intimate by his Motto, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*) as is evident from the following Account instructed by principal Papers and Evidents. For 'tis more satisfactory to Man to know the Truth of Things as they were really designed and acted from the Testimony of original Papers and Documents, than from the Allegations and bare Assertions of Pretenders, without Proo for Instruction.

When the Rebels in *Britain* under *Oliver Cromwel* the Usurper, had triumphed over the best of Men, and justest of Kings, *Charles* the First, and those that persisted in their Loyalty to him in these lamentable Times of Confusion, the Regalia or Honours of *Scotland* were delivered to the Custody of the Earl *Marischal*, and were lodged in the strong Castle of *Dunnottor*, within the Shire of *Mearns*, as a Place of greatest Security and Distance from the Enemy.

The said Earl being obliged to be in the Fields to defend his King and Country against the Usurper, he made Choice of *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, as the fittest Man for his Valour, Prudence and Loyalty, to intrust the Keeping of the said
Castle

Castle of *Dunnottor*, with the Honours, viz. the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, and other Monuments of the Kingdom therein, makes him his Lieutenant, and gives him the Commission following.

Forasmuch as the King's Majesty and Committee of Estates, have intrusted the Care and Keeping of the House and Castle of Dunnottor to us William Earl Marischal, and have allowed forty Men, a Lieutenant, and two Serjeants, to be entertained within it upon the public Charge : Therefore we do hereby nominate George Ogilvie of Barras to be our Lieutenant for keeping of the said House and Castle, and give unto him the sole and full Power of the Command thereof, and of the Men that are to be entertained therein, for keeping thereof under us, with Power to him to bruick, enjoy, and keep the said Place, with all Fees, Dues, and Allowances belonging thereto, as fully, in all Respects, as any other Lieutenant in such a Case may do. In Witness whereof, we have subscribed these Presents at Stirling, the eighth Day of July, 1651.

Sic Subscribitur,

MARISCHAL.

Archibald Primrose, Witnefs,

William Keith, Witnefs,

Alexander Lindsay, Witnefs.

The Earl *Marischal*, having intrusted, as said is, the Government of the said Castle, and the Honours therein, to *George Ogilvie* ; he accompanies the King to *England*, and after the Battle of *Worcester*, was taken by the *English*, and carried to *London*, where he was detained Prisoner in the Tower for a long time.

George Ogilvie of *Barras*, being sole Keeper of the Honours, and Governor of the said Castle, which he found not sufficiently provided with Men, Ammunition, and other Provisions, to hold out against a long Siege, as the King had ordered, acquaints *John Campbell* Earl of *London*, then Chancellor, who returned him the following Answer.

S I R,

YOUR Letter of the last of *October*, came to my Hands the 9th of *November* Instant, and the Parliament being appointed to meet here upon the 12th Day, I staid the Bearer, in Expectation that I might return you the Parliament's Answer and Orders ; but the Parliament not having met, and there being no Meeting of the Committee of Estates, I can give you no positive Advice nor Order : But I conceive that the Trust committed to you, and the safe Custody of these

these Things under your Charge, did require that Provisions, a competent Number of honest stout Soldiers, and other Necessaries, should have been provided and put in the Castle, before you had been in any Hazard ; and if you be in a good Condition, or that you can supply yourself wth all Necessaries, and that the Place be tenable against all Attempts of the Enemy, I doubt not but you will hold out : But if you want Provisions, Soldiers, and Ammunition, and cannot hold out against all the Assaults of the Enemy ; which is feared you cannot do, if hard put to it, I know no better Expedient than that the Honours be speedily and safely transported to some remote and strong Castle in the *Highlands* ; and I wish you had delivered them to the Lord *Balcarras*, as was desired by the Committee of Estates, nor do I know any better Way for the Preservation of these Things, and your Exoneration. And it will be an irreparable Loss and Shame, if these Things shall be taken by the Enemy, and very dishonourable for yourself. I have here retained your Letter to the Lord *Balcarras*, hearing he is still in the North, and not to come to this Country. I have written to Sir *John Smith*, to furnish you the Remainder of the Victuals you wrote he should have given you : If he be in the North you will send it to him, and if he be gone home to *Edinburgh*, cannot help it. So having given you the best Advice I can at present, I trust you will, with all Care and Faithfulness, be answerable according to the Trust committed to you, and I shall continue your assured and real Friend,

Sic Subscribitur,

LOU DON Cancel.

Dated at *Finlargo*, 13th November.

Directed thus, *For my much respected Friend*, George Ogilvie, Governor of *Dunnottor*.

The Governor, *George Ogilvie*, being disappointed of sufficient Force and Provisions to hold out a long Siege, and observing the Advances the *English* made daily in reducing the Nation, was exceedingly perplexed, how to prevent the Enemies getting the Honours of this Kingdom in their Hands ; he advises with his wife (a Lady of great Prudence and undaunted Courage) she therefore forms a very happy Contrivance, that she should convey the Honours privately out of the Castle, and secure them without her Husband's Knowledge, that when he should be put to it, and tortured by the Enemy, he might freely declare he knew not where they were. In order thereto, this Lady sends for Mr. *James Granger*, Minister of *Kinneff*, his Wife, in whom she had great Confidence, and imparts to her the Design ; she promising to be faithful, they privately carried the Honours out of the said Castle to Mr. *James Granger* the Minister (the other
Trustee)

Trustee) and put them under Ground within the Church of *Kinneff*; and the Manner how the Honours were transported from the Castle thither, was on a Servant Woman's Back, in a Sack amongst Hards of Lint.

George Ogilvie, the Governor, not being able to hold out the Castle against so powerful an Enemy, that then besieged him so close, and expecting no Relief, and all other Forts and Castles in the Kingdom being in the Enemy's Possession, enters into Capitulation with Colonel *Thomas Morgan*, and surrenders on honourable Terms, the Garison being permitted to march out of the said Castle with Drums beating and Colours flying, which were carried by the present Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Son to the said Captain *George* (who was the last Person who carried Colours at that Time in *Scotland* for the King) and one of the Articles of Capitulation being to deliver up the Honours (for the *English* were certainly informed they were in the Castle) or give a rational Account of them: These are the very Words of Capitulation, which the present Sir *William* (the said Captain *George* his Son) hath in his Custody!

After the Surrender, the *English* demanded the Honours, or an Account of them. The Governor declared, he knew not where they were, for his Wife had privately taken them away without acquainting him; upon which he was put into close Prison in the said Castle; his Lady being examined and threatened with Torture, she boldly affirmed, by way of Evasion for her own Safety, that she had delivered the Honours to *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore*, who carried them abroad to the King. But the *English* distrusting her, put her in close Prison also, and sent out a Party to the House of *Barras*, to apprehend the said Sir *William Ogilvie*, their only Son and Child, that they might torture him in sight of his Parents, to extort a Confession from them; but he by Providence made a timely Escape, and underwent much Toil and Fatigue, by travelling Night and Day, till he came to his Friends in *Augus*, where he remained *incognito*.

After the said Captain *George* and his Lady had been close Prisoners for a Year, in which Time they suffered much inhuman Usage, by the Cruelty of the *English*, who caused a Centinel to stand at the Prison Door, and another at the Prisoners Bed-side, that they should not commune about the Honours: And after all, the said Captain *George* and his Lady adhering to their former Declarations, that the Honours were carried abroad by the now Earl of *Kintore*, had such an Appearance of Truth, that upon Mediation of Friends, Major-General *Dean* was prevailed upon to grant them Liberty to go to their own House of *Barras*, upon such Conditions as here follows, conform to the principal Warrant.

Whereas in the Capitulation made upon the Surrender of the Castle of *Dunnotter*, between Colonel *Thomas Morgan* and Captain *George Ogilvie* the then Governor,

vernor, it was among other Things agreed, that the said Captain *George Ogilvie* should deliver up the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, of the late King of *Scots*, which were in his Custody, or give a good Account thereof: And forasmuch as I have caused the said Captain *Ogilvie* ever since that Time to be retained a Prisoner in the said Castle, for not delivering the said Crown, Sword and Scepter, or giving a good Account thereof. Now in regard he makes divers Pretences that the said Crown, Sword, and Scepter were taken away out of *Dunnottor* without his Knowledge; and lastly, that his Wife conveyed the same to a Gentleman that carried them to foreign Parts; I am willing that in case he shall procure good Security of 2000 or 1500l. Sterl. that he shall render himself a true Prisoner to you upon Demand; as also that his Wife shall do the like, he shall have his Liberty out of the Castle unto his own House, being seated within four Miles of the same, providing he do not at all go from the House above three Miles; and I do hereby authorise you to receive such Bond of him as said is, for his and his Wife's further-coming, and thereupon to give him the Liberty above-mentioned, for which this shall be your Warrant. Dated the Third of December 1652.

Sic Subscribitur,

Direct to Captain *John Garnor*, the
present Governor of *Dunnottor*.

Ri. Dean.

Upon this Warrant, Captain *George* and his Lady were set at Liberty, and Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphie* became Cautioner for them, as by the following Bond.

WHEREAS the Right Honourable Major General *Richard Dean*, hath issued an Order unto Captain *John Garnor*, now Governor of *Dunnottor*, that he grants Liberty to Captain *George Ogilvie*, together with his Wife (they being both Prisoners in the said Garison) to repair to their dwelling House, providing they give sufficient Security, that they depart not above three Miles from *Barras*, being their Habitation, and that they or either of them, act nothing that is, or may be prejudicial to the Parliament of the *Commonwealth* of *England*; and likewise on Advertisement or Warning given, they present themselves true Prisoners at *Dunnottor Castle*, to the Governor thereof, or his Depute; and that the said

Capt. *Ogilvie* and his Wife shall perform the abovesaid Articles. I whose Name is underwritten, do bind myself, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, under the Penalty and Forfaulture of 2000*l.* of lawful current *English* Money, in case of failzying to present, enter again, and make forthcoming the said Prisoners, when the Governor shall send for them: In witness thereof, I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal the 10th of *January*, 1652.

Sic Subscribitur,

Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphie*,

Testes, *Rich. Hugkes*, *John Turner*.

Some time after this, the said Captain *George* and his Lady were necessitate and enforced by the Rigidity and Strictness of the *English*, to find Security of new, as the following Bond doth evince:

WHEREAS upon Solicitation for Capt. *George Ogilvie* and his Wife's further Enlargement, the Honourable Colonel *Lisburn*, Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *Scotland*, hath ordered Captain *Garnor* of *Dunnottor Castle*, upon Security given, to give them six Weeks time to go about their lawful Affairs; I do therefore engage myself, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, Assigns, in the Sum of five hundred Pounds of good and lawful *English* Money, for their personal Appearance into the former Obligation of Confinement, six Weeks after the Date hereof. In witness hereof, I have put my Hand and Seal the 1st of *February* 1653.

Sic Subscribitur,

James Anderson,

Attested by *John Barkley*, *Richard Hugkes*.

Under this Restraint Captain *Ogilvie's* Lady died, and he remained therein till the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and all that time he had a special Care of the Honours, by sending monthly clean Linen to Mr. *James Granger* the Minister, and his Wife, with Instructions to take out of the Ground, and wrap them in the same, lest they should be spoiled or tarnished, which the Minister of *Kinneff* and his Wife punctually observed, and were faithful in their Secrecy, till the King's Restoration (for which they got a pecunial Reward) and then delivered them to the said Captain *George*, who, according to the King's Order, did deliver them to
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the Earl *Marischal* in as good Condition as he at first received them, as is evident by the following Receipt, which will demonstratively and undeniably prove, that the aforesaid Captain *George* and his Lady were the principal Keepers and Preservers of the Honours of *Scotland* (whatever others pretend) and the only Sufferers therefore; which honourable Piece of Service, so faithfully performed, should never be forgot by King or Country, in saving the Honours, which prevented both the Disgrace of the Kingdom, and the irreparable Loss of our ancient Regalia.

But notwithstanding of this noble and good Service done by the said Captain *George* and his Lady, yet at King *Charles* the Second's Restoration, the then old Countess *Marischal* wrote to his Majesty, that her Son *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore* (who was then abroad upon his Travels, and knew nothing of the Matter) had preserved the Honours, being that the said Captain *George* had unwarily imparted to the said Countess where they were hid, and how by that Contrivance of his Wife, in affirming that she had delivered them to the said *John Keith*, they had saved themselves, and concealed the Honours from the *English*; and his Majesty knowing nothing of Captain *George Ogilvie* and his Lady's special Service in preserving of the Honours (in respect they did not timely apply) did upon the said Countess her Misrepresentation, create her said Son first Knight-Marischal of *Scotland*, and then Earl of *Kintore*, and ordered him a Pension of 400*l. Sterl.* a Year, which he enjoyed all King *Charles* the Second's Life-time, and is as yet continued to him with the said Place and Dignity, for his pretended Preservation of the Honours.

Captain *George Ogilvie*, then in the mean time in *Scotland*, being informed that the aforesaid Countess and others had misrepresented to his Majesty, his faithful Service, in preserving of the Honours, by which he was like to lose the Honour and Merit of so noble and eminent an Action, performed with the Hazard of his own and his Lady's Life, with the Ruin of his Fortune, he sends to *London* his Son, the said Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, to give a true Relation of the Preservation of the Honours, who addresses his Majesty with the following Petition.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Ogilvie, Son to George Ogilvie of Barras,

Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Petitioner is sent up here by his Father, to give your Majesty Notice, that his said Father hath had, and still preserves the Crown, Scepter, and Sword of *Scotland* in his Custody, long before the *English* possessed the Castle of *Dunnottor*, with the great Hazard of his Life, and long and streight Imprisonment, which occasioned the Death of his Wife. And in respect of your Petitioner's Father his great Interest with these Honours, he could not desert that great Charge, to come here and attend your Majesty himself.

Wherefore he hath sent your Petitioner to have your Majesty's particular Order, in relation to the aforesaid Honours.

The ANSWER to the Petition was as follows :

Whitehall, 28 September 1660.

HIS Majesty ordains the Petitioner's Father to deliver his Crown, Scepter, and Sword, to the Earl *Marischal* of *Scotland*, and to get his Receipt of them.

Sic Subscribitur,

LAUDERDAIL.

This Order was by the then Earl of *Lauderdale's* Advice, who said, if *John Keith* had kept the Honours, then the said *George Ogilvie* was not able to deliver them ; but if the said *George* had the Keeping of them, it would evidently and undeniably appear who was the true Preserver.

At this time the then old Countess *Marischal* being informed that the Honours were hid in the Church of *Kinneff*, she endeavours, by all Means, to persuade Mr. *James Granger* the Minister, to deliver them to her ; but Captain *George* getting a surmise thereof, goes to the said Church, and takes out the Scepter, and carries it to his House of *Barras*, and takes also an Obligation from the said Minister to
make

make the rest of the Honours forthcoming to him, as appears by his Obligement, whereof the Tenor follows,

WHEREAS I have received a Discharge from *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, of the Honours of this Kingdom, and he hath got no more but the Scepter ; therefore I oblige myself that the rest, *viz.* the Crown and Sword, shall be forthcoming at Demand, by this my Ticket, written and subscribed this same Day I received the Discharge, 28th *September* 1660.

Sic Subscribitur,

M. J. Granger.

Within few Days thereafter, Captain *George* gets the King's Order to deliver up to the Earl *Marischal* the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, which readily he obeys, and gets the Earl's following Receipt, all written with his own Hand.

AT *Dunnottor* the 8th Day of *October* 1660, I *William* Earl *Marischal*, grants me to have received from *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom, entire and compleat, in the same Condition they were entrusted by me to him, and discharges the aforesaid *George Ogilvie* of his Receipt thereof, by this my Subscription, Day and Place aforesaid.

Sic Subscribitur,

Marischal.

Captain *George Ogilvie* not only preserved, by his Prudence, Fidelity, and diligent Care, the Honours as said is, but also considerable Writs and Monuments intrusted to him when Governor of *Dunnottor* (the Way and Manner too tedious to insert) such as the King's Papers. The Receipt whereof follows,

WE *William* Earl *Marischal* grant us to have received from *George Ogilvie*, some time Governor of our Castle of *Dunnottor*, some Papers belonging to the King's Majesty, which was in *Dunnottor*, the Time of his being Governor there, in two little Coffers, which Papers consisting to the Number of eight-score sixteen several Pieces, whereof there are four Packets sealed, and one broke open, of which Papers I grant the Receipt, and obliges me to warrant the said *George* at his Majesty's Hands, and all others whatsoever, by this my Warrant. Signed, sealed, and subscribed at *London*, the first of *December* 1655.

Sic Subscribitur.

Marischal.

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The said Captain *George* also preserved the Registers and Papers of the Kirk of *Scotland*, which is evident by a Receipt thereof, granted to him by the Lord *Balcarras*, by Order of a Commission from the Kirk; also the Monuments and Charters of the University of *St. Andrews*, which he delivered to *Robert Zull*, upon the Order of *Robert Honnyman*, Clerk to the University, and got his Receipt thereof. And sikklike, the principal Papers and Charters belonging to the Family of *Hamilton*, which he delivered to *James Hamilton*, then Servant to the present Dutcheſs Dowager of *Hamilton*, and got his Receipt thereof, written on the End of my Lady Dutcheſs her Letter, brought by him to the said Captain *George*. All which principal Receipts and Documents are regiſtrat, for Preſervation, in the Books of Council and Seſſion, being the general Register of this Kingdom.

Captain *George Ogilvie* having faithfully exoner'd himſelf of the aforeſaid Truſts, takes Journey for *London*, to wait upon the King, by whom he was kindly received, and delivered to his Maſteſty the Earl *Marſchal's* Receipt of the Honours; which the King having read, Captain *George* humbly requested it back, that it might be kept in his Family as an Evident of his and his Wife's Loyalty and good Service done to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, which his Maſteſty granted, and was graciouſly pleaſed to confer a deſerved Mark of his Highneſs's Favour upon him and his Family, by making him a Knight Baronet, by a Patent dated at *Whitehall*, 5th of *March* 1661, and gave him a new Charter of the Lands of *Barras*, changing the Holding thereof, to hold thereafter Blench of his Maſteſty and his Succeſſors, 3d of *March* 1662, which is ratified in Parliament 11th of *Auguſt* 1679: In which Patent, Charter, and Ratification, is narrated the eminent Service done and performed by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, and that he was the Preſerver of his Maſteſty's Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Honours of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Damages ſuſtained by the ſaid Sir *George* and his Lady there through, from the Beginning of the Ufurpation: During which Time (notwithſtanding of all Temptations and Threatnings uſed againſt them by the Ufurper) they carried themſelves with the greateſt Integrity and Conſtancy, under all their Sufferings.

This Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* was deſcended of the honourable Family of *Ogilvie* Earl of *Airlie*: He married *Elizabeth Douglas*, Daughter of Mr. *John Douglas* of *Barras*, Brother-german to *William* Earl of *Angus*, Grandfather to the late Duke of *Hamilton*. By this Lady he had the preſent Sir *William Ogilvie*, who married *Iſabel Ogilvie*, Daughter to Sir *John Ogilvie* of *Invercarity*, by whom he hath very hopeful Children.

A clear Vindication and just Defence for publishing of the foregoing Account; with other remarkable Instances, and observable Passages relating to, and confirming the Truth of it.

For Truth seeks no Corners, fears no Discovery, and Justice is no Respector of Persons.

THAT the publishing an Account of the Preservation of Crown, Sword, and Scepter of *Scotland*, from falling into the Hands of the *English* Usurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle) and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, was not done of Design to offend, or derogate from the just Honour of any, far less those of the Family of *Marischal* (for whom the said Sir *George Ogilvie* did on all Occasions evidence, and his Posterity do yet continue a grand Veneration and due Regard.) But there being an Account of the Earl of *Kintore's* Family given to be inserted in Mr. *Alexander Nisbet's* Book of Heraldry; in which Account, the sole and chief Preservation of the Honours is ascribed to the now Earl of *Kintore*, and the then Countess-Dowager *Marischal* his Mother; and not only makes Mention of the said Sir *George* in a dishonourable Manner, but doth also smother (and might in process of Time have totally obliterate) the good Service, Loyalty and Sufferings of the said Sir *George* his well-deserving Lady: And it being credibly reported, That at the same Juncture the said Earl's Account was given to Mr. *Nisbet* at *Edinburgh*, the like Account was sent to *London*, to be insert in *Morery's* Dictionary (and that a long time before the Printing and publishing Sir *George's* Account) what less could have been done! than, in Self-defence, to vindicate the Fame and good Name, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the said *George* and his Lady: For the Consideration, that the good Name and Reputation of the Righteous shall be vindicated and secured after Death, is, to a generous Nature, sensible of true Honour, a great Spur and Encouragement to worthy and virtuous Deeds; and the earnest Desire that People, of old, had of leaving a good Name behind them, and of perpetuating the Fame and Glory of their Actions to After-ages, did animate their brave Spirits in the Pursuit of Virtue, and, with the Hazard of their Lives, to do great and glorious Exploits for their Country: And as it is the Argument of a great Mind to be moved by this Consideration; so it is a Sign of a low and base Spirit to neglect it: Besides, there is a certain Civility

in Human Nature, which will not suffer Men to wrong the Dead, and to deny them the just Commendation of their Worth. I say, what less could have been done, than to vindicate the good Name and Reputation, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the deceased Sir *George Ogilvie* and his Lady, by publishing to the World the true Matter of Fact, in the whole Contrivance and Procedure, from the evident Instructions and Documents left by the said Sir *George*, and the Account of the Transactions, and pregnant Circumstances clearly by him narrated? which, it is presumed will abundantly satisfy all unprejudiced and unbiassed Persons, that the said Sir *George* and his Lady, were the only Sufferers for, and Preservers of, the Honours; but particularly his Lady, being of an heroic and masculine Spirit, like the brave old *Douglas*, was eminently and mainly instrumental (by the Divine Aid) in preserving of the Honours, as anon will more fully appear: For Sir *George's* Lady not only conveyed the Honours out of the said Castle, by her special Care and Contrivance, without her Husband's Privity and Knowledge; but gave out and maintained, both for concealing of the Honours in a feasible Way, and as a Mean of her own and her Husband's Safety, and Exemption from Torture, that she had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, who had carried them abroad to the King: And to confirm the *English* that it was so, Sir *George's* Lady (being of a ready and accurate Wit) contrived a Missive Letter, as if from the now Earl of *Kintore*, giving her an Account, That the Crown, Sword, and Sceptre of *Scotland*, were safely delivered by him to the King; which Letter the *English* intercepting, she having so ordered the Matter that it should fall into their Hands, did thereafter almost believe it to be true; but before that was done, the *English* menaced and maltreated Sir *George* (and his Lady in particular) to the highest Degree of Cruelty, in so far as Colonel *Morgan* was upon the Point to expose her to an exquisite Torment, by putting her in the Boots; and he said, she was the most resolute and undaunted Woman ever he spoke to: For she bid him do his utmost, she'd give him no further Account of the Honours. And that the *English* were intending to have wreaked their Fury on Sir *George* and his Lady, may be shrewdly guessed, by their causing a Centinel to stand at the Prison Door, and another at the Prisoners Bed-side all Night, that they (Sir *George* and his Lady) should not commune nor converse anent the Securing and Concealing of the Honours. And because Sir *George's* Lady bravely and constantly maintained, That she had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, as aforesaid, they, to disgrace and affront her the more, caused their Provost-Martial to attend her, when she obtained the Liberty and Favour to take the Air for some Hours within the Precinct of the Castle, she being then al-

most stifled by a close and squalid Imprisonment, which certainly hastened, if not procured her Death, being a Woman of a high and fine Spirit, that would rather (like a Piece of true Steel) break than yield; for in a little time after Sir *Robert Grahame* of *Morphy's* becoming Bail for her, and her said Husband's rendering themselves Prisoners again to the *English* Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle upon Demand, she became hectic, being then almost worn out, both by her former long and streight Imprisonment, and by the deep Impressions the immoderate Care of preserving the Honours had made on her; to which being added, the Thoughts of her remaining still under Restraint, and the continual Damps of re-entering to close Prison; no Wonder that her high and noble Spirit, being as unconquerable as she had then made the Honours, broke the Prison of her Body, by a happy and peaceable Death, to enjoy, as there's good Reason to hope, a Crown of Glory, being the promised Reward of the Righteous. And as this Lady excelled in Piety and Virtue, so there is one very remarkable Instance of her steady Integrity (which should eternize her Name) that when she was on her Death-bed, she then, and not till then, did impart to Sir *George* her Husband, how, and where the Honours were hid and repositied, and took his Hand upon Oath, that although he should be brought to the Scaffold to be execute, he should never betray his Trust, nor deliver up the Honours to the *English*. So by what is above narrated, it will unquestionably appear, that neither the now Earl of *Kintore*, nor his Mother, were either privy to, or had a Hand in conveying the Honours out of the said Castle, nor in securing and hiding of them; but after the Thing was providentially and happily done, for Sir *George's* Lady, to make Use of the now Earl of *Kintore's* Name, was a very lawful Stratagem in her, and that which no generous Man then abroad would have declined to own, but would not have reaped the Fruits of Sir *George* and his Lady's Labours, nor taken the whole Reward due for their Sufferings. And that Lady might have made Use of Sir *John Strachan's* Name (if Providence had suggested it) who was wont to come from King *Charles* the Second, then in Exile, to get Account of the Posture the Castle and Garrison of *Dunottor* was in, and likewise to know how Matters then stood in this Kingdom: And for Instance that Sir *John Strachan* did so, he brought a Letter writ with King *Charles's* own Hand, under Cover of one from the then Lieutenant-General in *Middleton*, directed thus, *To the Governor and Gentlemen in the Castle of Dunnottor*; which Letters are yet extant, packed up, and folded in the most secret and compendious Manner. The Tenor of the King's Letter is *verbatim* as follows.

Gentlemen,

ASSURE yourselves I am very careful of you, and sensible of your Affection to me, give Credit to what this Bearer shall say to you, and observe any Directions you shall receive from Lieutenant General *Middleton*, you shall shortly hear again from me, and I would have you find some Way frequently to advertise me of your Condition, which I will take all possible Care to relieve.

Paris, March 26th, 1652.

CHARLES R.

The Tenor of *Middleton's* Letter to the Governor is *verbatim* as follows.

My dear Friend,

I am so overjoyed to hear, that you, in this time, do behave yourself so gallantly, that I shall be most desirous to do you Service; the Particulars I remit to the Bearer, my Cousin and yours, to whom give Trust, since he is particularly instructed from him, who shall rather perish, than be wanting to his Friend, and who, in all Conditions is, and shall be

Yours,

J. M.

The Bearer, as is said before, was Sir *John Strachan*.

By these Letters it doth further appear, That Sir *George Ogilvie* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle) could not have carried himself with more Loyalty and Gallantry than he did. And although it be acknowledged in one Part of the now Earl of *Kintore's* Account, given to Mr. *Nisbet*, that there could be (then) no Hopes of Succour, nor the said Castle able to hold out long, if once attacked; yet, in another Part of the Earl's Account, it is alledged, That after Colonel *Morgan* had laid Siege to *Dunnottor* Castle, and that the Cannon had played against it two Days, the Governor capitulated for himself alone, and made the *English* Masters of the Place, by which they got all the Furniture, Plate, Pictures, Books, and ancient Papers belonging to the Family of *Marischal*. To which it is answered, That there being no Relief given, and all Hopes thereof being then cut off, and but thirty-six Men in the Garrison (a mere Handful in Comparison of the Number then requisite to defend the Place) and all of them Day and Night upon Duty, were extremely fatigued and over-waked, yet they maintained their respective Posts valorously for the Space of ten Days, during

during which Time the said Castle was bombarded and also battered by the Cannon of the *English*; and when the Governor found, that the Garrison was not able to hold out longer, and all other Forts within the Kingdom being then reduced, and under Command of the *English*, and the main Chance being secured, and preserved by his Lady, *viz.* the Honours and the King's Papers, the said Sir *George* (the Governor) made an honourable Capitulation, the Garrison being permitted to march out of the said Castle with Colours flying, Drums beating, and kindled Matches, for the Space of a Mile from the Place; and the *English* were astonished to Admiration, to see such a small Force make so long and vigorous Resistance against such a prevailing Army: And the *English* expressly told, that if the Castle had not been that Day surrendered, they were resolved to have stormed it the very next Day following, which easily they might have done, considering (as aforesaid) the bad Posture the Garrison was in. And that which did (sometime before) mightily incommode and perplex Sir *George* the Governor, was a Mutiny raised and fomented by one *David Lighton*, who had been a Colonel abroad, yet by the said Governor's Prudence, Diligence, and Conduct, the Mutiny was suppressed and crushed in the Bud, by causing train-out Colonel *Lighton*, and never allowed him to re-enter the Castle, whereby the Soldiers were quashed and composed, and the direful Effects of that Mutiny prevented, which was to have sacrificed the Governor, and all under his Charge, to the merciless Cruelty of the *English*. And it was a signal Act of Providence the Design was discovered: For there being several veteran Soldiers in the Garrison, who had served in *France* and other Places, most of them Strangers to the Governor, and getting no Pay from the Public, made the Governor's Post uneasy, and also brought him to a deal of Charges, he being necessitate to give Pay to the said Colonel *Lighton*; and also, to the Surgeon, Engineer and Canonner, all out of his own Pocket, he having got no Pay either to himself or them, from the Public. The Manner how the King's Papers was conveyed out of the Castle was thus: The Governor's Lady made a Girdle of Linnen, and packed them up, and sewed them in so dexterously that no Part of the Girdle appeared more bulkish than t'other, and were happily carried out about a young Gentlewoman's Middle, whom the said Governor's Lady had kept in the said Castle as a Friend (for a while before) on that Design. And after the Castle was surrendered, as aforesaid, and that Sir *George* (the Governor) and his Lady were cast in Prison by the *English*, their own private Estate was not only mismanaged and neglected, but the Generality of the Country and Neighbourhood looked upon Sir *George* and his Lady as forlorn Persons, and upon their Fortune as ruined, in so much that those to whom they were indebted, did instantly

stantly distress them ; and the *English* did harass them, by seizing upon and taking away of the Horses which laboured their own Mains of *Barrafs* ; and Sir *George* and his Lady were not only enforced to suffer all this, but were also necessitate to be at great Charges, during the Time of their Imprisonment, in complimenting and treating the Officers and Soldiers of the *English* Garrison, out of their private Estate, and the doing whereof was the great Mean (under the Divine Protection) of Sir *George* and his Lady's Preservation from the extreme Cruelty and Torture they were threatened with by the *English*. And after Sir *George's* Lady had, by her Resolution and Constancy, baffled all the Threats and bad Usage of the *English*, they (the *English*) profered her and her said Husband a vast Sum of Money for the Honours ; but that Bait, though very prevalent with a great Part of Mankind, did not in the least stagger Sir *George* nor his Lady's Resolutions of Integrity and Loyalty, which were as firm as the Rock on which they were then imprisoned, and remained untainted to the End, & *finis coronat opus*. So that Bribes was not able to allure them, nor Threats to fright them into a Discovery of these notable Regalia, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom. And the said Sir *George* was so cautious and circumspect, as to keep and leave to his Posterity, as an Evidence of his and his Lady's Loyalty, not only all the most material Papers relative to the Preservation of the Honours, but also all the Missive Letters sent him there anent, with the Doubles of his own Returns and Answers, and all the Passes granted by the *English* to him and his Lady from time to time, during their Restraint and Confinement to the House of *Barras*. And the said Sir *George* did also leave to Posterity Memoirs of the most remarkable Instances, and observable Passages that occurred and fell out, anent his and his Lady's sufferings and Losses in preserving of the Honours ; without which Adminicles, it was not possible to have writ truly on this Subject : But there's as much sure Evidence, fairly exhibited, for proving the Truth of what's asserted, as can be reasonably expected, or the Nature of the Thing can bear or require ; and doth so irrefragably convince all, as to leave them nothing to say against it, unless there be any who will obstinately say, we will not believe it, nor yet our own Eyes, nor the Verdict of our Reason.

And that the now Earl of *Kintore* and his Mother did ascribe to themselves the chief and sole Preservation of the Honours, and did so inform King *Charles II.* at his Restoration (before Sir *George Ogilvy* was able to apply, having then the Honours under his Care) is evident, both by the Narrative of the said Earl's Account given to Mr. *Nisbet*, and also by the Answer given by King *Charles* to the then Earl of *Strafford*, when the late Earl of *Airly*, (then Lord *Ogilvy*) did solicit *Strafford* to represent to his Majesty the eminent Service done
by

by the said Sir George Ogilvy, and his Lady, in preserving the Honours of Scotland. By my Lord Ogilvy's good Leave, said the King, it must not be so; for my Lady Marischal wrote to me, that she and her Son John had preserved the Honours. This the late Airly did aver to be the King's Answer.

And that the said Countess endeavoured to procure Mr. James Granger, then Minister of Kinneff, to deliver up the Honours to her, is evident, by her sending of Robert Keith of Whiteriggs (then Sheriff depute of the Mearns) to persuade him thereto; but Sir George getting a Surmise of the Design, did expostulate with the said Minister thereanent, who the more to ascertain the said Sir George, wrote him a Letter, wherein he expressly says, *I'll break my Neck before I break to you.* These are Mr. Granger's own Words; yet Sir George, to prevent such Endeavours, went and took up the Scepter to the House of Barras, and at the same time got an Obligation from the Minister, to make the Crown and Sword forthcoming to him upon Demand; and Sir George, after he had taken up the Scepter, said to the Minister, *The Piper plays the worse that wants the Nether Chafts* (being an old Scottish Maxim) intimating thereby, that the said Countess her Design was rendered abortive. And altho' the said Minister's Wife got a pecunial Reward for her, and her Husband's Fidelity and Secrecy (who were employed by Sir George's Lady, as Trustees for hiding of the Honours) yet notwithstanding of all the good and loyal Service, so well contrived, prudently managed, and faithfully performed by Sir George and his Lady (who were, under God, the prime Actors, the only Sufferers for, and main Preservers of the Honours) neither he the said Sir George, nor his Son Sir William, got either Place, Pension, or any pecunial Reward; but when Sir George, after the King's Restoration, and that he had delivered the Honours to the Earl Marischal, and gotten the Earl's Receipt of them, went to London, and was kindly received by the King, and was made a Knight-Baronet, and got the Change of the Holding of his Lands, and the Promise of a Pension, how soon the King's Revenues were settled. And some time thereafter, the present Sir William went up to Court (a second time) in Expectation of the Pension promised his Father Sir George: And although King Charles II. was graciously pleased to say, from his own Mouth, to the present Sir William, (upon his re-minding the King of Sir George and his Lady's Losses and Sufferings in preserving of the Honours) *Be you confident, I'll see to the Standing of your Family:* Yet the then Lauderdale, who was sole Secretary, postponed and wearied out the said Sir William with Dilators and Shifts to the great Loss of his Money and Time at Court: And after Sir William had long waited, he was at last so slighted and neglected by Lauderdale (then become his Enemy) that he was necessitate to return home, without Place.

Place or Pension ; although his Father and he computed their Losses to be then (*per Lucrum Cessans, & Damnum Emergens*) a thousand Pounds *Sterling*, the Interest of which, by this time, would have amounted to a considerable Sum. Now let the World judge, if it be not consonant to Equity and Reason, that the Family of *Barras* (being the Posterity of the said Sir *George Ogilvy* and his Lady) should have a real Reward, according to the Merit of such an heroic and noble Action, and a full Recompence of the Damage they sustained thereby. And by what is above narrated, Truth doth appear in its naked Colours, without Fear or Favour of any; for the God of Truth will not suffer it to be smothered, nor pass without its due Commendation, and deserved Reward.

And such a singular Piece of Loyalty, so prudently and faithfully performed, should be a Motive to induce all honest-hearted *Scotchmen*, and good Patriots in this and succeeding Ages, not only to pay a grateful Acknowledgment to the Memory of those renowned Persons Sir *George Ogilvy* of *Barras*, and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, but also to look upon their Posterity as the Representatives of those to whom *Scotland* owes its unconquered Crown.

The DECLARATION of *JAMES*, Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, now in Arms, for Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Rights, and Privileges of *England*, from the Invasion made upon them : And for delivering the Kingdom from the Usurpation and Tyranny of *JAMES* Duke of *YORK*.

AS Government was originally instituted by God, and this or that Form of it chosen and submitted to by Men, for the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Governed, and not for the private Interest and personal Greatness of those that Rule : So that Government hath been always esteemed the best where the supreme Magistrates have been vested with all the Power and Prerogatives that might capacitate them not only to preserve the People from Violence and Oppression, but to promote their Prosperity ; and yet where nothing was to belong to them by the Rules of the Constitution, that might enable them to injure and oppress them.

And

And it hath been the Glory of *England*, above most other Nations, that the Prince had all intrusted with him that was necessary either for advancing the Welfare of the People, or for his own Protection in the Discharge of his Office, and with all stood so limited and restrained by the fundamental Terms of the Constitution, that without a Violation of his own Oath, as well as the Rules and Measures of the Government, he could do them no Hurt, nor exercise any Act of Authority, but through the Administration of such Hands, as stood obnoxious to be punished in case they transgressed. So that according to the primitive Frame of the Government, the Prerogatives of the Crown, and Privileges of the Subject, were so far from jostling one another, that the Rights reserved unto the People, tended to render the King honourable and great; and the Prerogatives settled on the Prince, were in order to the Subjects Protection and Safety.

But all human Things being liable to Perversion, as well as Decay; it hath been the Fate of the *English* Government, to be often changed, and wrested from what it was, in the first Settlement and Institution. And we are particularly compelled to say, that all the Boundaries of the Government have of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted, for turning our *limited Monarchy* into an *absolute Tyranny*; for such hath been the Transactions of Affairs within this Nation for several Years past, that though the Protestant Religion, and Liberties of the People, were fenced and hedged about, by as many Laws, as the Wisdom of Men could devise, for their Preservation against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*; our Religion hath been all a long undermined by *Popish Councils*, and our Privileges ravished from us by Fraud and Violence. And more especially, the whole Course and Series of the Life of the present *Usurper*, hath been but one continued Conspiracy against the *reformed Religion*, and Rights of the Nation.

For whosoever considers his contriving the burning of *London*; his instigating a Confederacy with *France*, and a War with *Holland*; his fomenting the *Popish Plot*; and encouraging the Murder of Sir *Edmund Bury-Godfrey* to stifle its Discovery; his forging Treason against *Protestants*; and suborning Witnesses to swear the *Patriots* of our Religion and Liberties out of their Lives, his hiring execrable Villains to assassinate the late *Earl of Essex*; and causing several others to be clandestinely cut off in hopes to conceal it; his advising and procuring the *Pro-rogation* and *Dissolution* of *Parliaments*, in order to prevent Inquiry into his Crimes, and that he might escape the Justice of the Nation: Such can imagine nothing so black and horrid in itself, or so ruinous and destructive to Religion, and the Kingdom, which we may not expect from him, upon his having invaded the *Throne*; and *usurped* the Title of a King. The very *Tyrannies* which he hath exercised, since he snatched the Crown from his Brother's Head, do leave none under

der a Possibility of flattering themselves, with Hopes of Safety either in their Consciences, Persons, or Estates.

For in Defiance of all the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, made for the Security of the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, he not only began his Usurpation and pretended Reign, with a bare-faced avowing himself of the *Romish Religion*, but hath call'd in Multitudes of *Priests* and *Jesuits* (for whom the Law makes it *Treason* to come into the Kingdom) and hath impower'd them to exercise their *Idolatry*, and besides his being daily present at the Worship of the *Mass*, hath publickly assisted at the *grosslest Fopperies* of their Superstition.

Nor hath he been more tender in trampling upon the Laws which concern our Properties, seeing by two Proclamations, whereof the one requires the collecting of the *Customs*, and the other the continuing that Part of the Excise which was to expire with the King's Death; he hath violently and against all the Laws of the Land broken in upon our Estates. Neither is it any Extenuation of his Usurpation and Tyranny, that he is countenanced in it by an *extra Judicial Opinion* of seven or eight suborned and forsworn Judges: That, rather declaring the Greatness and Extent of the Conspiracy against our Rights, and that there is no Means left for our Relief, but by Force and Arms. For advancing those to the Bench, who were the Scandal of the *Bar*; and constituting those very Men to declare the Laws, who were accused and branded in Parliament for perverting them; We are precluded all Hopes of Redress in *Westminster-Hall*: And through packing together by false Returns, new *Illegal Charters*, and other corrupt Means, a Company of Men which he intends to stile a *Parliament*, he doth at once deprive us of all Expectation of Succour, where our *Ancestors* were wont to find it: and Hopes to render that which ought to be the Peoples *Fence* against *Tyranny*, and the Conservators of their Liberties, the Means of subverting all our Laws, and of establishing his *Arbitrarynefs*, and confirming our Thralldom. So that unless we could be contented to see the *reformed Protestant Religion*, and such as profess it extirpated; *Popish Superstition* and *Idolatry* established, the Laws of the Land trampled under Foot; the Liberties and Rights of the *English* People subverted; all that is Sacred and Civil, or of Regard amongst Men of Piety, or Virtue violated; and an *Usurper* tyrannysing on the Throne: And unless we could be willing to be *Slaves* as well as *Papists*; and forget the Example of our noble and generous *Ancestors*, who conveyed our Privileges to us at the Expence of their Blood and Treasure; and withal be unmindful of our Duty to God, our Country and Posterity; deaf to the Cries and Groans of our oppressed Friends; and be satisfied not only to see them and ourselves imprison'd, robb'd, and murdered; but the Protestant Interest throughout the whole World, betrayed to *France* and *Rome*.

Rome. We are bound as Men and Christians, and that in Discharge of our Duty to God, and our Country, and for Satisfaction of the Expectations of the Protestant Nations round about us, to betake ourselves to *Arms*: Which we call Heaven and Earth to Witness, we should not have done, had not the Malice of our Enemies deprived us of all other Means of Redress, and were not the Miseries we already feel, and those which do further threaten us, worse than the Calamities of War.

And it is not for any personal Injuries or private Discontents, nor in Pursuance of any corrupt Interest, that we take our Swords into our Hands; but for vindicating our Religion, Laws, and Rights, and rescuing our Country from Ruin and Destruction; and for preserving ourselves, Wives, and Children, from *Bondage* and *Idolatry*; wherefore before God, Angels, and Men, we stand acquitted from, and do charge upon our Enemies, all the Slaughters and Devastations, that unavoidably accompany an *Intestine War*.

Now therefore we do hereby solemnly *declare* and *proclaim War*, against *JAMES DUKE of YORK*, as a *Murderer*, and an *Affassin* of innocent Men; a *Popish Usurper* of the Crown; *Traytor* to the *Nation*; and *Tyrant* over the *People*. And we would have none that appear under his *Banners*, to flatter themselves with Expectation of Forgiveness, it being our firm Resolution to prosecute him and his Adherents, without giving Way to Treaties, or Accommodations, until we have brought him, and them, to undergo what the Rules of the Constitution, and the Statutes of the Realm, as well as the *Laws* of *Nature*, *Scripture*, and *Nations*, adjudge to be the Punishment due to the Enemies of God, Mankind, their Country, and all Things that are honourable, virtuous, and good.

And tho' we cannot avoid being sensible, that too many have from *Cowardise*, *Covetousness*, and *Ambition*, co-operated to the subverting Religion, and enslaving their Country; yet we would have none from a Despair of finding Mercy, persevere in their Crimes, nor continue to pursue the Ruin of the Kingdom. For we exclude none from the Benefit of Repentance, that shall join with us in retrieving what they have been accessory to the Loss of; nor do we design Revenge, upon any, but the Obstinate, and such as shall be found at this Juncture, yielding Aid and Assistance to the said *James Duke of York*.

And that we may both govern ourselves in the Pursuit of this *glorious Cause* wherein we are engaged, and give Encouragement to all that shall assist us in so righteous and necessary an Undertaking: We do in the Presence of the *Lord who knows the Secret of all Hearts*, and is the Avenger of Deceit and Falshood, proclaim and publish what we aim at, and for the obtaining whereof we have both determined to venture and are ready to lay down our Lives. And tho' we

are not come into the Field to introduce *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, or for laying aside any *essential Part of the old English Government* : Yet our Purpose and Resolutions are to reduce Things to that *Temperament* and *Balance*, that *future Rulers* may remain able to do all the Good that can be either desired or expected from them ; and that it may not be in their Power to invade the Rights, and infringe the Liberties of the People.

And whereas our Religion (the most valuable Blessing we lay claim unto) hath been shaken by unjust Laws ; undermined by *Popish Councils*, and is now in danger to be subverted by a *tyrannous* and *idolatrous Usurper*. We are therefore resolved to spend our Blood for preserving it to ourselves and Posterity, nor will we lay down our Arms, till we see it established and secured, beyond all Probability of being supplanted, and overthrown ; and until all the *penal Laws* against *Protestant Dissenters* be repealed, and legal Provision made against their being disturbed by Reason of their Consciences, and for their enjoying an equal Liberty with other *Protestants*. And that the Meekness and Purity of our Principles, and the Moderation and Righteousness of our Ends may appear unto all Men ; we do declare, that we will not make War upon, or destroy any, for their Religion how false and erroneous soever : So that the very *Papists*, provided they withdraw from the Tents of our Enemies, and be not found guilty of conspiring our Destruction, or Abettors of them that seek it, have nothing to fear or apprehend from us, except what may hinder their altering our Laws, and endangering our Persons in the Profession of the reformed Doctrine, and exercise of our Christian Worship.

Our Resolution in the next Place is, to maintain all the just *Rights* and *Privileges* of *Parliament*, and to have Parliaments annually chosen and held, and not prorogued, dissolved, or discontinued within the Year before Petitions be first answered and Grievances redressed.

And seeing many of the Miseries under which the Nation doth groan, arise from displacing such out of the Number of *Judges* ; as would not for promoting Popish and Arbitrary Designs, wrest and misapply the *Laws* ; and from constituting *corrupt* and *mercenary* Men in their Room, on purpose to stretch the Laws beyond the Reason and Intention of them, and to declare that for *Law*, which is not : We can neither with Silence pass over the mentioning of them, nor should we have Peace in ourselves, if we did not endeavour to prevent the like Mischiefs in Time to come. For by Means of ill Men's being advanced to the Bench, and holding their Places only *durante bene placito*, many Persons have been condemned in exorbitant Fines for no Crimes, or for very small ones ; many Statutes made for the Safety of the Subject, particularly the *Habeas Corpus Act*,
hath

hath been wickedly eluded, to the Oppression of innocent and loyal Men; the Popish Lords that were impeached in Parliament, for a most hellish Conjuraton, have to the subverting of the Rights of the House of Commons, and trampling on the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, been discharged and set free; the imposing a malignant Mayor, and Sheriffs upon the City of *London* by Fraud and Violence hath been justified, and those who in Discharge of their Duty opposed it, illegally prosecuted and arbitrarily punished: *London*, and other Cities and Corporations have been robb'd of their Charters, upon unrighteous Judgments of pretended Forfeitures; Sir *Thomas Armstrong* executed without being allowed the Benefit of a Tryal; Colonel *Algernon Sidney* condemned to die upon the Deposition of one scandalous Witness: And that loyal and excellent Person the late *William Lord Russel*, murdered for alledged Crimes, in Reference to which, if all had been Truth that was sworn against him, yet there was nothing, that according to Law, could have reached his Life: Wherefore we do upon the considerations aforesaid further declare, that we will have Care taken for the future, for debarring ignorant, scandalous, and mercenary Men from the Administration of Justice, and that the Judges shall hold their Places by the ancient Tenure of *Quam diu beneegerint*, and do leave it to the Wisdom of a Parliament, to settle some Way and Method, for the Approbation of such as shall be advanced to the Degree and Dignity of Judges.

And forasmuch as the Invasion made upon the Rights of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns corporate, in the Seifure of their Charters, whether by Surrender, or upon Pretence of Forfeiture, hath been wholly arbitrary and illegal: We likewise therefore declare, that we will to our utmost Endeavour, see them repossessed in whatsoever they formerly had, and could legally claim before the late Usurpation upon them; and that we do esteem all Judgments given against them, and all Surrenders made by a corrupt and perjurd Party amongst themselves, null and void in Law; and do hold and declare their old Charters (notwithstanding the *new ones* lately granted) to be good and valid: And accordingly We do invite and encourage all honest Burgeffes, and Freemen to reassume the Rights and Privileges, which by Virtue of the said old Charters belonged to their several and respective Corporations, and to deliver themselves from those Court Parasites, and Instruments of Tyranny, set up to oppress them.

Moreover for restoring the Kingdom to its primitive Condition of Freedom and Safety: We will have the Corporation and Militia Acts repealed, and all Outlawries of Treason, against any Person whatsoever upon the late pretended Protestant Plot reversed; and also other Outlawries, Banishments, Warrants, Judgments, Imprisonments, Abjurations, and Proceedings against any other Persons, upon any of the penal Statutes made against Protestant Dissenters, reversed and

made null and void; and we will have new Laws enacted, for placing the Election of Sheriffs in the Freeholders of the several Counties; and for settling the Militia in the respective Sheriffs, and for preventing all Military standing Force, except what shall be raised and kept up by Authority and Consent of Parliament.

And whereas several Gentlemen, and others, who have been worthy and zealous Assertors of the Protestant Interest, and Laws of the Kingdom, are now in Custody in divers Prisons within the Realm, upon most unjust Accusations, Pretences, Proceedings, and Judgments; we do hereby further declare their said Imprisonments to be *illegal*, and that in Case any Violence shall be offered to them, or any of them, we will revenge it to the utmost, upon such of our Enemies as shall fall into our Hands.

And whereas the said *James Duke of York*, in order to the expediting the idolatrous and bloody Designs of the Papists, the gratifying his own boundless Ambition after a Crown, and to hinder Inquiry into his Assassination of *Arthur Earl of Essex*, hath poisoned the late King, and therein manifested his Ingratitude, as well as Cruelty to the World, in murdering a Brother, who had almost ruin'd himself to preserve and protect him from Punishment: We do therefore further declare, that for the aforesaid villainous and unnatural Crime, and other his Crimes before mention'd, and in Pursuance of the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, who voted to revenge the King's Death, in Case he came to any untimely End; we will prosecute the said *James Duke of York*, till we have brought him to suffer what the Law adjudgeth to be the Punishment of so execrable a Fact. And in a more particular Manner, his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, being deeply sensible of that barbarous and horrid Parricide committed upon his Father, doth resolve to pursue the said *James Duke of York*, as a mortal and bloody Enemy, and will endeavour as well with his own Hand, as by the Assistance of his Friends, and the Law, to have Justice executed upon him.

And forasmuch as the said *James Duke of Monmouth*, the now Head and Captain-General of the Protestant Forces of this Kingdom assembled in Pursuance of the Ends aforesaid, hath been, and still is believed to have a legitimate and legal Right to the Crowns of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, with the Dominions thereunto belonging, of which he doubts not in the least, to give the World full Satisfaction notwithstanding the Means used by the late King his Father, upon Popish Motives, and at the Instigation of the said *James Duke of York*, to weaken and obscure it; the said *James Duke of Monmouth*, from the Generousness of his own Nature, and the love he bears to these Nations, (whose Welfare and Settlement he infinitely prefers to whatsoever may concern himself) doth not at present insist upon his Title, but leaves the Determination thereof to the Wisdom, Justice, and Authority of a Parliament, legally chosen and acting with Freedom.

And

And in the mean Time doth promise and declare by all that is *sacred*, that he will in Conjunction with the People of *England*, employ all the Abilities bestowed upon him by God and Nature, for the Re-establishment and Preservation of the Protestant reformed Religion in these Kingdoms, and for the restoring the Subjects of the same, to a free Exercise thereof, in Opposition to Popery and the Consequences of it: *Tyranny* and *Slavery*: To the obtaining of which Ends, he doth hereby promise, and oblige himself to the People of *England*, to consent unto, and to promote the passing into Laws, all the Methods aforesaid; that it may never more be in the Power of any single Person on the Throne, to deprive the Subjects of their Rights, or subvert the fundamental Laws of the Government designed for their Preservation.

And whereas the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of *Scotland*, are now in Arms upon the like Motives and Inducements that we are, and in Prosecution of Ends agreeable with ours: We do therefore approve the Justice of their Cause, commend their Zeal and Courage, expecting their, and promising our Assistance, for carrying on that glorious Work we are jointly engaged in.

Being obliged for avoiding Tedioufness, to omit recounting many Oppressions under which the Kingdom hath groaned, and the giving a Deduction of the several Steps that had been taken for introducing and establishing of Popery and Tyranny: We think fit therefore to signify, both to our Countrymen and Foreigners, that we intend a larger Manifesto and Remonstrance of the Grievances, Persecutions, Cruelties and Tyranies, we have of late lain under, and therein a more full and particular Account of the unparalleled Crimes of the present Usurper.

And we make our Appeal unto God, and all Protestant Kings, Princes, States, and People, concerning the Justice of our Cause, and the Necessity we are reduced unto, of having our Recourse to our Arms. And as we do beseech, require and adjure all sincere Protestants, and true *Englishmen*, to be assisting to us against the Enemies of the Gospel, Rights of the Nation, and Liberties of Mankind, so we are confident of obtaining the utmost Aid and Succour which they can yield us with their Prayers, Persons, and Estates, for the Dethroning the said Tyrant and Popish Usurper.

Nor do we doubt being justified, countenanced, and assisted by all Protestant Kings, Princes, and Common Wealths, who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own Interest: And above all our Dependance and Trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose Name we go forth, and to whom we commit our Cause, and refer the Decision betwixt us and our Enemies in the Day of Battle. *Now let us play the Men, for our People, and for the Cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto him.*

An ACCOUNT of what passed at the EXECUTION of the late DUKE of *MONMOUTH*.

On Wednesday, the 15th of JULY, 1685, on *Tower-Hill*.

[That the *ungrateful Rebel*, in the last of the preceding Remonstrances, set forth in such horrid Colours, was the Duke of *Monmouth*, will occur to every common Reader. His Grace, having lost an indulgent Father, at a Time when he had more Reason, than ever, to depend on being soon restored to his Bosom, in a Fit of Despair, had landed, *June 11*, at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*, with a Handful of hungry Followers : and having been joined by a large Body of infatuated Men, suffered himself to be proclaimed King, and undertook to force his Way to the Throne. It is true, a Sort of Concert had been formed between him and the Earl of *Argyle* : But so ill had they taken their Measures, that the Earl was defeated and taken, before he could either create a Diversion, in Favour of the Duke ; or the Duke could put himself in a Condition to rescue him out of the Hands of his Enemies. The Duke, however, was not apprized of the Fate of his unhappy Associate, until it was too late to avoid his own. The King's Forces, under the Command of Lord *Feverham*, had shut him up in *Bridgewater* ; and he had no other Choice but to fight, or surrender at Discretion. This Extremity occasioned the Attack at *Sedgemoor*, on the 6th of *July* ; in which his whole Party was totally routed : On the 8th following, he himself was taken by the Militia of *Dorsetshire*, in a Ditch, covered with Fern and Briars ; and having fallen at the King's Feet for Mercy in vain, was on the 15th following, led to Execution, on *Tower-Hill*, in Virtue of an Act of Attainder, passed the 16th of *June*.]

THE late Duke of *Monmouth* came from the Tower to the Scaffold, attended by the Bishop of *Ely*, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Tennison* and Dr. *Hooper*, which four the King was graciously pleased to send him, as his Assistants to prepare him for Death : and the late Duke himself intreated all four of them, to accompany him to the Place of Execution, and to continue with him to the last. The two Bishops going in the Lieutenant's Coach with him to the Bars, made seasonable and devout Applications to him all the way : and one of them desired him not to be surprized, if they to the very last upon the Scaffold,
renewed

renewed those Exhortations to a *particular Repentance*, which they had so often repeated before.

At his first coming upon the Scaffold, he looked for the Executioner, and seeing him, said, Is this the Man to do the Business? Do your Work well.

Then the late Duke of *Monmouth* began to speak; some one or other of the Assistants, during the whole Time, applying themselves to him.

Monmouth. I shall say but very little; I come to die; I die a Protestant of the Church of *England*.

Assistants. My Lord, If you be of the Church of *England*, you must acknowledge the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* to be true.

M. If I acknowledge the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in general, that includes all.

A. Sir, It is fit to own *that* Doctrine particularly, with Respect to your Case. [*Here he was much urged about that Doctrine of Non-resistance; but he repeated in effect his first Answer.*]

Then he began, as if he was about to make a premeditated Speech, in this manner.

M. I have had a Scandal raised upon me about a Woman, a Lady of Virtue and Honour; I will name her; *The Lady Henrietta Wentworth*. I declare, that she is a very virtuous and godly Woman; I have committed no Sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us was very honest and innocent in the Sight of *God*.

A. In your Opinion, perhaps, Sir, as you have been often told;—(*i. e.* in the Tower) but this is not fit Discourse in this Place.

Mr. Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, Were you ever married to her?

M. This is not a Time to answer that Question.

Mr. Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, I hoped to have heard of your Repentance for the Treason and Bloodshed, which hath been committed.

M. I die very penitent.

A. My Lord, It is fit to be *particular*; and, considering the *public* Evil you have done, you ought to do as much good now, as possibly you can, by a *public* Acknowledgment.

M. What I have thought fit to say of *public* Affairs, is in a Paper which I have signed:—I refer to my Paper.

A. My Lord, there is nothing in that Paper about *Resistance*; and you ought to be *particular* in your Repentance, and to have it well grounded. *God* give you true Repentance.

M. I.

M. I die very penitent, and die with great Chearfulness, for I know I shall go to *God*.

A. My Lord, you must go to *God* in his own way: Sir, be sure you be truly penitent, and ask Forgiveness of *God*, for the many you have wronged.

M. I am sorry for every one I have wronged; I forgive every Body; I have had many Enemies; I forgive them all.

A. Sir, your Acknowledgment ought to be *public* and *particular*.

M. I am to die; pray, my Lord,—I refer to my Paper.

A. They are but a few Words that we desire: We only desire an Answer to this Point.

M. I can bless *God* that he hath given me so much Grace, that for these two Years last past, I have led a Life unlike to my former Course; and in which I have been happy.

A. Sir! Was there no Ill in these two Years! In these Years, these great Evils have happened: And the giving *public* Satisfaction, is a necessary Part of Repentance:—Be pleased to own a *Detestation* of your *REBELLION*.

M. I beg your Lordship, that you will stick to my Paper.

A. My Lord, as I said before, there is nothing in your Paper, about the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*.

M. I repent of all things that a true Christian ought to repent of: I am to die: Pray, my Lord——

A. Then (my Lord) we can only recommend you to the Mercy of *God*; but we cannot pray with that Chearfulness, and Encouragement as we should, if you had made a *particular* Acknowledgment.

M. *God* be praised, I have Encouragement enough in myself; I die with a clear Conscience; I have wronged no Man.

A. How, Sir, no Man! Have you not been guilty of *Invasion*, and of much *Blood*, which has been shed; and, it may be, the Loss of many Souls, who followed you?—You must needs have wronged a great many.

M. I do, Sir, own *that*; and am sorry for it.

A. Give it the *true* Name, Sir, and call it *Rebellion*.

M. What Name you please, Sir; I am sorry for *invading* the Kingdom; for the *Blood* that has been shed; and for the *Souls* which may have been lost by my means; I am sorry it ever happened. [*This he spoke softly.*]

Mr. Sheriff Vandeput. To some that stood at a Distance.] He says, he is very sorry for invading the Kingdom.

A. We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent Exhortations we have made to you, to give some Satisfaction for the *publick* Injuries to the Kingdom.

There

There have been a great many Lives lost by this *Resistance* of your *LAWFUL PRINCE*.

M. What I have done has been very ill ; and I wish with all my Heart it had never been : I never was a Man that delighted in Blood ; I was very far from it ; I was as cautious in that, as any Man was ; the Almighty knows how I now die, with all the Joyfulness in the World.

A. God grant you may Sir : God give you *true Repentance*.

M. If I had not *true Repentance*, I should not so easily have been without the Fear of dying. I shall die like a Lamb.

A. Much may come from natural Courage.

M. I do not attribute it to my own Nature, for I am fearful as other Men are ; but I have now no Fear, as you may see by my Face ; but there is something within me which does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

A. My Lord, be sure upon good Grounds : Do you repent you of all your Sins, *known or unknown, confessed or not confessed* ; of all the Sins which might proceed from *Error in Judgment* ?

M. In general for all, I do with all my Soul.

A. God Almighty of his infinite Mercy forgive you. Here are great Numbers of Spectators ; here are the *Sheriffs*, they represent the *Great City* ; and in speaking to them, you speak to the whole City ; make some Satisfaction by owning your *Crime* before them. [*He was silent here.*]

[*Then all went to solemn commendatory Prayers, which continued for a good Space ; the late Duke of Monmouth and the Company kneeling, and joining in them with great Fervency.*]

[*Prayers being ended, before he, and the four who assisted him, were risen from their Knees, he was again earnestly exhorted to a true and thorough Repentance.*]

[*After they were risen up, he was exhorted to pray for the King ; and was asked, Whether he did not desire to send some dutiful Message to His MAJESTY ; and to recommend his Wife and Children to his Majesty's Favour.*]

M. What Harm have they done ? Do it, if you please ; I pray for him, and for all Men.

[*Then the Versicles were repeated.*]

A. O Lord shew thy Mercy upon us.

M. [*He made the Response.*] And grant us thy Salvation.

A. [*It followed.*] O Lord save the King.

M. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

A. Sir, Do you not pray for the King with us? [*The Versicle was again repeated.*] O Lord save the King.

M. [*After some Pause he answered*] Amen.

[*Then he spoke to the Executioner concerning his undressing, &c. and he would have no Cap, &c. and at the Beginning of his undressing, it was said to him on this manner.*]

A. My Lord, you have been bred a Soldier; you will do a generous, Christian Thing, if you please to go to the Rail, and speak to the Soldiers; and say, That here you stand a sad Example of Rebellion, and entreat them and the People to be loyal and obedient to the KING.

M. I have said I will make no Speeches: I will make no Speeches: I come to die.

A. My Lord, ten Words will be enough.

M. Then calling his Servant, and giving him something, like a Tooth-pick-Case, Here (*said he*) give this to the Person, to whom you are to deliver the other Things.

M. (*To the Executioner*) Here are six Guineas for you; pray do your Business well; do not serve me as you did my Lord Russell; I have heard, you struck him three or four Times. Here (*to his Servant*) take these remaining Guineas and give them to him, if he does his Work well.

Executioner. I hope I shall.

M. If you strike me twice, I cannot promise you not to stir.

[*During his undressing and standing towards the Block, there were used by those who assisted him, diverse Ejaculations proper at that Time, and much of 51st Psalm was repeated, and particularly, Deliver me from Blood-Guiltiness, O God, Thou God, &c.*]

Then he lay down, and soon after he raised himself upon his Elbow, and said to the Executioner, Prithee let me feel the Axe: (*He felt the Edge, and said*) I fear it is not sharp enough.

Executioner. It is sharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he lay down again.

During this Space many pious Ejaculations were used by those that assisted him with great Fervency, Ex. Gr. God accept your Repentance: God accept your Repentance: God accept your IMPERFECT Repentance: My Lord, God accept your GENERAL Repentance: God Almighty shew his OMNIPOTENT Mercy upon you:

you : *Father*, into thy Hands, we commend his Spirit, &c. *Lord Jesus*, receive his Soul.

Then the Executioner proceeded to do his Office.

This is a true Account, Witness our Hands,

Francis, <i>Ely</i> .	Thomas Tennison	William Gostlin,	} <i>Sheriffs.</i>
Thomas, <i>Bath and Wells</i> ,	George Hooper.	Peter Vandeput.	

A COPY of the PAPER, to which the late Duke of *MONMOUTH* referred himself in the Discourses held upon the Scaffold.

I Declare, That the Title of King was forced upon me ; and, That it was very much contrary to my Opinion, when I was proclaimed. For the Satisfaction of the World, I do declare, That the late King told me, He was never married to my Mother. Having declared this, I hope that the King, who is now, will not let my Children suffer on this Account. And to this I put my Hand this fifteenth Day of *July*, 1685.

MONMOUTH.

Declared by himself, and signed in the Presence of us,

Francis, <i>Ely</i> ,	Thomas Tennison.
Thomas, <i>Bath and Wells</i> .	George Hooper.

A COPY of the Duke of *MONMOUTH*'s LETTER to the KING ; dated from *RINGWOOD*, the 8th of *July*, 1685.

S I R,

YOUR Majesty may think it is the Misfortune I now lie under, makes me make this Application to you ; but I do assure your Majesty, it is the Remorse I now have in me, of the Wrong I have done you in several Things ; and now in taking up Arms against you. For my taking up Arms, it never was in my Thoughts, since the King died. The Prince and Princess of *Orange* will be Witnesses for me, of the Assurance I gave them, that I would never stir against

you ;

you; but my Misfortune was such, as to meet with some horrid People, that made me believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so many false Arguments, that I was fully led away, to believe, that it was a Shame and a Sin before God not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say for myself, that I am sure would move your Compassion; the chief End of this Letter being only to beg of you, that I may have that Happiness, as to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy Reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the Zeal I have for your Preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this Letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an End, in begging of your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand Deaths, than excuse any thing I have done; if I did not really think myself the most in the wrong, that ever any Man was, and had not from the Bottom of my Heart an Abhorrence for those that put me upon it, and for the Action itself. I hope, Sir, *God Almighty* will strike your Heart with Mercy and Compassion for me, as he has done mine with the Abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore, I hope, Sir, I may live to shew you how zealous I shall ever be for your Service; and could I say but one Word in this Letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that Consequence, that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you once more, to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most Humble and Dutiful

MONMOUTH.

[*Out of Sir Thomas Webster's Collection.*]

An

An exact ACCOUNT of the SICKNESS and DEATH of the
Late KING JAMES II. As also of the Proceedings at St.
Germain's thereupon. 1701.

In a LETTER from an *English* Gentleman in *France*, to his Friend in *London*.

S I R,

I DOUBT not but you have heard of the Indisposition, and since, of the Death of the King; therefore it's no news to you: However, I cannot omit giving you a short Particular of both; which take as followeth, *viz.*

On *Friday* the second of this Instant *September*, His Majesty being at Chappel on his Knees, fainted away; which some of his Servants perceiving, supported him from falling, put him into his Chair, and carried him to his Lodgings; where, after an hours time, he came pretty well to himself again, eat heartily, continued so, sleeping and dozing, till *Sunday*, (by Intervals speaking to those about him) when, about half an hour past Two in the Afternoon, on a suddain he was taken so ill, that he could not speak, by reason of an Imposthumation breaking within him, and Nature endeavouring to discharge it, he was almost suffocated. This occasion'd the Report, that he was dead, which presently flew to *Paris*, and consequently all over *Europe*: But by Bleeding, and other proper Remedies, a considerable quantity of that corrupt Matter pass'd both ways, *Sunday*, *Monday*, and *Tuesday*, but none on *Wednesday*, or *Thursday*. He slept well that Night; on *Friday* was better, only he had an Intermitting Fever, which left him that Night: He continued so till about Eleven o'Clock *Sunday* Night, when the Physicians observ'd a Lethargy in him; and fearing he might die in that Condition, they apply'd the Blistering Plaister betwixt his Shoulders with good effect: Yet a Disposition to doze and sleep continuing in him, they apply'd those Plaisters to his Anckles, afterwards to his Head, but without Success.

In this Condition his Majesty continued till *Monday* Night, when every body thought he was departing; but the Physicians giving him somewhat inwardly, he presently began to discharge both ways, then rested till near Five next Morning: Awaking, he spoke to the Curate of the Parish, (who watch'd by him) to give him the Sacrament; which he accordingly did: At which time he forgave several Persons by Name, all his Enemies, and every one that had wronged him; prayed Father *Saunders*, and all the rest about him, to declare it to the World;

call'd for all his Servants, and exhorted them to be constant to their Principles, thanked them for their Fidelity to him; sent for the Prince and Princess, charged them to be constant in their Religion, and that no hopes of Crowns or Scepters should make them do a thing unworthy their Birth, and above all, to be obedient to the Queen, gave them his Blessing, desired that all his Servants might continue on the same Foot they now were, and that all his Subjects would acknowledge his Son for their lawful King and Sovereign. So from that time the Physicians resolv'd to apply no farther Remedies, but leave his Majesty to the Will of Almighty God.

The King of *France* came to see his Majesty, but he was speechless: Whereupon he went to comfort the Queen, and sent for the Prince of *Wales*, told them, Maugre all the Difficulties he had met with in his great Council, yet having the unanimous Consent of the Dauphin, and all the rest of the Princes of the Blood, he resolv'd to acknowledge and declare the Prince, his Majesties lawful Heir and Successor to the Imperial Crown of *England*, &c. And that he should be so acknowledg'd by *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; and that he would by his Ambassadors proclaim him as such in all the Courts of *Europe*. After some time, the King came to himself again, and being told of this Declaration, sent for the Prince next Day, told him he had not seen him since the King of *France* had been there, charged him, during his Minority, exactly to observe the King of *France's* Council and Direction in all things; and said he had sent my Lord *Middleton* to *Marly*, to give the King of *France* Thanks for the same.

The King of *France* hearing his Majesty was somewhat better, came to St. *Germain's* to see him, and when he was entred the Lodgings, said, He was not only come to see the King, but also on an Affair of great Weight. Whereupon all Persons were withdrawing; but he called them all in again, caus'd all the Doors to be opened, that every body might enter that belonged to the King: And then commanded, That as soon as the King should be dead, the Prince of *Wales* should be Proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, with his Ordinary Titles; declaring he would also cause the same to be done at *Versailles*, and (by his Ambassadors) in all the Courts of *Europe*: That his Body should be removed from the Queens Apartment to his own; and gave Order to the Captain of the Guards to attend his Corps accordingly. And told all that belonged to the King, they should continue on the same Foot they were at present, till he could do no more for them. While the King of *France* was making this Speech, the whole Court was in Tears; but when he had done, they clapt their Hands for Joy, which caus'd that great Monarch to weep.

The

The King desir'd to be buried privately at *St. Germain's*, dying there in Exile ; but the King of *France* told him, That was the only Thing in the World he could not Grant him ; for he would lay him, where he would have the Honour to lay by him himself. And on *Friday* the 17th Instant, about 3 in the Afternoon, the King died, the Day he always fasted in Memory of our blessed Saviour's Passion ; the Day he ever desired to Die on, and the Ninth Hour, according to the *Jewish* Account, when our Saviour was Crucified. His Death was edifying to Men, and no doubt precious to God. As soon as he was departed, the great Master of the Ceremonies of *France* (by the King's Order) Proclaim'd the Prince of *Wales* King of *Great Britain*, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, with the usual Ceremony. The Queen is appointed Regent. My Lord *Mid.* gave up the great Seal. All the Lords have taken the Oath of Fidelity ; the Servants have kissed his Majesty's Hand, and every thing stands as it did in the late King's Day's.

And now I cannot omit telling you two remarkable Passages : The one is, That when the King first fainted in the Chappel, when he first fell ill, 'twas on *Good-Friday*, on Singing the Anthem, the two first Verses of the last Chapter of the *Lamentations*, *Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us : Consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens.* Which was so touching, and made such an Impression on his Majesty, that he never perfectly recovered it, altho' he went to the Waters of *Bourbon*. The other is, the King of *France*, upon his Majesty's Sicknefs, called his Great Council, which consisted of 23 Persons ; All but seven were against Proclaiming the Prince so soon. The Dauphin being the last that was to speak, rose up in some heat, and said, It would be a great piece of Cowardice, and unworthy the Crown of *France*, to abandon a Prince of their own Blood, especially one that was so dear to them, as the Son of King *James* : That for his part, he was resolv'd, not only to hazard his Life, but all that was dear to him for his Restoration. The King of *France* said, *I am of Monseigneur's Opinion.* And so said all the Princes of the Blood.

[*Sion College LIBRARY. A. B. 5. No. 43.*]

The last DYING-WORDS of the Late KING JAMES
to his Son and Daughter, and the *French* KING.

Moriatur anima mea morte Justorum.

THE King being suddenly seized with a violent Fit, sent immediately for Mr. Sanders his Confessor, and after having received at the Hands of the Rector of St. *Germain*s, all the Rites of the Church, he expressed himself as follows: I am now going to make my *Exit* out of this miserable World, out of a Tempestuous Sea to a Port of Eternal Rest, as I firmly hope through the Merits and Passion of my dear Saviour. My Integrity and Innocency has been Oppressed with infinite Lyes and Calumnies. I never entertain'd a Thought which was not levelled at the Good of my Subjects. O Sweet Jesus, of thy infinite Mercy forgive the Authors and Forgers of them. I offer up all my Sufferings in Union with Thine. Sweet Jesus, sanctify them to me for the Eternal Salvation of my Poor Soul. Forgive, Sweet Jesus, my own Bowels, who have risen up against me. Forgive the Chief Contrivers of my Dethroning, give them Grace to Repent of their Errors. Eternally Praised be thy Holy Providence, who by permitting me to be deprived of an Earthly, hast given me better means to gain an Eternal Crown. I thank Thee, Sweet Jesus, for giving me the Spirit of Resignation among so many Calamities.

Then sending for the PRINCE, he told him: I am now leaving this World which has been to me a Sea of Storms and Tempests;

It being God Almighty's Will to wean me from it by many Great Afflictions. Serve him with all your Power and Strength, and never put the Crown of *England* in Competition with your Eternal Salvation. There's no Slavery like Sin, nor no Liberty like his Service. If his Holy Providence shall think fit to set you upon the Throne of your Ancestors, Govern your People with Justice and Clemency, and take Pity of your misled Subjects. Remember Kings are not made for themselves, but for the Good of the People. Set before their Eyes, in your own Actions, a Pattern of all manner of Virtues. Consider them as your Children, aim at nothing but their good in Correcting them. You are the Child of Vows and Prayers. Behave yourself accordingly. Honour your Mother, that your Days may be long, and be always a kind Brother to your dear Sister, that you may Reap the Blessings of Concord and Unity.

Then

Then calling for the young PRINCESS ; he said to her :

Adieu my dear Child ; serve your Creator in the Days of your Youth, and consider Virtue as the greatest Ornament of your Sex. Follow close the steps of that great Pattern of it your Mother ; who has been no less than my self overclouded with Calumnies ; but Time, the Mother of Truth, I hope, will at last, make her Virtue Shine as bright as the Sun.

The French KING coming to pay a Visit to him, and asking him how he did :

He Answer'd ; I am going to pay that Debt which must be paid by all Kings as well as their meanest Subjects. I give your Majesty my Dying-Thanks for all your Kindnesses to me and my Afflicted Family, and do not doubt of your Continuance. I have always found you equally Good and Generous. I thank God I Die with a perfect Resignation, and forgive all the World, particularly the Emperor and the P—— of O—— Sweet Jesus, out of the Infinity of thy Tender Mercy, forgive them ; and give your Majesty the Reward of your Heroical Bounty and Goodness. Here the *French King* began to Tender and Weep (as did all the Standers-by) and deeply sighing, in most Pathetical Terms, expressed his Concern for the Loss of so good a Friend and Brother, and promised, that as soon as the Breath was out of his Body, the Prince and his Family should find in him a Father ; and that he would never forsake his Interest ; then tenderly with Tears in his Eyes Embraced him ; he took his last leave, saying ; Adieu my dear Brother, the best of Christians, and the most Abused of Monarchs. The little remainder of his Life after was spent in most Devout Ejaculations, and begging Pardon for his Enemies and misled Subjects ; and being sensible to the very last, he said, Into thy Hands I commend my Soul, O Lord ; Lay not this great Sin to their Charge. And after some long time spent in Devout Prayers : And out of a profound Sense of Humility, he begged of his most Christian Majesty, that he might be Buried as a Private Gentleman, without any Funerall Pomp, which was unwillingly granted him.

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The POPE'S SPEECH made in a Consistory, which he held on the 3d. of OCTOBER, 1701, to notify the Death of the late King JAMES the II. to the Sacred College.

Venerabiles Fratres; Acerbissimum ac Vere luctuosum Clar. mem. Jacobi magnæ Britanniae Regis obitum, quem sine maximo paterni Cordis nostri mœrore audire non potuimus, Suspiria inter & Lacrymas Vobis nunciamus; nec sane ullum nobis dubium esse potest quin animos æque Vestros ingenti dolore afficiat gravissima hæc Christianæ Reipublicæ jactura; quam in amisso Vere Catholico Principe, Vere Ecclesiæ Filio, vere fidei defensore impensissime deflemus. Verum quia juxta monitum Apostoli contristari de dormientibus non debemus sicut & cæteri qui spem non habent, jubet nos præclara defuncti Regis pietas quam nulla unquam ætas delebit, nulla seræ posteritatis extinguet oblivio; Jubet Hercicus illius ac universo Terrarum Orbi notissimus Rerum omnium humanarum pro Orthodoxa Religione contemptus, quippe cui Rex optimus Patriam, opes, Regnum, & vitam ipsam post habere non dubitavit; Jubet demum mors ab eo religiosissime ac constanti animo obita, prout luculentis testimoniis comprobari percepimus, Juste nos sperare debere, illum a Deo optimo Maximo, sicut dum Viverit tanquam aurum in fornace probatum, ita post mortem quasi hostiam, acceptum esse. Nostras nihilominus pro animo Regis de hac Apostolica sede optime merito ad Deum preces atque Suffragia deesse charitatis ratio

Venerable Brethren; We impart to you with Tears and Sighs the most sad and doleful Death of James King of Great-Britain, of Illustrious Memory, which we could not hear of, without feeling in our paternal heart a most grievous affliction; and we cannot doubt but you will be effected with the same grief for the Great loss the Christian Commonwealth has sustained in the death of a truly Catholick Prince, a true Son of the Church, and a true Defender of the Faith; which we do sadly lament at this time. But as we are not to sorrow, according to the advice of the Apostle, for such who sleep, as others that have no hope, the great Piety of the deceased King, which no time shall blot out, and which shall be remembered to the latest Posterity; his Heroick contempt of all Human things for the Orthodox Religion, so well known to all the World, which that excellent Prince preferred to his Country, Riches, Kingdom, and even his Life; and lastly, his constant and most Religious death, as we are informed by noble testimonies, give us just grounds to hope, that as God has been pleased to

ratio non patitur. Id et privatim hæte-
nus nos ipsi agere non omisimus, & publi-
cis quoque in Pontificio nostro sacello ex-
equiis Romanorum Pontificum Predeces-
sorum nostrorum exemplo suo Tempore præ-
stituri sumus.

Cæterum eximiam & Regio Plane ejus
animo dignam Charissimi in Christo Elij
nostri Ludovici Francorum Regis Christi-
anissimi Virtutem hac occasione silere non
possumus, qui quemadmodum olim eundem
Jacobum Regem a Regno nefarie deturba-
tum cum Regia conjuge & Nato magnifice
& liberalissime exceperat, ita eum semper
omnibus benevolentiae & humanitatis offi-
cijs usq; ad extremum adstitit, & quod
illustrius est, superstitem illius Filium,
a Charissima in Christo filia nostra Maria
Regina ejus matre ad paternarum Virtu-
tum æmulationem piissime educatum, benigne
complexus uti, verum Britannici Regni
hæredem, omni prorsus proprij com-
modi ratione neglecta palam agnovit,
eumque in Catholicæ fidei quacumque de-
mum adveniente fortuna fortiter asserendæ
proposito egregie confirmavit. Qua sane
in re cum ipsius Christianissimi Regis Ze-
lus & animi magnitudo magnifice eluceant,
nostræ & Omnium Vestrorum laudes ei
merito debentur, quas quidem uberrimas
Posteriores illi reddent dum pulchri
facti

‘ to try him during his life as Gold in
‘ a Crucible, so he has received him
‘ after his death as an acceptable Sa-
‘ crifice. However Charity does not
‘ permit us to be wanting in our Pray-
‘ ers to God Almighty for the Soul of
‘ a Prince, who has so well deserved of
‘ the Apostolic See; and as we have
‘ not neglected to do it already in pri-
‘ vate, so we shall, in a due time, do
‘ it publicly by Funeral Solemnities in
‘ our Pontifical Chappel, according to
‘ the example of the *Roman Pontiffs*
‘ our Predecessors.

‘ Moreover, we cannot on this oc-
‘ casion be silent, and forbear to take
‘ notice of the great virtue of our most
‘ dear Son in Christ, *Lewis*, the Most
‘ Christian King of *France*, (so worthy
‘ of his Royal Soul) who having re-
‘ ceived with all Magnificence and Li-
‘ berality, the said King *James*, villa-
‘ nously dispossessed of his Kingdom,
‘ with his Royal Consort and his Son,
‘ and given them to the last all possible
‘ proofs of Humanity and Tendernefs,
‘ has, still, (which is more great and
‘ noble) continued the same affection to
‘ his surviving Son, so carefully brought
‘ up by our most dear Daughter in
‘ Christ, Queen *Mary* his Mother, that
‘ he may imitate or exceed the Virtues
‘ of his Father; and entirely neglect-
‘ ing his own private interests, has pub-
‘ lickly owned him for Heir of the
‘ *Britannick* Empire, and has thereby
‘ nobly confirmed him in his resolution
‘ of professing and asserting the Ca-
‘ tholick Faith, to what Fortune so-
‘ ever

*facti memoriam recoleant nunquam interitu-
ram.*

*Haec & si vobis vel ipso rumore publico
nunciante innotuisse jam credimus, nuper-
rime tamen ad nos per celerem Cursorem a
Venerabili fratre Philippo Antonio Archie-
piscopo Athenarum, nostro & hujus Aposto-
licae sedis apud eundem Christianissimum
Regem Nuntio, qui omnia cognovit & vi-
dit fideliter allata, confestim & hoc Loco
referre opportune duximus, ut scribantur
in generatione altera, novumq; hinc Pa-
ternae nostrae ergo vos Charitatis argu-
mentum accedat.*

*Venerabiles Fratres, quorum fortibus
humeris piisque votis impositum infirmitati
nostrae onus quod his afflictis turbidisq;
temporibus gravius semper indies experi-
mur levatum iri confidimus.*

‘ ever he may be reduced. The zeal
‘ of the most Christian King and the
‘ greatness of his Soul, do so conspicu-
‘ ously shine in this thing, that he justly
‘ deserves from us and from you the
‘ Praise and Encomium which our
‘ Posterity will pay him, whenever they
‘ call to remembrance that noble Ac-
‘ tion, which will never be forgotten.

‘ Tho’ we believe that you have
‘ been informed of these things, yet
‘ having lately received a particular
‘ account thereof, by an Express from
‘ our Venerable Brother *Phillip Anthony*
‘ Archbishop of *Athens*, our Nuntio to
‘ the most Christian King, who has
‘ been an eye-witness of all these things,
‘ and has carefully examined them, we
‘ have thought fit to acquaint you with
‘ the same in this place, that they may
‘ be recorded to another Posterity, and
‘ afford a new proof of our affection
‘ for you.

‘ We hope and assure our selves,
‘ Venerable Brethren, that you, by
‘ your Powerful Assistance and Prayers,
‘ will ease the great burthen put upon
‘ us, notwithstanding our weakness,
‘ which we daily experience more
‘ heavy in these times of Troubles and
‘ Affliction.’

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*The late King JAMES's Letter to his PRIVY-COUNSELLORS.
With Just Reflections upon it, and upon the pretended
PRINCE of WALES.*

*And a Short ACCOUNT of the Judgment of the PARLIAMENT, 1 E. 4. in Con-
futation of the Author of [The CASE of ALLEGIANCE to a KING in Pos-
session:] With the Reason why the Sham Birth has not been publickly expos'd.
1692.*

James R-- **H**OW much soever the *late King* may flatter himself with an empty name, if he had consulted his *Trusty Counsellors*, the *Jesuits*, or the Laws of that Kingdom which he might have govern'd happily to this day, if he had pleased; he would have found no reason to continue this Stile.

For the Judgment of his best lov'd *Counsellors*, I shall refer him to two Men of undoubted Credit with that Society, *Lessius*, and *Becanus*; who both hold, that when a Prince is *deposed*, he *ceases* to be a *Prince*, and becomes a private Person.

The Authority for this they both place in the *Estates* of every Kingdom, and hold it justifiable to *depose* a *Prince* for *Tyranny* in the Administration; when he designs in his Government, and aims at, his private Advantage, and not the publick good, &c.

But unless it was for the publick good of this Nation, to bring it into subjection to the See of *Rome*, and for that end, to exercise an Arbitrary Power in dispensing with the Laws of the Kingdom, it must be granted, that the *late King* was far from aiming at the publick good.

For the Laws of *England*; I shall not here have recourse to those numerous *Presidents*, which may be produced as *Evidences* of the Law in this matter; but shall content my self, and, as I believe, the impartial Reader, with an *Act of Parliament*, which a *Popish Parliament*, 12th R. 2. refer to, as known and upon Record; and but very lately before that time put in practice.

‘ Whereby, if the *King*, through a foolish obstinacy, contempt of his People,
‘ or perverse froward will, or any other irregular way, shall *alienate* himself fr m
‘ his People, and will not be govern'd and regulated by the *Rights of the King-*
‘ *dom*, and laudable *Ordinances*, made by the *Counsel of the Lords and Great Men*
‘ *of the Realm*; but shall headily in his mad Councils exercise his own *Arbitrary*
‘ *will*;

‘ will ; from thenceforth it is *lawful* for them, *with the common Assent and Consent of the People of the Realm*, to *abrogate*, or depose him from the Throne, and set up in his stead *propinquiorem aliquem de stirpe Regiæ*, somebody of kin, or near of kin to the King, of the Royal Stock. It is not *proximum* the next upon the Line ; and then the *aliquem* gives a Latitude for choosing any deserving Person of the Stock Royal.

I know it will be said, that this Law is no where to be found, but in an Historian of the time.

That the Parliament urged such a Statute, and that it was a known Law, at the time when it was referred to, no Man can doubt ; tho’ indeed it is highly probable that R. 2, having assumed a very Arbitrary Power after this Admonition, caused this Statute, which stared him so full in the Face, to be taken off the File. Certain it is, that when at the end of his Reign, the Parliament were enabled to call him to account, among other Grounds for his deposal they say, *He had caused the Rolls and Records concerning the State and Government of his Kingdom to be destroyed and rased, to the great prejudice of the People, and disherison of the Crown of the said Kingdom, and this, as is credibly believed, in favour and support of his evil Governance.*

Farther yet, tho’ that Statute is not now to be found in words, yet the *late King’s Coronation Oath* might have advertised him of its being in force, as to the substance of it, to this very day.

According to the antient Formulary, he either swore or ought to have sworn, *To Grant, Keep, and Confirm the Laws, Customs, and Freedoms granted the Clergy and People by the most holy and glorious King Edward.*

This was *Edward the Confessor*, of immortal Memory, for his collecting and strict observing the Laws of the Kingdom, as well as for the admired Sanctity of his Life.

Whereas the Statute referred to 12^o R. 2. makes one of the Conditions upon which the Sovereignty depended, to be, that their Kings should observe the *Ordinances made by the Counsel of the Lords and Great Men of the Realm* : (the difference between which and Acts of Parliament is obvious) In that Body of the *Confessor’s* Laws transmitted down to us with unquestioned certainty, it is written *Rex debet omnia rite facere in Regno suo & de consilio Procerum suorum*, ‘ The King ought to do all things in his Kingdom according to Law, and by the Judgment of his Peers.’ *St. Edward’s* Law goes farther, and is express, that unless the King perform his duty, and answer the end for which he was constituted, *Nec nomen Regis in eo constabit*, not so much as the name of King shall remain in him.

To proceed to the LETTER it self.

‘ Right Trusty and welbeloved Cou-
 ‘ sin and Counsellor we greet you well.
 ‘ Whereas Our Royal Predecessors used
 ‘ to call such of their Privy-Council as
 ‘ could conveniently be had, to be pre-
 ‘ sent at the Labour of their Queens, and
 ‘ witnesses of the Births of their Chil-
 ‘ dren, and that We have followed their
 ‘ example at the Birth of Our dearest
 ‘ Son James Prince of Wales.

One would think that this was pen’d
 by some *French Secretary*, the *English* is
 so bald and improper, as where the Let-
 ter mentions the calling such of the
Privy-Council as could be had: And
 whereas that we have followed, &c. how-
 ever no example can be shewn of any
 one of his Predecessors, who pretended
 to have a *Privy-Council* after he had
 ceased to be King; or, at least, that
 thought it to any purpose to have wit-
 nesses of the Births of their Children,
 when themselves had no Inheritances
 to leave them.

But as to the Insinuation concerning the pretended *Prince of Wales*; his
 birth would have been less suspected, if all the Witnesses, who swore mate-
 rially, were not to be thought Parties; if the *Bishops* had not been sent to the *Tower*,
 as it were on purpose to remove the necessity of sending for the then *Archbishop of*
Canterbury, who had not at that time resign’d himself up to the *French* interest; if
 there had been credible proof of the late *Queen’s* having been with Child, before
 she was brought to Bed; and she had not been passed the Years, at which it was
 usual for *Italian Women* to bear Children.

And yet if we could believe that she was really brought to Bed of a Son, and
 that the Son is yet living (the proof of which we must fetch out of an Enemy’s
 Country) how could that in the least affect the Right of *their present Majesties*, who
 have been declared King and Queen by the Authority of the States, and that according
 to the express Letter of the Statute cited 12^o R. 2. which shews that the States,
 upon the Abrogation or Abdication of a King, are under no obligation of submitting
 to the next in the Line; nor can a Prince who has departed from his Title volun-
 tarily, or by legal implication, leave any right to descend from him.

Indeed when *Mary Queen of Scots* was adjudged to lose all her right of Succes-
 sion to the Kingdom of *England*, for her attempts against *Queen Elizabeth*, all the
 Judges of *England* being consulted, whether this would not cut off the interest of
 her Son, declared it would not: But it is to be considered.

1. That the opinion of the Judges in that case could not alter the Law.
2. That it was very likely, that they would favour King James, who at that time
 had a great Reputation and Interest in *England*, as much as they could with any ap-

pearance

pearance of reason; and there seems some colour for it, from the penning of that Statute, which was made in the view of the pretences of the *Queen of Scots*, and her known conspiracies, for which she was tried.

The Statute makes a plain distinction between a bare design, and a design which should take effect. In the first case they exclude and disable the immediate Pretenders if guilty within that Act.

In the second they exclude and disable the Persons pretending Title after the *Queen*, and *their Issue*, if consenting or privy. Where the first branch seems capable of an explanation by the 13th of the *Queen* which in like case disables persons *during their natural lives only, as if such person were naturally dead*.

In which act there is plain provision, that the Issue shall not be prejudiced, but shall be in the same condition as if the Parent had died before the offence committed: And tho' the same might be thought to be intended by the Stat. 27^o yet, it not being expressed, the *Lords*, with great reason, made a question of it: For if this had been the Intention of the *Parliament* 27^o one would have thought they would have followed so plain a President so lately set, in words which would admit of no dispute. And it appears very plainly to have been the Judgment of the *Parliament* 13 *Eliz.* that the disabling the Party would by operation of Law, have disabled the Issue, unless they had particularly provided against it. Certain it is, that the *States* of the Realm having deposed *E. 2.* he accounted it a special favour that they would choose his Son to succeed him

However, that precaution was not enough to hinder Us from the malicious Aspersions of such as were resolved to deprive Us of Our Royal Right.

Here is a smack of the *French scribe* again: Who else could have thought it an *hindrance* to have been kept from *Aspersions*? Or would any *Jacobite*, who understands our language, use words,

which admit that the *late King* stands *deprived* of his *Royal Right*.

But what ever is here suggested, is undoubtedly owing to the just causes of suspicion, which the necessity of the matter or their own ill management occasioned; so that it must be imputed to their own fraud or folly: Most, even of them who stand up for a supposed Right in *King James*, look upon the *Prince of Wales* as supposititious, and will acquit those from *malice* in this particular, whom yet they stick not to charge with Rebellion.

‘ That We may not be wanting to
‘ Our self, now it hath pleased *Almighty*
‘ *God*, the *Supporter of Truth*, to give us
‘ hopes of further Issue, Our dear Con-
‘ sort the *Queen* being big, and drawing
‘ near

In this and the former Paragraph such stress is laid upon the birth of Children by the *late Queen*, as if the disbelief of the *former pretence* were the sole occasion of the *Abdication*, and nothing of *Misgovernment*,

' near her time; We have thought fit to
 ' require such of Our Privy-Council as
 ' can come, to attend us here at St. Ger-
 ' mains, to be witnesses to our said Confort
 ' the *Queen's* labour. We do therefore
 ' hereby signifie this our *Royal Pleasure* to
 ' you; that you may use all possible means
 ' to come with what convenient haste
 ' you can; the *Queen* looking about the
 ' middle of *May* next.

Their Plot, which was within these few days the boast and merit of their Party, must now be denied with as great confidence; but if there had wanted other proof, the timing the *appointment* of the *Birth* of another Prince, the avowed expectation which they had just at this time, the coming of the *French Fleet*, the Preparation for a Landing here, and the readiness many expressed to receive them, sufficiently speak their detestable design: But that *Glorious Victory* of our *Fleet*, which has dashed their Hopes, and broken their Measures, will undoubtedly cause an *abortion* of the *intended Birth*, or an adjournment to some Month more favourable to them than *May*, which is expired, and yet we hear of no *Young Prince* born: But both the *late Queen*, and the *French Partisans*, must confess themselves out in their Reckoning: And *Almighty God*, who, as the Letter observes, is *the Supporter of Truth*, is the *Exposer of Impostures*.

' And that you may have no scruple
 ' on Our side, Our *Dear Brother the most*
 ' *Christian King* has given his *Royal word*
 ' and promise to you as We hereby do,
 ' that you shall have leave to come, and,
 ' *the Queen's Labour being over*, to return
 ' with all safety.

That the nominal *most Christian King* has passed his *word*, must be taken upon the *word* of the *late King*; to which much credit cannot be given by any, who considers how well he maintained his *Coronation-Oath*, and the Promises which he made in Favour of the *Church of England*: And what regard the *French King* has to Oaths, and the most Religious Promises, is notorious to the whole *Christian World*; and by this time his truest Friends, the *Turks*, repent of their having trusted him.

Besides, the promise here is very fallacious; for it is, that they shall have leave to return [*the Queen's Labour being over*] but if she be with Child of a Cushion, her Labour will never be over; and they shall be detained there till they *abjure* their Religion.

The iniquity of the Times, the Tyranny of Strangers, and misled Party of Our own Subjects, brought Us under the necessity of using this unusual way.

jesties Reign beyond their deserts, or hopes, as the most moderate of them will confess.

Tyranny, in the most common acceptation of the Word, is applied to *Tyranny* in the *Exercise*, and the *present Administration* is in that respect a *rescue from Tyranny*: Nor can their *present Majesties* be accounted *Strangers* or *Tyrants* in *Title*, who had a true *Legal qualification* for succeeding to the *vacant Throne*, and have been *settled* in it according to the *Constitution* of this Government; as all, who know any thing of it, must acknowledge: And they only are the *misled Party*, who believe the contrary. That necessity which the Letter complains of, came from other causes than are there mentioned, and such causes, as are inseparable from that Superstition, the obstinate adhering to which has had such a fate, as the Counsels of the *Jesuits* have merited and extorted.

Yet we hope it will convince the World of the Truth and Candour of Our Proceedings, to the Confutation of Our Enemies.

their Country, as to go to *France* upon this occasion.

But should they be to be believed, and swear home to the birth of a *Prince* at this time; that would not remove all the Objections which have been generally received against the former: Nor, considering the great alteration in Constitutions, which the difference of Climates may make, would the *late Queen's* having a Child in *France*, be a convincing Evidence, that she might have had one in *England*, in that state of Health, and Constitution, which she was in here.

We not doubting of your compliance herewith, bid you heartily farewell.

He must needs have had great proofs of their obsequiousness, who (if he can think they were *Protestants*) would venture into *France* upon his parole, or the *French King's*: Yet it is not to be questioned but many had given him mighty Assurances of their being resolved to venture all things for his service; who yet would venture no farther than in Words, and Oaths, of which they certainly have been liberal to both sides.

Given at Our Court at the Castle of St.

Germaines, the 2d of April, Stilo. N.

The Papists indeed, have reason to complain of the *Times*, which are very impropitious to them: But even they cannot complain of *Tyranny*, having had experience of the lenity of *Their Majesties*

as the most moderate of them will

The *English World* would be very easie of belief if they should be convinced by what might be deposed by them, who should be so foolish, or such Traitors to

of their obsequiousness, who (if he can think they were *Protestants*) would ven-

ture into *France* upon his parole, or the *French King's*: Yet it is not to be questioned but many had given him mighty Assurances of their being resolved to venture all things for his service; who yet would venture no farther than in Words, and Oaths, of which they certainly have been liberal to both sides.

A *Castle* seems no improper place for

his Court, who is, in effect, but the

French

1692. and in the 8th. Year of Our *French King's Prisoner*: But what he sends to *England*, while he is in the power of the Nations inveterate Enemies, is not likely to prevail with any true *English-Man*.

—————*Metuunt Danaos vel dona ferentes.*

How he comes to reckon this the 8th. Year of his Reign, I cannot tell; I am sure there is no president for it in the *English Annals*, which will come up to his case. His *Brother*, I must own, dated his *Reign* from the Death of his Father, and supposed it to have continued during all the times of *Usurpation*; but he had not been *formally set aside* by a regular *Convention of the States*, nor had any one been *chosen, or declared King* in his stead.

Indeed, *E. 4.* was accounted King all the while from his first assuming the *Royal Dignity* to his Death; tho' *H. 6.* was in possession for a short interval: Yet it is evident that whatever *E. 4ths.* right was, his own Parliament did not account him King by reason of any right, which he had without an *Election* of the *States*, upon *H. 6ths. incapacity* to reign, and breach of the *Contract* settled in Parliament, between *H. 6.* and the Father and Son, *Richard Duke of York*, and *E. 4.*

And the short possession of *H. 6.* after a *Redemption* of power, was accounted a *Nullity*, because of his inability to reign, joyned with the consideration of that sudden and transient force which the *States* were under, and from which they as suddenly freed themselves.

But as *Richard Duke of York* was never accounted King, being never submitted to by the *States*, *E. 4.* was not accounted King, till submitted to: So that the Government was always held to go along with *their submission*, while it was to a Person capable, and they might be thought to have acted with any manner of Freedom, and full purpose of settling it.

For proof of this, I refer myself to the Circumstances in Story, and the Records of *Parliament* of that very time, from whence the *Divine-right-Men* fetch their Notion of King of Right, and King in Fact; at which time he who was upon success, adjudged to be the King of Right, was not adjudged to have reigned till the 4th. day of *March*, on which day he was put into possession by the Consent and Choice of the *States* of the Kingdom: And tho' the King in fact was held to have been unable to govern, and to have broken the *Contract* before that 4th. of *March*, yet he was accounted to have reign'd till then. And whereas the Author of *The Case of Allegiance to a King in possession* (who argues unanswerably upon the Fact yielded to him by some without any ground) affirms, ' That *H. 6.* was attainted of High-Treason against *Richard Duke of York*, who was not King, but only declared Heir to the Crown. Which would argue that the Parliament which attainted *H. 6.* looking upon *Richard* as the King regnant, notwithstanding

the possession of *H. 6.* the Fact is quite otherwise; for no Act against *Richard* was accounted Treason, nor even against *E. 4.* till the Parliament had declared him to be in possession, upon the submission of the *States*; and this, though *H. 6.* had *Abdicated* before the day by which they adjudged the possession to *E. 4.* Nor is it material to say, that several Treasons were Assign'd, which were Committed before King *Edward's* Coronation, unless they had been before the 4th. of *March*, when the *States* gave him Possession. But any Man that reads the Parliament Roll it self, without trusting to Abridgments, will find, that *E. 4.* was not accounted to have began his Reign before the 4th. of *March*; and as in reason, there can be no Treason against any Person before he is King of this Kingdom, neither was any Act against *E. 4.* before the 4th. of *March*, on which day he began his Reign, to be Treason even by his own Parliament.

This may satisfy all unbiaſſed Persons, that unless *James* the 2^d. should be re-admitted, (which perhaps might argue that the *States* retained a purpose to return to his Obedience;) his Reign must now, and will in all after ages be held in Judgment of Law to have determined, if not at the time when the *States* adjudged the *Vacancy* to have began, or at least when Their *present Majesties* were first Declared King and Queen, and that before their taking their *Coronation-Oath*; as long as they not only refused not to take it, but expressed Their acceptance of the Government, according to the Constitution, by which it is always presumed, till the contrary appears, That every *Prince* who assumes the Royal Dignity, will take the *Coronation-Oath*; at some convenient time of his own appointment, or their choice.

But tho' *Maud* the *Empress* had been Declared Queen upon Success against King *Stephen*, yet she refusing to maintain the *Confessor's Laws*, the promise of which is an Essential part of the *Coronation-Oath*, was rejected almost as soon as received; and by an hasty flight, gave an early example of the late *Abdication*.

Though she was the *Grand-Child* of one, whom some now will make a *Conqueror*, freed from any Obligations of observing the old *Saxon Laws*, yet there was never any pretence set up for her ever after; much less was she thought to have continued her *Reign*; and tho' many declared for her Son *H. 2.* in her lifetime, yet he found it convenient to accept of a settlement of the Crown, in remainder after the Death of King *Stephen*, as his *Adopted Son*; the Charter of which *Adoption* is to be seen in the Historian *Brompton*. But the late King, by breeding the *pretended Prince of Wales* in France, has cut off all reasonable expectations of having him ever to be *Adopted Heir* of this Kingdom.

I know some Men, whose Crimes in former Reigns, and profess'd enmity to the Liberties of *England*, had engaged them in a *Party*, which opposed the Accession of Their *present Majesties* to the *Imperial Throne* of this Realm, after they
had

had invited His Majesties Arms, and importun'd him to take upon him the Administration; raise a great Clamour upon the silence of *Parliaments*, in relation to the *Putative Prince of Wales*; as if it were a tacit Admission that he was *real*. But, certainly, in this the *Parliaments* chose to shew, that the Government is settled upon such a bottom, as makes it not in the least material, whether *Prince* or no *Prince*; well knowing that the *Convention*, which afterwards became a *Parliament*, upon acting under a legal head, (as did the *Parliament*, which after being turned a *Convention* by the Deposal of *R. 2.* acted with *H. 4.*) exercised a Power which was vested in them by the Constitution of this Monarchy; and followed the wise examples of *H. 8.* and of Queen *Elizabeth* of Glorious memory. *H. 8.* though he had Bastardiz'd both his Daughters, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, yet settled the Crown upon them both successively, in remainder after his Son *Edward*; without taking off the Illegitimation of either Daughter: Whereby he certainly placed the right of their Successions upon a surer foundation, from the Authority of the King and *States* to dispose of the Crown, than if he had declared either of the Sisters to be Legitimate. Nor indeed would he have done this without shewing at the same time that one was Illegitimate; the question being, whether the Mother of *Mary*, or the Mother of *Elizabeth*, was the true and lawful Wife.

And though Queen *Elizabeth* had full opportunity and Power to cause the Act which Bastardiz'd her to be repeal'd; especially after the Protestant Religion was thoroughly settled, and that Party crush'd who held the *Pope's* Authority, to make good the Marriage of *H. 8.* with his Brother's Wife, carnally known by him; yet she wisely contented her self with a Title derived from that *Constitution* of the *Monarchy*, by virtue of which the Crown had been settled, rather than to fetch one from Heaven by a Divine Right of Birth.

That the ignorant followers of *blind Guides*, may know what was the Judgment of the times of *H. 8.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, to go no higher, of the Divine Right of Succession, I desire them to read the Acts of Parliament, 28, and 35. *H. 8.* which declare, That if such *Heirs*, as are there appointed, without regard to the *Scotch* Family, *should fail, and no provision made in the King's life time, who should Rule and Govern this Realm, then the Realm should be destitute of a lawful Governour.* And the Journals 8, and 9. of the Queen, with the Act of Parliament, 13 *C. 1.*

The House of Lords in their Address, 8, and 9 *Elizabeth*, desire that a Successor might be appointed in Parliament, *lest God should call the Queen without certainty of Succession*; and for that the *not performing* what they desired, *would leave the Realm without Government.* And that memorable Act 13 *Elizabeth*, makes it highly Penal, in any after time, to deny the Power of the Parliament, to limit or alter the Succession; and adds a Penalty upon them, who shall affirm that any but *the Issue of the Queen's Body* had Right to succeed after her.

But

But we shall never be quiet from vain disputes against the Right of the present Government, till it makes Examples of Offenders, within the perpetual branch of this wise and equitable Law.

Let any Man seriously consider the controverſie between them who hold the *Late King* ſtill to *Reign*, and thoſe who aſſert that *Their preſent Majeſties* are our only *Sovereign Lord and Lady*, and they will find that the *Jacobites* have not one true Principle upon which they can fix; and all the advantage which they have, is by the concessions of thoſe who would pretend to defend this Eſtabliſhment, upon the ſame Principles which carried them to the moſt fervile compliances in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, and part of the Reign of *James* the Second; till according to the Scripture-observation, *in adverſity* they *conſidered*, and found that to be the conſequence of their Doctrines, which they would never believe; and then ſtarted back from it with horror: But alas! Nature is too apt to return.

Some having taught, That a Sovereign Prince, while he lives, muſt retain the Sovereignty as inſeparable from his Perſon, till he has expreſſy and formally renounced it, admit the Right of the *Late King* to continue, notwithstanding the Poſſeſſion of *Their Majeſties*, with the full and regular Conſent of the *States of the Kingdom*; and though the Kingdom has, by the Providence of God, been given them in ſuch a manner as has been held to make a *Legal Settlement*, if not from the earlieſt times, at leaſt by the *Stat. 11. of H. 7.* and they very indiſcreetly yield, that the Statute ſuppoſes ſome other to have right beſides *the King and Sovereign Lord for the time being*; which is abſurd in it ſelf, and againſt the manifeſt intent of the Statute. Nor can any reaſonable Man think, that this was the Judgment of *H. 7th's* Parliament, 11. *H. 7.* when the Parliament, in the firſt of his Reign, had not only *Ordained, Eſtabliſhed, and Declared*, That the Inheritances of the Crowns of the Realm of *England* and *France*, *be, ſtand, and remain* in *H. 7.* and in the Heirs of his Body for ever, and in no other Perſons: But by another Act Reversed the Attainder of *H. 6.* of the Younger Houſe, for acting againſt *E. 4.* of the Elder, even after *E. 4.* had been received and ſubmitted to by the *States*; which Attainder of *H. 6.* the ſtatute declares to be contrary to *due Allegiance and due Order*, plainly ſuppoſing, that while he had the Poſſeſſion, he was the only King and Sovereign Lord.

Though I am tempted to enter into a large field of the Judgment of the moſt antient times, I purpoſely forbear, and ſhall only obſerve and remove another *Objection*, or rather *Prejudice*, from the repeated Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

As I take it, nothing ought to be received for the Doctrine of the Church which is not to be found in its *Articles*, or *Homilies*; or at leaſt Canons duly

made and received, but they as well require *Active Obedience to Lawful Governors, as Passive*; and yet none but Papists will say, That we were bound actually to assist King *James* to Subdue his Protestant Subjects, or that only Power, which, without a Miracle, could Support them in the Profession of their Religion; or, as a late Writer has it, *cover their Heads while they treated*.

And whatever the Articles, Homilies, or received Canons of the Church argue to be the Duty of Subjects; to whom Subjection is due, is in no Point explained by them, it being supposed that the Laws of the Land, and they whom the Constitution intrusts with declaring the Law, should determine that Question.

And, besides, some think they have the Canons of a Convocation in King *James* the First's time (as there certainly was the Approbation of the Clergy in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, of her Interposition in other Kingdoms) to balance whatever may be drawn from the Publick Acts of the Church of *England*, to the Prejudice of this present Government, or of those means by which it was established.

But the Dispute of King of *Right*, and King in *Fact*, is taken from Popish times: And, since the *Reformation* has left us a clear Stage; and the Judgment of the Parliament, 1 *E. IV.* on which they who argue for King *James* his Right chiefly rely, is on our side, we need not fear the forces of all Antiquity; especially when we consider that the Clergy of old Times, who were our Historians, Judges, and Chief Lawyers, and the Penmen of the Publick Transactions, had that Dependency on the *Pope* which made them stand indifferent between *Prince* and People.

I must confess, it has been to me a Mystery, how the *Non Swearers* came to charge all, who are not of their *Schism*, with *Apostacy* from the Church of *England*, till one of their *Champions* has been so weak, as to quit the Advantage of Clamour upon a general Charge, by shewing how they proceed to prove it. One, against whom he writes, having pressed to know from what *Article* or *Homily* of our Church, Allegiance to the late King can be enforced. "Sure, " *says the Champion*, he cannot forget that God's written Word, and that only, " is our entire and adequate Rule of Faith: And the best Interpreter of it for " us to follow, is *the most unanimous Exposition* of it, *avowed by the Doctrine* of our " *Church-Men*, and the agreeable and constant Practice of the Church.

Now, what is this but the *Popish Doctrine* of *Tradition*, stript naked and disrob'd of all its Raggs of seeming Authority? If it takes in the unanimous Exposition of Church-Men, and the Practice of the Church in all Ages, he must pray in Aid of the Church of *Rome*: And, unless this Writer is a *Papist* (as it is

is to be presumed that they who charge the Body of our Clergy, and others, with Apostacy are) why shall his Rule of Faith hold in relation to Government, and not in all other Things? And how could a Reformation be duly made, contrary to this Rule?

If he urges this as a *Protestant*, he goes a step beyond the *Papists*; who, as I take it, rely not on *Tradition*, but as they suppose it an Evidence of what has been the Doctrine of the Church in all Ages; but place no Authority to judge of the *Tradition* in any under a *Pope*; or rather, according to most of them, a *Council*, solemnly assembled after Invocation of the Holy Ghost; but here the diffusive Body of Church-Men must be Divinely inspired: Yet whatever they may pretend, the Holy Spirit may as truly be said to come in a Cloke-bag from *France*, as formerly from *Rome* to *Trent*: But Doctrines, it seems, are to be thought true or false according to the *Poll*, or rather the *Noise*; there never having been a fair and regular Poll, and casting up of their Voices, that I have heard of: Generally the Lowest, the Forwardest, and the most Injudicious, have, without any manner of Election, pretended to Represent the rest: When, one would think, they might be satisfied if the *Laity* would yield to their Request, That the *Bishops, Presbyters, and others, elected by the Clergy*; that is, a *Convocation* without a *Parliament*, may be the Church of *England* Representative. But as Church-Men are jealous enough of their own Rights, it is not to be thought, that they will be concluded by the Books or Sermons of those whom they never chose to make offers in the Name of all.

This I am sure was their Apology in *King James* his Reign; and those of the *New Separation* were as forward as any to disclaim and renounce all Pretences of this kind. Their present *Champion* seems to make a difference between the *Church* and *Church-Men*, mentioning the Doctrine of *Church-Men*, and constant Practice of the *Church*; whereas in truth, the *Abdication*, or *Abrogation* of one King, and Submission to another in his Life-time, has never been a Question before, since the Reformation, and now it is become a Question, the *Church* of *England* has declared for, and submitted to, the King and Queen, who now fill the Throne after a *Vacancy*.

If we look backward, to see what the Church of *England*, or the *State* including the Church, has done or thought in former Ages, we shall find what is charged as a Departure from our Church, to be no new thing.

Certain it is, in Popish times they have set aside Princes of their own Religion, without consulting the *Oracle* at *Rome*, upon Cases clear by the Constitution: Nor, if there were any doubt, is it likely that they would have run the hazard of losing that Opportunity, which they had upon the first appearing
unanimous

unanimous for casting off a National Burden; the Resentment of which, a small delay might cool.

Can any Period be assigned in the dark Ages of *Popery*, when, if a Prince who had clearer light, should, with a few to whom he communicated his Intentions, have endeavoured to impose his way of Worship; upon a Nation confirmed not only by constant Practice, but firm Laws, in a contrary Religion; or should have given manifest Indications, that he would use all his Authority to this end; the *Clergy* would have been less scrupulous than the *Doctors* of the *Sorbon* were, in declaring against *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, while he professed himself a *Protestant*? Nay, would not the Body of the Nation have declared, That a Prince of a Religion contrary to that of his Country, was incapable to govern?

If of themselves, or through the interposition of some foreign *Prince*, or *State*, they had secured the free Profession of their Religion, and the Benefit of the Laws which upheld it, would they, with blinder *Protestants* at this day, have desired the return of their Fears? Would they have wished for such Success to the *Waldenses*, or *Albigenses*, the only visible Powers then against them, as some, who would be thought *Protestants*, do to the *French*? Nay, when they swarmed with *Legends* of Miracles, which were thought almost as plentiful as the *Gods* of *Ægypt*, springing up in the Gardens; would they have expected Deliverance from their own Prayers and Wishes?

I know the common Refuge, Let Justice be done, and leave the Event to Providence: But ought we to tempt Providence to destroy us, by our promoting against the Interest of our Religion, that which we are not, cannot be assured to be the cause of Justice? Can it be Justice to sacrifice our Religion and Civil Rights, to the Humour, or Bigotry, or Revenge, of one who had manifested, That he would not govern as King of a Protestant Kingdom, or of a Kingdom where the Law, had placed Boundaries to the Will of the Prince?

What do we not owe to a *Deliverer* who has freed us at home from all true Causes of Fear, but from our selves? Who is the Support of the Confederates, and the Head and Life of their armies, and, under God, has put an Hook into the Nostrils of the great *Leviathan*, who has so lately sported himself in the Waters? What a Blessing is it, that when the Cause of Christendom calls him to other Regions, his Throne is not left empty, but adorned with a Queen, to whom the true Religion, and her Native Country, are the nearest Relations; and who gains not more Hearts by the serene and awful Majesty of her Looks, than she

defeats Enemies by a Courage more than Female, and only not Divine? Indeed, what less than a Divine Power can vanquish the Timidity and Irresolution in times of Danger, natural to the Tendernefs of the fair Sex? And in what Age, or Nation, can we find her Parallel, but in *our admired Queen Elizabeth*, whom all Generations to come shall blefs, for establishing the Protestant Religion at home, and supporting it abroad, at a time when the King of *Spain* was the Darling of the *Pope* and *Jesuites*, and by their Assistance stood as fair for an *Univerfal Monarchy*, as the *French* King did, before the interposition of *their present Majesties*.

It has been observed, that ever since the defeat of the *Spanish Armada*, by *Queen Elizabeth's* truly *Invincible Fleet*, that Monarchy has wither'd, like a Plant wounded at the root: And we have great grounds to hope, that the *French Royal Sun*, which by our late Naval Victory has been forced to set in the *British Seas*, never to rise again, is a true *Emblem* of that *Monarchy*.

And God seems to have designed it in his Providence, as a Prefage of his farther Gracious Intentions, towards the Professors of the True Religion; that That Family, out of which the Papists called the Noblest Sacrifice, yields a living *Hero*, to Avenge the Death of the Brave Lord *RUSSELL*; and to Vindicate that Cause for which he died.

[*Sion College LIBRARY, U. 5. No. 13.*]

A Melius Inquirendum into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* : Or an Account of several new Depositions and Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and the final Decifion of that Affair by the Grand Inqueft of *Europe*, being a Supplement to the Depositions published by Authority in *October* laft.

Printed in the Year 1689.

Consultation of the ORACLE, by the great Men of *England*, and the Potentates of the Earth, to know if the Prince of *Wales* (Given of God, *Deo datus*, be fupposititious, or legitimate.

AS foon as the Darknefs of the Night was difperfed, and the Morning had appeared, the Gates of the Temple of the Divinity opened themfelves, and one might fee all the Potentates of the Earth haftening thither : Great Number of Princes, and mighty Monarchs, many *Heracitus's* and *Democritus's*, the one fad, and the other merry, for the Birth of this new Meffias ; the Catholic Princes were in difpute with the Proteftants ; the latter did maintain that the Prince of *Wales* was fupposititious, and the firft the contrary. It was then refolved, by one Part as well as the other, to refer the Bufinefs to the Oracle, and that the Divine *Apollo* fhould decide a Queftion, whereon the Happinefs of *Europe* depended.

The POPE

Being the firft advanced, kneeled to the Earth, and having taken in each Hand a certain Compofition, went on Foot to the Entrance of a little Cavern, as foon as he found himfelf within, with a great deal of Eagernels and Haste, he fpoke

To the ORACLE.

‘ I defire to know four Things before my Death.

‘ The first is, to see *Constantinople* purged from execrable *Mahometism*, by my good Son *Leopold*, Emperor of the East and West.

‘ The second, to see my eldest Son, the King of *France*, to repent himself of all those Affronts that he hath committed during his Reign, against the Holy See, against the other Kings his Brethren, and against his poor People.

‘ The third, to see my Son *Charles II.* always poor, become sufficiently powerful to revenge himself of his Brother-in-law, and give to the Throne of *Spain* a Successor, whether legitimate or supposititious according to the Example of King *James*.

‘ The fourth, to learn if my Son *James II.* be well fixed on his Throne, and if the young Prince of *Wales* shall be legitimated by the Parliament ?’

As soon as the Holy Father had ended, all those Powers that had followed him, were impatient to speak of the Queen of *England*’s Lying-in, and of the Birth of the young Prince ; and although the Cardinal of *Furstemberg* desired it, and would by all means speak of his Election, he was ordered to hold his Tongue, and it was resolv’d, that the Court of *England* should first be allowed to give Reasons whereby she pretends to prove, that the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate ; that the Protestant Princes, who had Arguments to prove the contrary, should be heard next : That the Question should be disputed with Mildness and Moderation ; and that the Court of *France*, as well as the Court of *England*, as Allies, should be desired to occasion no Dispute, but leave it fairly to the Decision of Justice.

The King of *E----d*,

Attended by Father *Petres*, who followed him Step by Step, approached the holy Cavern, and thus spoke to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I give God Thanks for giving me a Son on the 10th Day of *June* 1688, and that he gave a happy Delivery to the Queen my Wife, by the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.’

His Majesty had scarce made an End of pronouncing these Words, but a Protestant Prince interrupted him, saying,

‘ We all give Thanks to God, because we have discovered that this young Prince is the Son of the Society of Jesuits, and that he never had any Royal Blood in him.’

These

These Words were no sooner delivered, but Father *Petres* advanced, and having fixed his triangular Cap upon his Head, to shew his Indignation, thus said to the

ORACLE.

‘ The Heretics do nothing but laugh at the Queen’s Lying-in, as if the Prince of *Wales* were only a supposited Infant ; for my Part, who was not a Moment absent from the Queen, I know better than any Person, and if I do not tell Truth, I will call Mrs. *Wilks* as a Witness.’

It was scarce observable that *Petres* had spoke so much ; the Priests of the Temple being employed in furnishing the Soul of *Wilks* with proper Ideas, to make her recollect. To the End that she might discover the Intrigue, she made her Stage upon the Skin of Sacrifices rubbed with certain Drugs which disturb the Brain, and being present at the holy Cavern, spoke thus :

‘ It is easy to prove, that the Queen was really with Child, if one considers that she kept her Bed at her Lying-in for two or three Days, without getting up, and the rather, for that she never went abroad while she was big.’

The ORACLE

Ordered, That she should hold her Peace, if she had no better Proof.

The Priestests of the Temple conducted the Queen of *England*, as yet weak and indisposed, and having given her her Hand to lead her into the Sanctuary, she thus said to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I prove that I have been with Child of a young Prince, because I had many Pains, for five or six Months, and I have always heard it reported, that Women with Child are always subject to them.’

Mrs. *Cellier*, who was near the Queen, had a Mind to speak again, desired her Majesty to add the Sickness she was speaking of ; that she had several times been sensible of the Infant’s stirring in her Womb, and that these two Proofs were convincing.

The Princess of *D—k*,

Being called in her Turn, came near, and said to the

ORACLE,

ORACLE,

‘ I find it very difficult to believe, that the young Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, if it be true what is said, that he was some Hours at *St. James’s*, afore the Queen came thither to lie-in.

The ORACLE

Answered her :

‘ This Proof is strong, have you any Witnesses ?

The PRINCESS

Answered him :

‘ Yes.

The Rev. Father *SMITH*, and Father *ALIX*, Jesuits,

Conspiring together in a Design to destroy the Proof which the Princess had offered to produce,

Father *SMITH*,

As being the eldest, spoke first to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I maintain, that the Queen hath been with Child, and that the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate; by reason the Queen hath resolved, at the present, to have a Daughter, and after that another Daughter, and then another young Prince, that if it happens the first should die, his Majesty may be provided of a Successor.

Father *ALIX*

Took his Turn, and said,

‘ For my Part, I prove that there is nothing supposititious in the Person of the Prince of *Wales*, and that he is the legitimate Son of the King, because he was informed, that the Child was baptized on the 15th Day of *July*, 1688, it being *St. James’s Day*.’

The

The Priests went out of the holy Cavern, and returned before the Queen's Ladies of Honour, and having made them drink a Glafs of the Water of the River *Hircinas*, they said :

‘ We maintain, that the Queen hath been really with Child, because she was
‘ always troubled with a kind of a Gout, which hindered her going, and always
‘ obliged her to be carried in a Chair.

The Archbishop of C——, attended by his Suffragans,

Came near to the Divinity, extremely pleased to have been acquitted in his Trial, and that Innocence had prevailed over Calumny.

The *DIVINITY*

Made him be informed by one of his Priests, that he was exhorted to reveal what he knew, or what he had learned, concerning the Queen's Lying-in ; that there was no Degree of Power above the Gods, and that he was obliged in Conscience to tell the Things as they were, and being approached, he spoke to the

ORACLE.

‘ Because you conjure me, by all that is most holy in your Temple, to discover an Imposture, which the Society of Jesuits takes care to conceal from all
‘ *Europe* ; I shall tell you then in two Words, That the Prince of *Wales* is *suppo-*
‘ *sitious*, and that they put us in the Tower, at the very Time the Queen was in
‘ the Straw, to the End that the Bishops of the Kingdom might not be present.”

The King of E——d.

Hearing this Discourse, came forward hastily, and being angry with the Archbishop, called him *Rebel*, adding, *That he knew how to make him obey.*

The ORACLE

Answered the King : ‘ That he had forgotten that the Place where he blasphemed was holy, and that he ought to be satisfied, long since, that the Gods
‘ esteem bad Kings no more than silly Shepherds, that he ought to abate his
‘ Fierceness, and thank the Gods for giving them more good Things in this
‘ World, oftentimes, than they deserve.

The *KING*,

Being desirous to answer what the Archbishop had objected, said, ‘ It was true
 ‘ that the Bishops were put in the Tower before the Queen lay in, but also, that
 ‘ Order was given to release them, and there was nothing to hinder their Visits;
 ‘ besides, I am not willing to argue thus with my Subjects, I am a King and ex-
 ‘ pect to be obeyed, without disputing, and when I say that the Prince of *Wales*
 ‘ is my legitimate Son, this ought to suffice, and they ought to believe it.’

The *ORACLE*

Answered to all this, ‘ That he was not well satisfied with his Majesty’s Beha-
 ‘ viour, and that he ought to have more Moderation, and to bring good Proofs,
 ‘ because we came hither to know if the Prince of *Wales* was legitimate or sup-
 ‘ positious, and not to dispute his royal Prerogative.

The Priests had Orders to advance some

MEMBERS of the next Parliament,

Who spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

His Majesty hath solicited us, by his chief Almoner, Father *Petres*, to legi-
 ‘ timate his Son the Prince of *Wales*, when we shall meet in Parliament; and all
 ‘ the People cry in *London*, that it is a supposititious Child, that his Father is a
 ‘ poor Citizen, and that his Mother is a poor Woman, which the Jesuits have
 ‘ persuaded, by Money, to keep this Secret. The

ORACLE

Orders the Priests to conduct in the

Earl of *S—L—D*,

To see what he had to answer to what was proposed. *S—l—d* having Or-
 der to enter the holy Cavern, desired, before that, to abjure his Religion, and to
 assist at the holy Office in the King’s Chapel, and to give a Proof of a profound
 Respect. After which he said,

‘ The

‘ The Prince of *Wales* is so much the more legitimate, and the Supposition of
 ‘ which they accuse her Majesty, is the rather a Calumny, by how much the big
 ‘ Belly of the Queen hath been accompanied with many Wonders, *viz.* As the
 ‘ Queen slept, an Angel appeared to her several times, and said to her, *Have*
 ‘ *Courage, you shall bring forth a Son, and his Name shall be called Wales* : The Queen
 ‘ awaking, started, and saw that this Angel was like to him that appeared long
 ‘ since to *Mary* the Mother of God.

The ORACLE

Asked him how he knew it to be an Angel ?

S—L—D

Answered, that Father *Petres* had told him so.

The Lawyer P——n, one that pleaded for the Bishops,

Hearing that the Earl of *Sunderland* would prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate, by the greatest Imposture that ever was, could not forbear speaking into the holy Cavern, as loud as if he had pleaded in *Westminster-Hall*, and said openly, that it was a Shame that such a Man as he, whom his Majesty had honoured with his Charge of Secretary of State, should have so mean and low Thoughts, and so unworthy of a Man of Honour ; he ought to have known that this Angel, of whom he was speaking of, was one of the Queen’s Footmen, who had been instructed by the Jesuits to play this Part : And that the King, having surprized him, with his Sword wounded him in his Arm.

The ORACLE

Ordered the Priests to turn out S—L—D, and bring the

Lord CHANCELLOR,

Who spoke to this Purpose to the

DIVINITY.

‘ The greatest Proof that I can offer, to justify that there is no Supposition in
 ‘ the Birth of this young Prince, is the coming of so many Ministers from all the
 ‘ Courts of *Europe* to congratulate his Majesty, and pay their Homage to this

‘ young Prince. As to the rest, his Majesty was transacted at his Council of Con-
 ‘ science with Father *Petres*, and he forbids to enquire into what passeth there ; fo-
 ‘ if there be any Supposition, it is a Secret that very few Persons know at Court.
 ‘ And the King hath ordered us to compel the People to believe the Prince of
 ‘ *Wales* to be legitimate. And this is enough, and we ought. as much as in us
 ‘ lies, to adore these great Mysteries, and by no Means pry into them.’

As soon as my Lord *Chancellor* hath spoken, the Lawyers,

L——s, F——n, S——r, T——y, F——h, S——s

Were ordered to answer what my Lord *Chancellor* had said ; they all unani-
 ‘ mously said, ‘ That having gained the Cause for the Bishops, they would do
 ‘ their Endeavour to get that for the People also ; and to maintain, by an au-
 ‘ thentic Discourse, which they would publish concerning a supposititious Birth,
 ‘ that the Prince of *Wales* was supposited ; but they prayed the Divinity to
 ‘ grant them some time: the

ORACLE

Answered them that it was granted, and that in the mean time the Priests
 should be examined of such as are to appear.

The Priests had Order to introduce the

JESUITS of the College of the SAVOY.

The most ancient of them having taken off his triangular Cap, said,
 ‘ That the greatest Proof that they had (that the Prince of *Wales* was the
 ‘ lawful Son of the King) was, that his Majesty had promised on the Day of his
 ‘ Coronation, that he intended to give a Successor to the Crown, and that the
 ‘ King had now performed his Royal Word, in giving them this young Prince,
 ‘ who they should always acknowledge as legitimate, since they being Roman
 ‘ Catholics, it was much for the Advantage of their Society.’

The

ORACLE

Answered, ‘ That these Reasons proved that the King had a Successor ; but
 ‘ the Question now was, to know if this Successor were of the Blood-Royal.’

The Priests had Order to cause them to go out, and to introduce the

NON-

NONCONFORMISTS, the *QUAKERS* and *PRESBYTERIANS*.

The Quakers being come in said, ‘ They had presented many Addresses to his Majesty, for to thank him for the Liberty of Conscience he had granted them, but that they acknowledged now by Experience, that he would not keep his Word, and that he would break his Word as often as it tendeth to make him absolute; that they think the Prince of *Wales* is supposititious, and that they will give their Proofs in Writing.’

The Nonconformists say, ‘ That his Majesty is full of Designs, which he hath to advance the Papists in all Charges, and that his Favours are chiefly reserved for the Jesuits, and that at last he will repent for having assisted at the making so many Innovations; and as to the Prince of *Wales*, it was easy to suppose it supposititious, because it was a Month before the Queen lay in.’

The Presbyterians say in their Turn, ‘ That what hath passed at the Birth of this young Prince, where Father *Petres* and *Cellier*, only Assistants, is a convincing Proof, that there was a manifest Supposition, and that one only ought to examine the Circumstances of this Birth to make it appear.’

The *O R A C L E*

Ordered a Priest to take in Writing all these Depositions, and omit nothing.

The Priests had Order to introduce the Foreign Princes and their Ambassadors.

The *KING* of *FRANCE*,

Before he entered the holy Cavern, according to the Example of the Emperor *Heracitus*, made his Army be purged of the Dragoons for three Days, who came from the hunting the new Converts, and having opened the Holy Evangelist, said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ I maintain, at the peril of my Life, that the young Prince of *Wales* is legitimate; and if I ought to transport my Armies, by my Bombs and my Carcasses, I would reduce the World into Ashes, and chastise the rebellious Nations that oppose the Design of King *James* my Cousin.

The ORACLE

Answered him, ' That no one ought to enter into this holy Cavern, to make
' *French Rhodomontades*, that the Business in hand was to prove he was legitimate
' or supposititious.'

Father LA CHASE

Hearing them speak of a supposititious Child, came forward, the Priests stopped him, pulling him by the Arm, and told him, ' That he knew very well there
' was no Safety within the Cavern for such as came not with good Intentions,' so that being drawn near, he made many Bows, kissed the Statue of *Trophanius*, and said to the

ORACLE;

' I hold the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, for two strong Reasons:
' The first, because my Master is his Godfather.
' And secondly, because my Master hath sent him his Spirit to inspire him in
' the Cradle, with the Love for our Society, and with a hatred to Heresy.'

The ORACLE

Answered ' That this would not signify any thing, and if he had no other Reason, he might retire as soon as he could.' The Priests took his Cap and threw it out of the Cavern, and having pushed him out, gave their Hands to the

DAUPHIN,

Who came from hunting the Wolf, and having conducted him into the Cavern, made him shut his Eyes, and asked him the Number and the Name of the Things he came to consult about; and after retired into a little Grotto, and having taken the Water of a Spring that is hid there, the Divinity ordered him to speak; which he did thus:

' I do not intermeddle in other Men's Affairs, and it little concerns me whether the Prince of *Wales* be legitimate or not; I only complain, that my Father doth all for himself, but nothing for me. The Archduke *Joseph* is made King of *Hungary* at twelve years of Age, and I am but Dauphin at twenty-five.'

The ORACLE

Answered, ' That there was no Business concerning the Arch-duke *Joseph* the
' Emperor's Son ; but of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of King *James*, to know if he
' were legitimate or not.'

The Priests introduced

Madam *La DAUPHINE*,

Who appeared with much Respect and Veneration, having made many Sa-
crifices to *Apollo* of *Claros*, she spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

' Praised be God, that he hath given me Children, even more than I desired.
' I complain of the Misfortune of some poor Queens, who do whatever is pos-
' sible to have some, and yet can have none, but are at length forced to supposit
' them, and to make them pass for their own; however it be, since I am in this
' holy Place, for to say what I think, the greatest Proofs I can offer, are the great
' public Rejoicings, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* sung in all Churches of *France*.

The ORACLE

Seeing that Madam the *Dauphine* spoke with a great Freedom and Naturalness,
ordered the Priestesses to accompany her, and made her a Present of some
Reliques.

The Priestesses re-entered immediately, followed by the young

QUEEN of P—L,

Who, after having performed the usual Ceremonies, spoke in this manner
to the

DIVINITY:

' The *Electress Palatine* hath married me to *Don Pedro*, upon Condition that
' I bring him legitimate Children, and by Consequence a lawful Successor; and
' not an Infant supposit: The Truth is, he had a mind to such a fertile House
' as ours is, in comparison to the House of *Modena*, of which the world hath spo-
' ken

‘ ken variously : But since I am here, to speak my Thoughts concerning the
 ‘ Prince of *Wales*, I will prove it to be a legitimate Child, because it came into the
 ‘ World by the Prayers made to our Lady of *Loretto*.’

The QUEEN of S—N

Hearing them speak of Children, made haste to come in, and prayed the Priest-
 esses to introduce her quickly, adding, that she had somewhat of Consequence to
 say : Being entred, she began thus to the

ORACLE.

‘ All the Queens of *Europe* have Children, except me, notwithstanding I am
 ‘ young and handsome : Why cannot I have one as well as the Queen of *England* ?

The ORACLE

Answered her, ‘ That he did not concern himself with the getting of Chil-
 ‘ dren, nor examined the Causes of Barrenness, or Fertility, but only to know if
 ‘ the Child of the Queen of *England* was legitimate or not.

The QUEEN of S—N

Replied, ‘ That she knew nothing, but that it was reported legitimate.
 The Priestesses conducted the

Three Sisters of Father *PETRES*.

At the Rise of the River, and after having made them drink of two sorts of
 Water, viz. that of *Lethe*, which blots out of the Soul all profane Thoughts, and
 that of *Ninemosine*, which hath the Virtue to make one remember whatever is seen
 in the holy Cavern.

The ORACLE

Asked them, and said to them, ‘ That they ought to declare all that they
 ‘ knew concerning the Prince of *Wales*, how he came into the World, who was
 ‘ his Father, and who his Mother ; that there had been already taken the De-
 ‘ positions of many Princes and Princesses ; but that the Oracle was not yet satis-
 ‘ fied,

‘fied, that there remained some Obscurity in all that was said; that in the mean
‘time they should be shut up in a Grote, until they did reveal this Myſtery.

After appeared,

A Troop of Priests and Prophets, of Poets, of Interpreters, of Prelates and Sacrificers.

The Pretrefs came before them, and told them then, ‘That they were in-
‘formed that the Epicureans were baniſh’d from that holy Place, and thoſe that
‘were in the Fields had Order to paſs no farther.’

The Temple of the Oracle being near to *Parnaffus*, one might ſee the Muſes
compoſing by the ſweet Harmony of their Instruments and Voices, a Choir, in
which was ſung the Triumph of the Prince of *Wales*.

After this one might ſee the young Prince carried into the Temple by four-
ſcore Jeſuits (as yet afore *Jupiter Hammon* was by eighty Priests) in a kind of Gon-
dolo of Gold, from whence hung Knobs of Silver, followed by a great Num-
ber of Monks of all Orders, ſinging with a loud Voice holy Hymns to his
Glory: As ſoon as the little Prince was within the Temple, all the Priests and
Prieſteſſes of *Apollo* incompaſſed him, and having examined and conſidered the
Features of his Face, ſaid aloud (contrary to the Cuſtom of our modern Goſſips)
‘That he was not at all like his Father.’ The

DIVINITY

Ordered, That ſuch ſhould be introduced as had not yet appeared. The Pre-
trefs came before

Mr. *SKELTON*, Ambaſſador of his *Britanic* Maſteſty to the King of *France*,

And being brought to the Entry of the holy Cave, thus ſpoke:

‘I prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate; becauſe the King his Father had
‘wrote to me to ſpare no Charge in making Fire-works and ſplendid Feaſtings.

The Author of the *Triumph of Liberty*

Being come up, answered to Mr. *Skelton*, That if his Excellency had no other
Proof to give, he ought to expect to ſee himſelf very ſpeedily cenſured and con-
demned; and that having already proved in his Book, that King *James II.* had
not been lawfully called to the Crown of *England*, but that he had uſurped it,
ſince the Laws of the Land have excluded all *Roman Catholic* Princes; he had re-
ſolved to prove to him preſently, that the Prince of *Wales* was never of Royal
Blood.:

Blood: That this is a Supposition, believing the Society contrived it to deceive Fools.

The ORACLE

Ordered, That they should cause to come in

The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*,

To see what he had to answer thereto.

The Pretrefs conducted him to the Cavern, and made the Author of the *Triumph of Liberty* retire some Paces back, for fear lest a Noise should arise between these two different Spirits. The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum* said thus to the

DIVINITY:

‘ I cannot forbear the admiring the divine Wisdom, for giving a Child to his Majesty in his old Years, and at a Time when we were near seeing a second Queen *Elizabeth* to reign; and the greatest Proof that I have that this young Infant is legitimate, is the ill Opinion his Majesty hath of all the Heretics.’ The

ORACLE

Answered him, That he had not in the least satisfied the Question which the Author of the *Triumph* had proposed, viz. That his Majesty had usurped the Crown of *England*; he ought to prove the contrary afore he came to the Supposition. The

Earl of *AVAUX*, Ambassador of *FRANCE*,

Took his Time, and the Pretrefs having received some *Louis*, which he presented her with, he was immediately introduced, and brought the Affair into a few Words. The

ORACLE

Asked him then, how that he pretended to prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate? His Excellency said,

The greatest Proof he had was a magnificent Treat, the *Monsieur Albeville* gave

in the Prince *Maurice* his Palace to all the Ministers of Foreign Courts, where we were near three hundred Persons that he invited.

After Mr. *D'Avaux*,

Mr. *St. DISDIER*

Advanced, and as he knew the History to the Bottom, and is knowing in all Things; he said to the

DIVINITY,

That it was not difficult to prove that the Queen of *England* had really been with Child, if one considers that the Queen Mother lay-in with *Louis* the XIVth, after she had been barren twenty-two years, which is the Reason they call the King *Given of God*; and at this Day the Prince of *Wales* hath the same Name, because he certainly came into the World by the Gift of Heaven.

Mr. *MOREAU*, Envoy Extraordinary from *POLAND*,

Entred without Ceremony, and dispatched his Business with a laughing Air. The Relish of a Glass of certain delicate Wine he drank at the Palace of Prince *Maurice* made him not want Matter or Words in speaking to the

DIVINITY.

For my Part, I shall prove the Prince of *Wales* is not supposititious; because Mr. *Albeville* rose from the Table several times to fill us out to drink of a most excellent Wine, as he did it with so graceful a Mien, that I have Reason to say he hath not forgot his first Employment [a *Butler*, or *Footman*.]

Mr. *ALBEVILLE*'s Steward

Slipped into the Cavern without taking Notice of the Pretrefs, and spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

'I am about to abjure my Religion, to oblige my Master the Ambassador.'

The *PRETRESS*

Bid him hold his Tongue, for here was nothing to do about Religion, but only to know how the Prince of *Wales* was born.

The *STEWARD*

Answered, ‘ That he had resolved to tell all that he knew ; but that he was
 ‘ only concerned in performing the Commission he had from the Ambassador the
 ‘ Day of the Fire-works ; which was to search out some *English* (or other un-
 ‘ known Persons) to borrow for them white Perriwigs, a genteel Drefs, fine
 ‘ Linen, Cravats, and Cuffs of *French Point* ; and to procure them Footmen to
 ‘ follow, as if they had been my Lords, or other of considerable Quality, that
 ‘ I had Orders to seat them at the Table to make a Figure, and fill seven or eight
 ‘ Places, because that some of the States had no Mind to come.’

The *PRETRESS*

(Perceiving that this Discourse displeased Monsieur *Albeville*, who was present, who was concerned to do Things honourably on such Occasions ; besides, that what the Steward said, did more make known what was done on the Day of Rejoicing for the young Prince, than to prove that he was of the Blood-Royal) made him retire.

As soon as the Steward had done, the Pretrefs introduced Monsieur *d’Albeville*.

The *DIVINITY*,

Told him, ‘ That all the World was surpris’d to see what pass’d at this Day,
 ‘ and that it was a Thing that all People spoke of, that one would make a sup-
 ‘ posited Child for a legitimate.

Monsieur *ALBEVILLE*

Cried out in the Discourse, calling Heaven and Earth to witness, saying,
 ‘ That it was a pure Scandal that he had caus’d from the Day that he had Notice
 ‘ of the Birth of the young Prince to make Fire-works, which had surpris’d the
 ‘ seven Provinces with their Beauty and Magnificence, where was to be seen the
 ‘ young

‘ young Prince upon a Globe, in the midst of a triumphal Arch, where these
 ‘ Words were written, which contain the Year of his Birth.’

aVgVsta eX IaCobo Magno proLes DIV VIVat.

M.DC.LXXXVIII.

Which is,

That the Son of Great J A M E S live long.

Upon this triumphal Arch you might see St. *George*, who represented the King, trampling under his Feet the Dragon of Rebellion, and abolishing the Test and Penal Laws : There one might see the good Conscience of the Jesuits, represented by the Woman that was near the Dragon, firm, and unmoved, notwithstanding the Rigors of the Penal Laws. There was to be seen two guardian Angels near the Person of the Prince, to deliver him from the Ambuscades of the *Quakers*, *Conformists*, and *Nonconformists*, from the *Presbyterians*, the *Arminian* Bishops, the *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sects. There the Dragon was to be seen, devoured by its own proper Flames, while the Crown, and all other Figures were entire, which was a Prognostic, that his Majesty should bring about his great Designs : After this, ought the Heretic to maintain that the young Prince is not legitimate ? and that all this hath been done for a supposited Child ?

The Secretary of Monsieur *D'Albeville*

Came forwards with all Speed, and softly put his Excellence in mind to add something of a Number of incomparable flying Squibs, Fire-pots, Rackets, Wheels, &c. which filled the Air full of Stars and Serpents, which proved that the Prince was legitimate, because they produced the Effect that was designed.

The ORACLE

Ordered the Jesuits to enter, together with the Priests that framed these Fire works.

He that composed the Inscription came first, saying,

Non si commencia bene se non dal Cielo.

I have myself composed,

Veritas & Justitia fulcimentum Throni Patris, & erunt mei :

As Virtue and Justice are the Support of my Father's Throne, so also shall they be of mine. I have moreover composed this fine Device :

Religio & libertas amplexatæ sunt :

Liberty and Religion are united. Adding, That this was convincing, and that he had not composed this for an Infant suppositied.

The *Almoner* of the Ambassador of *France*

Came in his Turn, and said, That he himself had composed a short Prayer, which begun, *Ad Deum Optimum Maximum pro Rege, Principe, & Gente Britanico Precatio brevis* : To the Great God, for the King, Prince, and *British* Nation, a short Prayer. After this, one ought not to question, that the Prince of *Wales* was not legitimate.

A Jesuit of the S———*sh* Ambassador

Pressed hard, and being come in, said, 'That he had distributed a general ' Alms that Morning, and given to the Poor several Shillings, and a Pint of Wine ' to every one to drink the Health of the young Prince, that all this might serve ' to prove and disabuse the vulgar Incredulity.'

All the Domestics of Monsieur *Albeville*

Came in their Turn, and said, That they had laboured more than fifteen Days to put Things in Order, and prepare a most sumptuous Feast ; adding, That there could not remain any Doubt of the young Prince's Legitimacy, since the Ambassador had been at so great Expence.

All the Musicians came also, and said, That they had sung that Day a very fine *Te Deum*, with excellent Music, and an incomparable Symphony, composed by Monsieur *Hacquart*, and that this alone was fully convincing.

The Players on the Violins came also and said, That they were carried in a Boat during the Time of the Feast, and that they had played the *Follies of Spain*, the *Descent of Mars*, and many other fine Pieces proper to the Occasion, for to

divert the Ambassadors who were in the Palace of Prince *Maurice*; and that all this could not be done for a supposited Child.

Those that had discharged the Cannon which came from *England* on purpose for this Day, came and said, It was not reasonable to suppose so much Noise made for nothing.

Those that had pierced several Tuns of Wine came also and said, That the Street was overflowed by six Fountains of excellent Wine, part Claret, and part White-wine of *France* and *Spain*; and one ought not to believe that this was made for an illegitimate Child.

An Unknown P O E T

Desired the Pretrefs to permit him to enter into the holy Cavern, to repeat some Verses which he had composed for the Glory of the young Prince, on the Day of his Triumph: He being come in, said

Some Protestant LORDS,

Sliding in the Crowd, desired the *Divinity* to give them Audience; one of them said, 'That this young Prince had let fall his Sceptre while he was upon the Globe, and that this was an ill Presage. Another said, That they had given the *Hydra* but six Heads, because it was said they would not represent by it the seven Provinces. Another said, that *St. George* was devoured by the Monster instead of the Monster being devoured by *St. George*, and that all this proves manifestly that the Child was supposited.'

The ORACLE

Ordered the Pretrefs to introduce

*Monfieur the PRINCE, Madam la Princess d'O—— and Messieurs Les
E S T A T S,*

To see what they had to answer to so many Witnesses, who had maintained the King's Side.

The Pretrefs went out of the holy Cavern, and was humbly desired that she would dispense with them for a great many Reasons, which was granted them.

The Pretrefs had Order to call

Dr.

Dr. B——t,

Who being entred, said to the

DIVINITY,

Who desired her, That she would dispense with him from speaking of the Affairs of *England*, for fear of saying too much: The

DIVINITY

Ordered him to tell his Thoughts of the Queen's Lying-in, and of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

Dr. B——t

Answered, ' That supposing the Prince of *Wales* was legitimate, and that the Queen was truly his Mother, as they would maintain; it is to be presumed, that it was extremely the Interest of the King, at a Time when his People did with Difficulty obey him, to contrive that the Queen's Lying-in should be made according to the Forms, by calling thither all the Peers of the Realm, as was always practised in the Court of *England*; because it is known, that the People are naturally very difficult to persuade, they scarce believing the Things they see.'

Author of the Book, whose Title is, *The Mischiefs that threaten the Protestants of England*,

Seeing that every one endeavoured to speak, desired the Pretrefs to permit him to recite a History of *Puffendorf*, which proves, marvellous well, that it is easy to supposit a young Prince, since we have in Histories many Examples of it. The

ORACLE

Ordered him to recite the said History.

Puffendorf, a celebrated Historian, speaking of the Kings of *Spain*, saith, ' After *John II*, his Son *Henry the IVth*, the Disgrace and Infamy of that Crown, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Castile*; for since he was esteemed impotent, to remove that Conceit from the People, he made one *Berrand Curva*
' lie

‘ lie with the Queen, and for a Recompence of that Service he made him Earl
 ‘ of *Desina*. This Adultery produced a Daughter, named *Jane*, which *Henry*
 ‘ proclaimed Successor to the Crown. This Action is the more likely to be
 ‘ true, because this Queen had some time after a Bastard by another: But in
 ‘ fine, to discover this Cheat, and to exclude *Jane* from succeeding, they united
 ‘ together, and carried Things so high, that they exposed upon a Theatre the
 ‘ Figure of *Henry* dressed in all his Royal Ornaments; and after having made
 ‘ a Process against him, and brought an Accusation against him, they stripped
 ‘ him of all his Cloaths, and threw him from Top to Bottom. After, they pro-
 ‘ claimed *Alphonfus* King, Brother of *Henry*. But this Farce caused terrible
 ‘ Shocks, and furious Agitations in the Kingdom, which came to bloody Bat-
 ‘ tles. At last *Alphonfus* died during these Troubles, in the Year 1468.’

The *DIVINITY*

Ordered the three Sisters of Father *Petres* to be brought out of the Grote
 they were shut in.

The Pretrefs conducted them into the holy Cavern, being veiled.

The *ORACLE*

Told, ‘ That it was no longer Time to dissemble; that wanting nothing but
 ‘ their Depositions, they ought seriously to reflect, and to speak to him the
 ‘ plain Truth, that all the World did with Impatience expect the revealing this
 ‘ Mystery.’

She that staid in *London*, said, ‘ That she had seen one *Petres* her Brother,
 ‘ go often into three different Houses, where there lived big-bellied Women;
 ‘ viz. a Baker’s House, a Sword-cutler’s, and a Miller’s, that she had followed
 ‘ him, Step by Step, several Times, and she had observed that he stopped of-
 ‘ tenest at the Miller’s, and that she had observed, that this Woman had been
 ‘ brought to-bed without any body knowing what became of the Child.’

APOLLO.

Seeing that the Question had been long enough debated, made all the Pow-
 ers be informed that he was about to pronounce the divine Oracle.

After the divine Cavern was shut of a sudden, and the Pretrefs had ordered
 that they ought to wash themselves in the River *Hercinas*; after which, to make
 a Sacrifice to *Trophonius* and all the Family to *Apollo*, to *Jupiter*, to *Saturn*, to
Ceres,

Ceres, Europa, Nurse to Trophonius, and not to eat during three Days of the Sacrificing, but of the Flesh sacrificed, and then appeared the last Time, the

DIVINITY,

Accompanied with her Pretrefs, and there was heard throughout the Cavern many Voices, saying, *The Child supposited, the Monk reigning.*

The Commissioners of the High Court of JUSTICE,

Established by the Parliament to try *Charles Stuart*, came in a Body from the other World, causing a Sword of Justice and the Mace to be carried before them.

The President *BRADSHAW*

Being placed in a Chair of Crimson Velvet, thus spoke to the

DIVINITY.

‘ We have made an unjust Procefs against *C. Stuart*. When shall we form a
‘ just one against *James II.* his Son ?’

The ORACLE

When the Patience of the good *English* shall be weary of suffering a false Prince of *Wales* to be put upon them.

CROMWELL, one of the Members of the High Court,

Advanced for a Moment out of the Crowd, and said, ‘ *Jesu my God!*
‘ what is it they say of *James II.*? all the World cries out, and complains
‘ against him.’

ORACLE

Answers him, ‘ That King *James II.* is a good Jesuit, and pretends to die a
‘ Martyr of that Society.’

DUKE

DUKE of *MONMOUTH*,

Before he presented himself to the Divinity, the Pretrefs made him kiss the Statue of *Apollo* of *Claros*, and made him at the same time drink a Glass of Water, called *Lethe*, to make him forget his shameful Death, and said,

‘ I made too much Haste to Death, and I have lost by it. O would to God
‘ I were now living! What a fair Occasion should I have to secure the Liber-
‘ ties of the *English* Nation.’

The *ORACLE*.

‘ It is long since you have been predestinated by the Society to go to reign in
‘ another World.’

The Q. D——r to the *ORACLE*.

‘ Since the Death of the King my Husband, I have had no Satisfaction at
‘ Court, where nothing rules but Jesuitism; and as the Society is full of Fury
‘ and Rage when it attacks Heresy, I have resolved to go into *Portugal* to avoid
‘ the Storm that is rising: They have so moved the People, that one is obliged
‘ to suffer the Supposititiousness of the Prince of *Wales*.’

The *ORACLE*.

‘ The Lightnings have flashed, and the Thunder grumbled: If you love
‘ Peace and Repose, stay not until the Bolts fall.’

The *EMPEROR*.

The same Pretresses that yet afore conducted *Alexander* and *Vespasian* into the Sanctuary of *Hammon*, came to introduce the Emperor *Leopold*, and having made him a Present of a Crown of Lawrels, conducted him into the holy Cavern, and said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ I have already filled the Universe with the News of my Victories, ex-
‘ tended the Frontiers of my Empire even to *Belgrade*; planted Christianity in
‘ all the Mosques of *Mahomet*; delivered the Electors of my Empire from the
‘ *Ottoman* Fury; snatched off the Crescent, and planted the Standard of the

‘ *Roman* Eagle on all the Towers of *Hungary*; made *Rome* to triumph, and the
‘ Cross of *Jesus Christ* in the midst of the Terrors of War; my Generals being
‘ tired with so many Labours, solicit me to make Peace. What ought I do?’

The ORACLE.

‘ *Leopold, Leopold*, if thou wilt believe me, hearken no more to *Loyola*, make
‘ Peace with the Crescent (*Turks*), and War against the Sun (*France*).’

Arch-duke JOSEPH, King of *Hungary*,

Having heard of the Surrender of that important Place of *Alba Regalis*, came
on, and said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ The Emperor my Father hath gained on one Side, and lost on the other.
‘ *France* hath promised not to break the Truce, and notwithstanding he every Day
‘ advanceth on the *Rhine*, on the other Side, the Jesuits promise him the Uni-
‘ versal Monarchy, if he continues the War. I beg you to discover the
‘ Mystery.’

The ORACLE.

‘ The Jesuits are Traytors to the Empire, banish them the Court.’ The

EMPRESS.

After she had ended her short Devotions at St. *Stephen's*, where *Te Deum* was
sung for the Prosperity of the Imperial Arms, she came and said to the

ORACLE,

‘ The House of *Austria* hath triumphed over its greatest Enemies, and if the
‘ Emperor my Husband would believe me, we should spill no more *Ottoman*
‘ Blood.’

The ORACLE.

‘ When the Emperor shall have shed as much *French* as he hath of the *Otto-*
‘ *man* Blood, he shall secure his Conquests and have no more to fear.’

The

The *GRAND SEIGNIOR*, Emperor of the *Turks*,

Seeing afar off the prophetic Temple, he approached the holy Cavern; the Entrance of which was covered with Leaves of Laurel, which bespake the Success of the Christian Arms, and making several Sighs, said to the

DIVINITY.

La illa alha Mahomet rasoul alha.

The Great God, and our great Prophet *Mahomet*, my Brother *Sultan*, is dethroned, to raise me upon his Throne, and in despite of the Rage of my Janizaries, and of his Party, I have extinguished the Fire that burned in the Heart of my Empire: Being unskilful in the Art of War, I propose a Peace to the Christian Emperor, and I yield him all his Conquests, adding thereto, even *Belgrade*, fearing that my Bashaw should betray me; and that the uncircumcised Army do not advance to *Constantinople*, I have ordered my Treasury to be carried into *Asia*, Day and Night my Priests go to the holy Temple of *Sophia*, where the *Alcoran* is kept, and I send my Dervises to *Mecca* and *Medina* to pray our great Prophet to have pity on the true Mussulmen, and to desire the State of *Venice* to make Peace. The ORACLE

Notredame Cent. 3. Quat. 11.

The KING of S——n, *CHARLES* the Second.

Afore he descended into the divine Cavern, he was ordered to spend a certain Number of Days in a little Chapel, which is named *Good Fortune*, or *Good Genius*; after which being introduced, he said to the

ORACLE,

All other Princes reap Laurels in the Art of War, and extend the Frontiers of their Kingdoms; they become the Terror of their Subjects, and do a thousand Exploits to eternalize their Names: For my Part I am always the same, and instead of becoming great, I diminish, I sow in ungrateful and barren Earth, which produceth nothing but Brambles. The Queen my Wife gives me no Heir, notwithstanding the Pains I take to get her with Child. Oh! how happy is King *J.* the Second, my Cousin, to have a Son. Oh! that the

Queen my Wife had been heard by the Lady of *Loretto*. I desire you to tell me, what can make my Wife to have Children?

ORACLE.

You must have at hand a good Father, such as Father *Petres*.

King of *P——d*,

Having received Orders from the Pretrefs to make a Confession of all the Secrets of his Life, approached, and said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ I repent to have made so much Noise of my Victories gotten over the Infidels, and to have called the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, ungrateful. I repent me, of having amused the Czar of *Muscovy*, my Allies, in promising them a great many Things I have not performed; I repent myself also, for having had more Concern, for Love of *France*, than for *Poland*; I repent myself, for having suffered the Emperor to take *Hungary*, since I might have partaken with him of the Plunder of the common Enemy; I repent my not taking *Caminieck* the last Campaign, when its Doors were opened to me, if *France* had not whispered in my Ear, stay, stay. I only ask the Crown of *Poland* for my Son.’

The ORACLE.

The King of *France* is a Fox, and if you follow his Counsels, you will live in the Hatred of your People, and your Son shall never be King.

The GRAND VIZIER,

After having saluted the Oracle of *Trophonius*, and drank a Glass of the Water of *Hercinas*, descended into the Holy Cavern, and said,

La illa alha Mahomet rasoul alha.

The new Sultan, my Master, would honour me with the Charge of Grand Vizier, I beseech you inform me what shall be my Fate?

The

The ORACLE.

Take care of yourself, for the Neck of a Grand Vizier draws to it the Bow-string, as naturally as Amber doth a Straw.

The King of *D——k* to the ORACLE.

I am the Spy of the Northern Crowns, and when any Thing remarkable happens amongst my Neighbours, I inform the King of *France* of it, and the King of *England*; they promise me, so long as we continue Friends, we shall keep the Ballance equal between the Emperor and the other Princes of *Europe*. I answer, that I am content so far, but I doubt *France* will always play the same Play.

The ORACLE

The King of *France* is often guilty of Deceits, take care of yourself.

The Elector of *S——y*,

Making his Prayers, passed by *Holland*, and after having saluted the Prince of *Orange*, entred into the Temple, and said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ I love the *French* Wine, but not the *French*; but I like better the *Rhenish* Wine; and I am of Opinion, that I ought to drink no other, although the King of *France* cries Day and Night in my Ears, my *Lewisses*, and my good *Champaign* Wine. I beseech you tell me what Side I shall take.

The ORACLE.

The Emperor’s Side, and that of *Holland*.

After all Ceremonies were ended, and the Lot was going to be cast, with much Respect and Veneration,

The Cardinal of *FURSTENBERG*

Being entered into the holy Cavern, in Haste, overturned the Lots and Urns. The Pretrefs being disturbed, ordered him to speak, and he said to the

ORACLE.

‘ Was there ever a Pope seen so wilful and stubborn as ours now is? To have
 ‘ a red Cap, I have endeavoured above five Years, without Interruption, and do
 ‘ so at this Day, to become Elector, and what way have I not tried? And I am
 ‘ not nearer it now than I was the first Year; If the King my Patron would
 ‘ have believed me, he should have abandoned the Affair of the Franchises at
 ‘ the Beginning, without making so much Noise about it, since the Advantage
 ‘ of being Master of the *Rhine*, and by that to intercept the Communication of
 ‘ the Empire with *Flanders*, and so in few Years promise himself the Conquest of
 ‘ *Holland*; it had been better to have made an Exchange of a Bull, with his
 ‘ Right of the Franchises, which is only——without endeavouring to vex the
 ‘ Holy Father in his old Age.’

The ORACLE.

For to have a Bull, and to make the Holy Father agree with his eldest Son, it
 is necessary that Marshal *d’Estree* quit the barbarous *Algiers*, to come and bom-
 bard the Holy See at *Rome*.

Dr. MOLINOS, the Cardinal PETRUCCI, the Cardinal CICERO DON LIVIO
 DUC DE CICERI, Nephew of the Pope, and other *Quietists*.

Dr. *Molinos*, stepping forwards, said to the

ORACLE,

‘ Praised be God, the Holy Father hath made us accounted Heretics, and he
 ‘ is one himself, if it is true, that he is a Quietist, as it is reported; the Inquisition
 ‘ having examined him, were about shutting him up in the *Minerva*, if the Car-
 ‘ dinal *d’Estree* (who betrayed me, as *Judas* did our Saviour) had not prevailed
 ‘ with him, that he ought to dissemble, which saved him. I beseech you to in-
 ‘ form me, how long this Intrigue shall last.’

The ORACLE.

In our Age the Power of the Holy See is a Tyranny, which sacrifices all to its
 Interests.

Madam

Madam of *MONTESPAN*.

After much Ceremony she whispered the God in the Ear, and asked him what she would ; at last she stopped her Ears with her Hands, and went out, coming in again, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ I have endured a great many Difficulties since my Affairs went backwards at Court, the good Man loves me no more, and the old Hag *Maintenon* hath done me the good Office ; she hath so buzzed the Ears of the King with the Merit of *Monfieur Scarron*, that it hath made him have a Mind to turn Poet. For my Part, not knowing to what Saint to pay my Vows, after having lost the Great *Lewis*, I am resolved to imitate *la Valliere*.’

The *ORACLE.*

To learn to string *Pater Nosters*, is a poor Life for *Montespan*.

Madam of *MAINTENON*

Took the Way of the Temple, accompanied by Father *La Chaise*, who entertained her with the new Converts of France, and the Hopes he had to see *England* in the same State, by the Care the Society took to provide a Successor to the Crown ; *Maintenon* being come near, said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ That Father *La Chaise* had informed her, that his Penitent, by many repeated Confessions, had owned, that he always had a Passion for the Fair Sex, that neither Age, nor the Severities of Penance, could ever reclaim him, we have a Mind to marry together, to the End that we may lead a good Life, and that there be no more Discourse in the Royal Family of a Divorce. I beseech you tell me, if I, being sixty Years old, may yet be able to bring forth a Brother to the Dauphin ; his Majesty saith, he will keep only to me.’

The

The ORACLE.

‘ The Fathers of *Loyola* have excellent Secrets, you being a Daughter of the Society, I would have Father *Petres* inform you how the Prince of *Wales* came into the World.’

The Marefchal of *ESTRES*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, to the ORACLE.

‘ I have two great Designs to execute ; the first obligeth me to destroy *Algiers*, and totally to burn that barbarous People out of their Nests, and on the Ashes of this rebellious Place, I ought to erect a Statue to his Majesty, like to that which the Duke of *Tuillade* hath put up in the Place of *Victory*, to the End that the Name of Great *Lewis* may become the Terror of all *Africa*, as it is of all *Europe*, and that the Report of his great Victories may be conveyed by the Waters of the *Mediterranean* to the Ocean, and by the Ocean to the four Extremities of the World. And in the second Place I have Orders to go as soon as I can to the Coast of *England* to make that rebellious Nation tremble at the Will of King *James*, and to oblige the House of Lords and Commons to revoke the Test and Penal Laws.’

The ORACLE.

These *Barbarians* are turbulent, and resolved to fight well ; and the *English* expect only a contrary Wind to prove to King *J.* and to *Petres* his Almoner, that the Prince of *W.* is supposited.

The *SWISSES* to the ORACLE.

‘ The King of *France* our Uncle is at length tired with engaging us to the *Germans* in Wars : And we have managed the Affair so well, that he hath left poor *Geneva* in Peace. He is contented to see if we are afraid ; but seeing the *Swiffes* have always a good Stomach, and drink well, his Counsel of Conscience have not judged it proper to bleed them ; so that he is retired from us without bidding us farewell.’ We beseech you to inform us if he will ever return again.’

The ORACLE.

‘ The King your Uncle often makes such Braggings.

GENEVA

GENEVA to the ORACLE.

The King of *France* hath at last granted us a Truce for some Months, because his Affairs press him a little too hard on the *Rhine*, his Pretensions on the *Palatinate*, his Franchises at *Rome*, the Stubbornness of the holy Father, the Election of *Furstenberg*, have so employed him, during the Spring, that he hath desired us, by his Resident, to excuse him, if he defers the Business to a fitter Opportunity; besides, that the new Converts cut him out so much Work, that he knows not which Way to turn him. In the mean time Father *La Chaise* makes him believe, that before he dies, he shall enter with his Coach and Horses into the greatest Church of *Geneva*, adding, that he ought to keep fair, and expect untill his Brother King *J.* had equipped his Fleet.

The ORACLE.

Watch and pray, for you know not the Hour when the Thief will come.

The ALGERINES to the ORACLE.

The King of *France* is a terrible Champion; after having purged the Heretics out of his Kingdom, he imagines to purge the Sea of Pirates, and to make the Coasts of *Barbary* a Desert: This is a great Design, and worthy of a great Monarch; but the *Algerines* have already passed so many Times thro' the Fire of their Bombs and Carcasses, that they are become half Devils, that Hell-fire cannot burn them. If our Houses were built so as his *Versailles* is, it had been long since reduced to Ashes, and the Palace of *Mezemorto* had been nothing but a Tomb; but they are built of a certain Cement, which the Fire cannot hurt; and the three thousand Bombs which the Marshal of *Estres* discharged against us have done no more Harm than Bullets shot in the Air. Barbarian against Barbarian; he that is the most barbarous shall conquer: All the *French* that are in our Power shall be put in the Mouth of a Cannon; we have shot them the Consul already, expecting to send them their King, if ever he fall into our Hands.

The ORACLE.

You ought to keep him Prisoner.

All the ELECTORS of the EMPIRE.

We are encompassed with the Claws of the Eagle, and the Paws of the Fox. The great *Leopold* on one Side engrosses Villages, Provinces, and Kingdoms. The great *Lewis* on the other Side ravages amongst us, sometimes as a Lion, and sometimes as a Fox, making his Bombs thunder amongst us; making a thousand fair Promises; to one, to oblige him to sell his best Places to them for their Liberty;

to others, for to truck, exchange, or engage their Sovereignty. The great *Leopold* seeing all these Contrivances, adviseth us, under hand, to have a Care of such delusive Promises. The great *Lewis*, on his Side, whispers us by his Spies, *Take Care of your selves, Leopold becomes too powerful for you ; you will shortly become Slaves of the House of Austria.* We beseech thee tell us which is our true Interest.

The ORACLE.

Your true Interest is to join with the Emperor and the Empire, and to be of Opinion always, that the Fox will do his Endeavour to catch the Eagle and her Eagles.

The Archbishop of *Paris* to the ORACLE.

‘ I have hitherto done all the Good and all the Ill I could unto the Hugonots, in order to get a Cardinal’s Cap, and I have only a Mitre. The Bishop of *Camus* that is reputed a Heretic, and is really so in his Heart as well as the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*, who is a very Libertine, given up to his Pleasures, hath got a Cap with ease ; and I, who daily sing Vespers, and assist at the holy Offices with the Piety and Zeal of a greatest Prelate, is it possible that I should have nothing to cover my Ears in my old Age ?’

The ORACLE.

It is true indeed, you are a great Mimick ; but the holy Father doth not reward Grimaces.

All the CANONS of the Chapter of *COLOGNE*

Came in a Body, and after having drank a Glass of the Water of the River *Hercinas*, and made a Sacrifice to the God *Trophonius*, they entered into the holy Cavern, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ The Cardinal of *Furstenberg* is not worthy to wear the Electoral Bonnet, since the holy Father is not willing he should ; if we had the Power, neither should the Prince of *Bavaria* ; for we have received nothing from him. As to *Furstenberg* we very much fear.’

The ORACLE.

For fear lest they strangle you ; for the sure Charge is great, *Qualitas bona, Quantitas mala, aiunt medici*, The Physicians say the Quality is good, but the Quantity is ill.

All the Monks of *FRANCE*

Were carried by the Pretrefs into the Chapel of good *Genius*, and being first laid on the Earth, they entred the holy Cavern: After which the

DIVINITY

Ordered them to sing some *Exaudions* in Music with a loud Voice.

Omnes Sancti in Cœlis, Exaudions, & Orate pro nobis, (All the Holy in Heaven, hear us, and pray for us) when the Choir began to repeat the *Ora pro nobis*, the Pretrefs ordered the most ancient and

VENERABLEST

To speak, and they said to the

ORACLE,

‘ At this Time we are the most powerful Part of the Government, under the
 ‘ Protection of a great King. We live in Peace, and Ease, fatted with the Blood
 ‘ of the People; we fear neither War nor Peace, and heaping up Riches, we
 ‘ become so powerful, that we give Laws to the Princes of the Earth; and it is
 ‘ by us that Kings reign; we have secret Ways to insinuate ourselves, and every
 ‘ one of us endeavours to play his Part: We make Rich and Poor when we
 ‘ please; we affect to be counted Men of Estates, and to be wicked when we
 ‘ have a Mind, and under the cheating Mask of Virtue and Vice, we seduce
 ‘ the People; Hypocrisy is the highest Degree of Perfection, and the wisest,
 ‘ most pious, and honestest amongst us is a great Hypocrite: We have not
 ‘ made Virtue consist in a severe Exercise of good Thoughts, as the ancient Phi-
 ‘ losophers did, who not having the true Way of enjoying this World, have
 ‘ lived in the Middle, between Good and Evil, without coming to Extremes:
 ‘ In short, we have so well sung for six or seven Months, that the Queen of
 ‘ *England* hath at length had a Son.’

The *DIVINITY*

Supposited.

Count *TECKELEY*

Came out of this Den, imitating the Savage Beasts, who suffer themselves to be seen when the Hunters and Dogs are retired out of the Field.

The *PRETRESS*

Surprised to see him yet alive, made many Acclamations of Joy, crying *Helas, Helas*, and immediately presented him with a Glass of the Water of the River *Hercinas* for ——— and made him sit a Moment to rest himself ; after which he was conducted into the holy Cave, and spake thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ You see here the most wretched and unfortunate Prince that ever was, notwithstanding I am still living, by the powerful Arm of the great God, who hath always preserved me from the Hatred of the Emperor my capital Enemy ; against the King of *France*, who hath betrayed me ; against the cursed Race of the Jesuits, who have tried a thousand Ways to sacrifice me to their Rage ; against the Grand Seignior, who cares for me no more than I am serviceable to him ; and in fine, against a thousand and a thousand Enemies, who are contriving my Death. You see me a Fugitive, and robbed of a Crown, which the Arch-duke *Joseph* wears for the Love of me : Yet notwithstanding I have not lost my Courage, and such as you see me, I give a great deal of Trouble to my Enemies.’

The *ORACLE.*

As long as thou livest thou shalt be between the two Rocks, always in Danger ——— the Fathers of *Loyola* have surrounded thee like so many hungry Wolves seeking to devour thee.

Monsieur le Cardinal de *CAMUS*

Being conducted to the holy Cavern, one of the Pretresses gave him her Hand to help him to go down, lest he should fall: Being come near, he made a Narration of his History in an eloquent manner, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ You see here a Fisherman, like other Men. Pardon, I beseech you, the Term which seems to be contrary to the Custom, since I have all Reason imaginable to praise myself, if I have any Regard to that great and august Dignity the Purple hath raised me to. God be praised, I take a Glory to be
‘ humble

' humble as much as my proper Nature will permit me. You have been in-
 ' formed, without doubt, that it is my Zeal, and that I endeavour to acquit my-
 ' self of the Duty to which the Charge of Pastor engageth me, by the Pains I take
 ' to gather together the poor Sheep strayed about the holy Mother-Church.
 ' You know that I blame extremely the Ways of Rigour and Tyranny which
 ' is exercised, and that on the Consciences of Persons, whose greatest Guilt is,
 ' that they pray to God in the Purity of their Heart: That I have preached,
 ' and still do so, that this harsh Way is wholly opposite to the Christian Religion:
 ' That I endeavour to prove it by all the Fathers of the Church, who never had
 ' any other Way than by Sweetness and Humanity: In short, I have said it, al-
 ' lowed in the Chair, and shall eternally say it, of the Reverend Fathers of the
 ' Society, who vomit out every Day their Gall and Rage against me. I leave
 ' them to their Opinions, and I have acted at present with so much Boldness,
 ' that the holy Father begins to approve of my Conduct, and his Majesty on the
 ' other Side orders that I be taken for a Model and Example: In short, you may
 ' see what I do, and what I have done hitherto: But one thing goes extremely
 ' to my Heart, and if I did dare to tell you, it is, that I am of the Opinion of
 ' those poor People whom they persecute so much. As to what remains to be
 ' said, it is delicate; and I beseech you, that it may be permitted that I may be
 ' suspected such, but that Truth be never known.'

ORACLE.

Jansenist, take Care of yourself.

The Duke of *BAVARIA*.

The Pretrefs having conducted him into the Cavern, made him drink a Glafs
 of the Water of the River *Hercinas*, and bid him shut his Eyes, and speak to the

DIVINITY.

' Since my Marriage with the Daughter of the Empire, I have always got
 ' Victories, and gathered Laurels, and the *Ottoman War* hath been my Appren-
 ' ticeship. I have abandoned the Interest of *France*, in quitting a considerable
 ' Pension which she gave me, because it blotted my Glory, I have married my
 ' Sister to the Dauphin of *France*, he hath cost me nothing, and what I have lost
 ' on one Side, I have gained on the other. I have failed in being Governor of
 ' the *Spanish Low Countries*, by a Grant which the King of *Spain* would have made
 ' me ;

‘ me; but it gave a Jealousy to *France*, and this Affair is put off to another Time.
 ‘ I have refused the Alliance of a Bastard, that was offered me, because it did
 ‘ not consist with my Honour; besides, it would have made me a Slave to a
 ‘ Crown that doth nothing but for Interest. At this time they court me more
 ‘ than ever, the Emperor, my Father-in-law, promiseth me that there shall be
 ‘ no more Jealousy between me and *Lorrain*, and that I shall have the sole Com-
 ‘ mand of all his Arms. The King of *France* promiseth me that I shall share
 ‘ with him in *Spain*, in *Flanders*, in *Milan*, in *Peru*, and *Mexico*, and in all the
 ‘ Goods of his Brother-in-law, after his Death; what Side ought I to take?’

The ORACLE.

‘ The Empire’s Side, in preferring thy own Glory, to that of the Emperor, and
 all the Electors, to the Castles in *Spain*, and to the deceitful Promises of *France*.

The PRETRESS

Seeing coming the

PARTISANS of FRANCE,

Came before them by the Chapel of *Good Fortune*, before they entred into the
 holy Cavern.

The PRETRESS

Ordered, the most Antient to sit in the Chair of *Mnemofine*, and to make a long
 Discourse; having shut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ We are a Race cursed by God, bloody to the poor People, Disturbers of the
 ‘ public Quiet, and Preservers of the Royal Authority: without us, the Kings
 ‘ would be Sovereigns without Power, of Power without Arms, of Riches with-
 ‘ out Silver; we grow fat in the Midst of Plenty and Poverty, and we have the
 ‘ Secret to find Money where there is none. In short, great Divinity, St. *Louis*,
 ‘ yet afore, was only a poor Saint of Wood, and we have made him at this Day
 ‘ a Saint of Gold, and when you shall see the Ambassadors of the King of *Siam*,
 ‘ and of the King of *China*, wise Men come from the East, and powerful Kings
 ‘ send their Ambassadors from another World, let not this surprize you: You
 ‘ ought

‘ ought to know, that all the Powers of the Earth are obliged to give him Marks
 ‘ of their Submission (because this serves for his Glory.) In the mean time, he
 ‘ seems to have forgot from whence he came, that he hath forgot his good
 ‘ Friends, he is become so fierce of late Years, in relation to us, that we dare no
 ‘ more look upon him. And above all, since the Reverend Fathers of the So-
 ‘ ciety have put him in the Head to chase away the Hugonots, without consider-
 ‘ ing, that this doth us wrong; farther, he hath taken Care to purge us from
 ‘ time to time with good Taxes, for fear, lest we growing too rich, we should be
 ‘ able to make War with him; but the Revenue begins to diminish, and lessens
 ‘ every Day more and more, by the great Number of Refugees who have quitted,
 ‘ and daily do quit, the Kingdom; who being the Fat and Strength of the Nation,
 ‘ and rich, and the best Paymasters that we had, what shall we do now for
 ‘ Money?’

The ORACLE.

Establish real to ruin the Nobility.

The Reverend Father *TACHART* Jesuit, and Ambassador of the King of *SIAM*
 to the Court of *France*,

Was no sooner arrived at the Sanctuary of *Hammon*, but all the Pretresses of the
 Divinity went out to see his Drefs; there was one who would have him dance; the
 Reverend Father having lifted up his triangular Bonnet, saluted him with a Kiss,
 praying him to excuse him, and to introduce him into the holy Cavern; the
 twelve Mandarins that accompanied them were ordered to stay in the Chapel of
Good Genius, the Reverend Father *Tachart* being come near, said to the

ORACLE,

‘ I am the Ambassador of a great King, and I come from the other World to
 ‘ make an Alliance between *Mahomet* and the Christians. The Society have
 ‘ chosen me, an Apostle, who ought to plant the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Siam*.
 ‘ I have persuaded the King of *Siam* to send his Son to the Court of *France*, for to
 ‘ learn the Art there of converting Heretics, to the End that we may suddenly go
 ‘ to hunt the new Converts through all the *Indies*, I have already introduced
 ‘ into the chief Commands of the Kingdom the principal Members of our So-
 ‘ ciety, and the King of *Siam* himself is a zealous Catholic, who hath been a zea-
 ‘ lous Idolater.’

The *ORACLE*.

It much concerns the Society, for the Execution of their great Designs, to transport to the *Indies* a naval Army of *French* Dragoons.

Monfieur Le Marquis *de LOUVOIS*, and Monfieur *de VAUBAN*, Engineer-General of *France*,

Having a mind to vifit the frontier Places, to fee if all be in a good Condition on this Side of the *Rhine*, in cafe the Emperor and his Allies fhould openly oppose the Election of the Cardinal of *Furftenberg*;

The *PRETRESS*

Seeing them appear,

Monfieur the Marquis of *LOUVOIS*

Came on firft, and was conducted, without Lofs of Time, into the Chapel of *Good Genius*, where he faluted the *Apollo* of *Claros*, in paffing, and from thence he came into the holy Cavern, and fpoke thus to the

ORACLE.

‘ His Majesty is for War, and I for Peace, he is refolved to make his Troops
 ‘ enter *Cologne*, and make *Furftenberg* Ele&tor, in defpite of the Pope and the
 ‘ Empire, and for my Part, I am of a contrary Opinion; I represent to him the
 ‘ pitiful Condition that *France* is in at this Time, its Coffers are empty, its
 ‘ Trade ruined, the new Converts ready to put off the Mask at the firft Signal.
 ‘ I represent to him all the Ele&tors of the Empire, and *Holland*, expecting War
 ‘ with Impatience, Prudence is my Counfel, and as long as we fih in troubled
 ‘ Waters, I fhall be always for Peace, fearing to lofe in one Campaign what we
 ‘ have gained in fix.’

The *ORACLE*.

So long as the *Ottoman* War fhall laft, the deceitful Promifes fhall do more than powerful Enemies.

Monfieur

Monfieur *de VAUBAN*,

Who was bufy in confidering the Avenue to the holy Cave, and had already drawn on his Tablets all that he faw curious in the Chapel of *Good Genius*, he was ordered by the Pretrefs to meddle no more with his Tablets, but to fpeak his Bufinefs, and to retire as faft as he could; having fhut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he fpoke to the

ORACLE.

‘ We have no Reft Day nor Night, and we are in a perpetual Motion, as the
 ‘ Water of a River that runs without ceafing; and we run from Province to
 ‘ Province, from Place to Place, and from Frontier to Frontier; they may call
 ‘ us Fools. The Glory of our great Monarch, to which we facrifice all our
 ‘ Pains and Travels, is at present a great Idol we adore, which will erect to us
 ‘ eternal Monuments, which all Ages will admire; all the Monks of France,
 ‘ chiefly the Jefuits, fay that the King is immortal, and that the Empire, as
 ‘ well as the other Potentates of *Europe*, will be obliged to fubmit to his Yoke,
 ‘ and to rank themfelves under his Obedience; we befeech thee inform us what
 ‘ will be the Deftiny of the Great *Lewis*.’

The ORACLE.

The Great *Louis* hath Enemies without Number, who expect only the Reverse of the Medal, That he always endeavours for Peace, in making a Shew of declaring War, and this is his great Policy.

The Count *de RAUNTS*, Ambaffador of his Imperial Majefty to the Chapter of *Cologne*.

Having received Order from the Emperor, and Electors of the Empire, to go immediately to the holy Cavern, came forwards, and faid to the

ORACLE.

‘ *France* hath endeavoured, for many Years, by his Money and his Menaces,
 ‘ to make the Cardinal of *Furftenberg* Elector of *Cologne*; the Emperor hath or-
 ‘ dered me to represent to the moft Illuftrious and Moft Reverend Chapter of
 ‘ *Cologne*, that the faid Cardinal, although a *German* by Birth, is gained to be a
 3 S ‘ Slave

‘ Slave to the Crown of *France* : That he hath oftentimes betrayed the Empire,
 ‘ and its Members : That he brought the War within the Dioceſe, and made it
 ‘ a bloody Theatre : That he diſmembred *Strasburg* from the Empire, and deliver-
 ‘ ed the Citadel of *Liege*, to a powerful Stranger : That at this Day he quarters
 ‘ the *French* in the ſtrong Places of the Dioceſe : That he fortifies *Bonn* with the
 ‘ *Louis* of Gold which the King his Protector lends him, in hopes of being re-
 ‘ imburſed by him, in reſigning *Cologne* to him.’

The ORACLE.

The Empire is a Machine difficult to manage, and *France* will conquer it all,
 ſo long as Miſunderſtanding reigns amongſt them.

All the *MONKS*, and all the *PRIESTS* of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, to the
 ORACLE.

‘ Since the Queen of *England* was brought to Bed, we are ordered by the Holy
 ‘ Father, and all the Clergy of *Spain*, to ſing *Ora pro nobis*, and to pray our Lady
 ‘ of *Loretto*, that the Queen of *Spain* may be with Child alſo. If the Princeſs
 ‘ of *Orange*, and her Siſter the Princeſs of *Denmark*, were not Heretics, we could
 ‘ at the ſame time pray for them, and they ſhould have no Cauſe to complain, if
 ‘ it happen that they remain barren, while all the other Princes of *Europe* have
 ‘ Reaſon to rejoice at their Fruitfulneſs.’

The ORACLE.

In Barrenneſs, Father of marvellous Effect, as well as the Aſſiſtance of ſome
 good Father.

The moſt Serene Republic of *VENICE*

Came forward, attended by all the Senators ; *Moroſini* ſpoke, in quality of the
 Doge, and ſaid to the

DIVINITY,

‘ We have purged one part of *Greece*, the *Adriatic Gulph*, the *Morea*, and ſome
 ‘ of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, of infamous *Mahometiſm*, and we are about
 ‘ placing the Standard of Chriſtians in all the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. The
 ‘ Ports of the holy *Sophia* are open to us, the Impoſtor *Mahomet* ſhall ſhortly have
 ‘ no

‘ no Sanctuary, but the fearful Defarts of *Arabia* ; the Emperor, our Ally, sollicit
 ‘ us to make Peace ; all *Italy* represents to us that *France* makes Advantage
 ‘ of our Conquests. If we suffer him to pass the *Alps*, and if he advance on the
 ‘ *Rhine*, whatought we to do?’

The ORACLE.

All *Europe* enjoys Peace in the East, and wish the War were in the West. But
 since you have gone so far, take *Candia* to assure the Conquests.

The King of *SIAM* to the ORACLE.

‘ I have sent the Reverend Father *Tachart*, of the Society of Jesus, in Quality
 ‘ of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, there to treat of the
 ‘ Means to convert my People from Idolatry, and to break Commerce with the
 ‘ *Hollanders*. Part of the Pagods of my Kingdoms are already consecrated to
 ‘ Christianity, and have purged them of *Marmasets*, and of false Gods, with
 ‘ which they were filled. The Reverend Father *Tachart* hath counselled him to
 ‘ put in their Places the Statues of St. *Lewis*, and St. *Ignatius*. On the other
 ‘ Part, I have set out a Fleet, and I have built Fortresses on the Frontiers of my
 ‘ Countries, and the King of *France* hath sent me Engineers, and he desires me
 ‘ to send my Son to him, that he may be taught the Art of Reigning. The Je-
 ‘ suits persuade me to be willing that the Dragoons come, as Missionaries, from
 ‘ *France*, to convert my People. I beg of you to inform me what I shall do.’

The ORACLE.

A good Dragoon is a good Apostle, but hath no Faith, Law, or Baptism

The King of *PERSIA* to the ORACLE.

‘ We are at the End of the World, if it be true that the Evangelist of Jesus
 ‘ Christ is preached through all the habitable Earth. There is no other Dis-
 ‘ course, but of making new Converts, as if the Son of God was come. The
 ‘ King of *Siam*, my Brother, hath chosen rather to embrace the Cross than the
 ‘ *Alcoran*, and a great many open the Ports of the East to the Fathers of *Loy-*
 ‘ *ola*, who advance in Troops, and assemble in the *Indies* like wild Loupes. If
 ‘ the Prophets accomplish their Prophecies, and my Brother the Sultan is driven
 ‘ out of *Europe* ; *Constantinople*, and all the holy Places of our Prophet *Mahomet*’s
 ‘ Repose, will be purged of *Mahometism*, and I only shall be left in *Asia* ; I beseech

‘ you what must I do to continue the Circumcised, that they may spread over the
 ‘ World like an universal Fire. And will not they reduce to Cinders the Mosques
 ‘ of the great God, if we do not take hold of this Opportunity?’

The ORACLE.

The surest Remedy that can be, is to make a great Rampart Wall from *Ispahan* to the Frontiers of *Persia*, which may make a Tower of a Kingdom, to hinder the Fathers of *Loyola* from entering.

The *Canada*, or *New-France*, to the ORACLE.

‘ There is no finer Countries in the World for the chasing the new Converts
 ‘ than this is, if the Fathers of *Loyola* will believe us, one passeth whole *America*,
 ‘ and principally into *Canada*, where are several great and vast Champaigns,
 ‘ Mountains and Forests, where the Land flows with Milk and Honey, where the
 ‘ Taste and Delicateness is to be preferred to the best Chicken in *France*. If the
 ‘ Great *Lewis* was well counselled, he would let them sing no more in his King-
 ‘ dom, for fear that *France*, in the End, should become a frightful Desert, where
 ‘ none but the Society of Jesuits inhabit.

A LETTER from a Gentleman in the Country to his Correspondent in the City, concerning the *Coronation Medal*, distributed *April 11. 1689.*

[*A Specimen that Jacobitism begun with the same Spirit of Misrepresentation and false Prophecy, in which it has subsisted.*]

SIR,

YOU have obliged me very much by the Account you gave me of the Coronation: But I have had some Remarques from another hand, concerning the Truth of which I suspend my Judgment till you inform me better.

I shall give you the Relation in the very Words, as I received it.—There was one thing which much afflicted all true *Englishmen*, because it is believed it never happened since *William* the Conqueror’s time; which was, that a King and Queen of *England* should make their Procession at the Coronation through a tre-

ble Rank of Armed Horfe and Foot all Foreigners. It grieved us all to fee, that for want of fome Interpreters betwixt them and the Multitude, which ufually prefs upon fuch Occafions, an infinite of the poor *English*, even well-wifhers to the new King and Queen, were not only rudely treated with ftern Countenances and *Dutch* Curfes, but continually pushed back with the But-ends of the Soldiers Mufquets, or the Serjeants Halbards, and fometimes received broken Heads, or as dangerous Bruifes if they did but endeavour to get nearer. I faw my felf many Perfons knocked and pushed upon the Breaf with the Troopers Piftols, and pricked with their Swords for endeavouring to crouch under the Horfes heads; and when any one offered to get nearer through the Ranks of Horfemen, where they found Protection at former Coronations by their own Country-men; thefe rude Strangers were fure to check their Horfes and make them Curvet or turn round, which could not be without the hazard of breaking their Legs, or Bruifing thofe that were in the way. I need not mention the toffing and pushing Men and Women from Place to Place, and dragging them through the Kennels, more like Slaves, nay Dogs, than Chriftians, which made many Spectators figh and pity the Condition of feveral hundreds whom they faw fo ufed; whilft others were not afraid to fay, what moft I believe thought, that this was but the Beginning, and a light Matter in Comparifon of what the whole Body of the *English* Nation (who are not now it feems to be confided in) muft fuffer under thefe new *Lord-Danes* before the King can be fettled in his Throne that he may fafely difmifs his Foreign Force; nay fome they fay had their Sculls broken and died in the Crowd, though this is endeavoured to be ftifled.—Neither do you mention the unlucky *Qualm* my Correfpondent tells me the King had; nor the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Fall from his Horfe, when he ushered in the Champion, which were fomething Ominous.

The Gold Medal you fent me, the true Meaning of which you defire me to explain, gave me and fome Friends of mine no fmall Diverfion. And to deal plainly with you, I think the Contriver of it hath done their Majefties little Service.

I need not tell you that the Custom of ftamping Medals (upon whose Reverfes the Inaugurations, Victories, or great Achievements of Princes or Generals, were represented either exprefly or by fome Emblem) is as old as the firft Coinage of Money by the *Grecians* and *Romans*. Nor that in the laft Century and this they have been improved, and many ingenious Devices invented fuitable to the noble Enterprifes which were by thofe Means to be perpetuated; and are to be found in the Repositories of Princes, or publifhed by *Luchins* and others on that Subject. Infomuch, that we find even *John* of *Leyden* after he had gotten entire

Poffeffion.

Possession of *Munster*, and filled it with his Crew of *Anabaptists*, notwithstanding his pretended Sanctity and Mortification, coined several Medals, which were indeed very Ominous to him; for this *Mushroon-King*, sprung from *Holland*, continued not above six Months, before he was hung up in an Iron-Cage, with some of his Complices, upon the Top of a Tower in *Munster*.

I might give you various Instances of auspicious inaugural Medals, but that I intend this only as a Letter. Therefore I shall proceed to the present Medal, which, of what Nature it will be, Time alone must shew; yet I foresee it will give great Occasion to the Maligners of our new-crowned King and Queen to pass their malicious Censures on it.

One of my Friends viewing the two Faces of the King and Queen, said, That such Conjunctions in *Medals* had oftentimes proved unfortunate; for he had, not long since, by him the *Medal* made for the two *Dewitts*, which much resembled this, if the Head Attire had not been different, whose inhuman Butchery by the Mobile of *Amsterdam*, gave the very first Rise to the then blooming Prince of *Orange's* Greatness: And all the World (says he) knows that King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* of *England*, and King *Henry* and Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, whose Faces and Names were joined in their Coins and *Medals*, were not very fortunate. But I told him, since the Parliament had joined them in the Sovereignty, they could not be dis-joined in their Coin, and I doubted not but their Fortunes would be alike, good or bad.

When I received the Reverse, I was heated into an Indignation that any Person should be so indiscreet, as to choose an *Emblem* upon such an Occasion, so subject to Mis-interpretation as this would be. For as *Julius Cæsar* said to his Wife *Calphurnia*, *That it was not enough that she should be innocent, but that she ought to be so cautious in all her Actions, that she should be free even from Suspicion*; so ought it to be with *Emblems* and *Medals*; they ought to signify and express so clearly, the Worth and Greatness of those Princes Actions which they represent, that no sinister Interpretation might be made of them. And this Indignation was increased by the Reflection which a Gentleman made, who first look'd upon the reverse with me.

This Gentleman seeing a Chariot, but not understanding the *Latin* Inscription, and having heard the Town talk of *Tullia*, who instigated her Husband *Tarquinius* to kill her Father *Servius Tullius*, King of the *Romans*, that he might succeed him in the Throne, and, as *Livy* says, *Caused her Chariot to be driven over his mangled Body*; cried out, *Is this Tullia's Chariot?* This I say shock'd me, and raised my Anger against the Contriver, who had chosen so ill an *Emblem*, which upon so superficial a View, brought such an odious History into Mens Minds.

Another

Another By-stander seeing the *Figure* which represented *Phaëton*, whom the Poets feign to have obtained Leave of his Father *Phæbus* to guide his Chariot for one Day, and who by his want of Skill to govern the Fiery Horses, had like to have set the World on Fire, had not *Jupiter* struck him dead with a Thunder-bolt; exclaim'd against the *Emblem* as full of ill Omens, and said, *That the People knowing that this King and Queen had, not by Permission, but by Violence, ascended their Father's Throne, would look upon this as his Chariot which they drive, and interpreted Jupiter's Thunder-bolt as a Sign of some Judgment of God impending over our Gracious Prince, for this, which he called, An unnatural Usurpation.*

This made my Cheeks and Ears to burn; and I told them, they were both extreamly wide of the Inventor's Meaning. For by *Phaëton* he meant King *James*, who by Mis-government had endangered the Destruction of this Kingdom, and that God having Compassion on his Church and People, had struck him from his Regal Seat.

But another Gentleman then present said, That although he verily believed that was the Contriver's Meaning, yet there were so many Exceptions to the Congruity of that Fable with the Circumstances of King *James's* Reign, that he might as well have offered the War of the *Giants* against *Jupiter*, as this, to represent the inaugural Glory of our King and Queen, which ought to have been the only Subject to be considered.

He said, that *Phaëton* could never represent King *James*; since the Throne or Chariot belonged solely to him, as Hereditary Lawful King; neither could it be said that he had asked any one's Leave to guide it. But that all Men knew an *Usurper* was the *Moral* of *Phaëton* in the Fable, and an *Usurper* in his Father's Reign.

Moreover (said he) if King *JAMES* must be *Phaëton*, then King *William* must be *Jupiter* that struck him out of his Chariot, or *Phæbus* that reassumed it after he had been Thunder-struck; and how disagreeable this was to the whole Scope of the Fable, was obvious to every School-boy that read *Ovid's Metamorphosis*. Nay, he farther affirmed, That this *Emblem* seems to presage King *JAMES's* Returning to his Throne again, and if so, it would be congruous in almost all its Circumstances.

I must confess, Sir, I could not heartily contradict this Gentleman; but wish'd the Author had either consulted Books or Men, for a more significant and unexceptionable *Emblem*. But since he has been so unfortunate, if not malicious, if you know the Person, advise him to get himself included in the *Act of Indemnity*; it being a Crime, equal to the Counterfeiting the King's Coin,

Coin, to contrive a *Coronation Emblem* that gives such Occasion of Censure and Reflection to the *Malcontents*, and *Maligners* of King *William*, our present *Phæbus*, from whom we expect a *Wonderful Deliverance*.

April the 16th, 1686.

Sir, I'm yours.

A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, giving some Account of the last Sickness and Death of Dr. WILLIAM SANCROFT, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. THOMAS WAGSTAFF, M. A. 1694.

S I R,

WHEN you was pleased to desire of me a particular Account of the last and fatal Sickness of our late *Metropolitan*, and of his *Grace's* pious Behaviour under it, I could not but congratulate with myself the happy Employment you had put me to, and do hereby return you my most hearty Thanks for the fresh Opportunity you have been instrumental in giving me, of revolving in my Thoughts those admirable and Christian Virtues, so eminent and conspicuous in the whole Course and Tenure of his Life, and yet more illustrious at the Time of his Death: The Memory of him indeed will be always precious in the Eyes of good Men, and I am perswaded his Name will never be forgotten in these and the Neighbouring Kingdoms, nor ever remembered, or mentioned, but with Marks of Honour, Esteem, and Veneration. But such Memorials are general and languid, and will but coldly affect our Hearts, or dispose us to Imitation, except his particular Graces be ruminated on, and rivited within us by devout and serious Meditation. This will raise in us (as was in him) a Spirit of Meekness, Mortification, Fortitude and Constancy: And his Death will improve the World, (as his Life always did, by recommending a most generous and sincere Piety, and encouraging us in the most difficult Duties of Religion. And I must confess to you, that it is owing to your Commands that I have had a greater Occasion, on this great Subject, of glorifying God, (who hath given such Graces to Men) of supporting myself, and encouraging my Brethren, in a State of Affliction and Trouble, by the Power and Prevalency of so renowned an Example. I conceive therefore, your Request to me in this Particular, was not so much to satisfy your Curiosity as to affect your Conscience, to provoke you

you to, and preserve in you, such a steady and unshaken Fidelity to Truth as is not to be undermined, or wrought upon, by any specious Temptations from the World. Our holy Faith is not founded on the Examples of Men, but the Practice of it is mightily encouraged and assisted by them. And here you have before you a glorious Confessor; here you have your holy Archbishop, making a safe Passage through Storms and Tempests, and carrying his Integrity and Conscience undefiled to the Grave. And doth not this bright Example mightily enspirit and inflame your Zeal? Doth it not make your Afflictions easy, and your Virtue strong? Would you now receive the Wages of Unrighteousness, how much soever you may want them? Or would you change your desolate and narrow Circumstances, for those more plentiful, at the Expence of your Conscience, for all the World? These are the Fruits of this great Prelate's Virtues, and this is the Use we are to make of them; to animate us in the same Course, to aspire to the same Degrees of Uprightness, to despise the World, and to take up the Cross, not as a Blemish, but an Honour to us: Otherwise, however we may praise and admire him, 'tis but Flattery and Hypocrisy; we celebrate his Memory deceitfully, both to his Injury and our own. For if his great Virtues deserve to be commended, they deserve to be imitated too: The Praise of the Tongue is but Breath and Air, and the Character goes no deeper than our Lips: But if we live like him, and pursue the same Virtues, with the same Faithfulness and Constancy, our Love and Admiration is seated in our Hearts and Consciences, and we evidence the Honour we had for him, by the noblest Principles of human Nature. If therefore we shall make him our Pattern, and follow his Example, we shall do more right to his Memory, than by all the Panegyricks in the World.

I could heartily wish that I were able to set this great Example in a true Light, that I could draw his Grace's Picture at full Length, and give you a compleat Account of the whole Series of his Life from the Beginning to the End; and this (if it was faithfully done) perhaps would be as bright a Pattern of Virtue as has for many Ages been communicated to the World, and would emulate the Piety of the first and purest Times, and the Faithfulness of the primitive Christian Bishops: But this is a Task too difficult for me upon many Accounts, and I hope will be undertaken by some abler Hand, and indeed is more than you require of me: However, as introductory to what follows, I shall lay before you these two General Observations.

I. That that high and important Station which he held in the Church of *England*, was never better filled, nor managed with better Conduct: His great Abilities of Learning, Wisdom, Courage, and Sincerity, abundantly qualified him

to guide the Church, and steer the Helm of it, in the most dangerous and surprising Junctures. There never was a Time since the Beginning of Christianity, when all these Qualifications were not necessary in a Christian Bishop, and which he had not always more or less Occasion to Exercise ; but it must be confessed, that in his Days the Church was beset with extraordinary Difficulties, and required an extraordinary Measure of Prudence and Resolution, of Faithfulness and Zeal, to manage that great Trust committed to his Charge, to the Honour of God, the Interest of Religion, and the Good and Benefit of the Church.

There are two famous Instances which give Testimony to this, and abundantly evidence the Greatness of his Mind, the Wisdom of his Conduct, and the Zeal and Care he had for the Preservation of Religion, and the Safety of the Church. The first was when he was to struggle with the Commands of a lawful Sovereign, which seem'd to interfere with the Interest of the established Religion, and the known Laws of the Land ; but of this he made no Difficulty, and soon resolved rather humbly to decline the Commands of his rightful Prince, than to obey him to the Prejudice of the true Religion, and the established Laws. But the Manner of doing this was as exemplary as his Courage ; when his King laid uneasy Commands, and which he could not comply with, he did not presently fly in his Face, and load him with Invectives and Aspersions, much less did he undermine his throne, invite the Invader of it, or by ungodly or revengeful Arts endeavour to defeat him of his just and hereditary Rights : But, like a true Christian Bishop, he committed his Cause to God, and possessed his Soul in Patience. He could not do an unlawful Thing ; but he knew well that Reason extended to all lawful Things, and that he could no more violate the Rules of Religion, and the Laws of the Land, in resisting his lawful Prince, or injuring him in his undoubted Rights, than he could violate them in Obedience to him. Sincere Virtue is always uniform, and all of a Piece ; and he knew, that the same Religion and Laws which enjoyn'd him not to obey, obliged him likewise not to resist and rebel ; they were of equal Obligation in both Cases, and their Authority as sacred, and could not be broken with a safe Conscience in one Instance no more than in the other. He stood indeed in the Gap, with all the Degrees of Fortitude and Resolution that the Greatness of the Occasion required ; but these were Christian and Episcopal Virtues, and joined with the same Degrees of Meekness and Humility, by humble Petition, by all modest and just Ways he declined Compliance, but without the least Insolence of Behaviour, or Disrespect to the Person of his Prince, much less to shake off his Authority and Government, whom he knew to be the rightful King of these Kingdoms, and established in the Throne by the Laws of God and the Land.

It is true, in this Action (though it is to be fear'd of some, not with the same Intention) he did not stand alone; but several of his Brethren, my Lords the Bishops, and most of the inferior Clergy bore their Parts, and join'd with their Metropolitan: But as his Post and Station, his Wisdom and Conduct, his great Part in that whole Affair deservedly challenges the first Place, so the ascribing to him what is really his Due, does by no means detract from the Merits of the rest: All those who acted in Conjunction with him, and upon the same Foundation and Principles, their Credit and Virtue remain intire to them, and they will never lose the Reputation of their Constancy and Faithfulness; but those who acted out of sinister and corrupt Ends, and have since forsaken their principles, and wofully prevaricated, they have blasted their own Reputation, and have little consulted the Honour of that excellent Church of which they were Members. However, I must tell you a plain Truth, that some of them who then thought themselves, and still would fain be accounted, main Pillars of the Protestant Cause, were in this Affair very fleeting and unsettled, and for finding out Salvo's and Distinctions; and their subsequent Practice was in a great Measure deriv'd from his Wisdom, Authority, and Influence.

I shall not need to mention to you his Conduct in the ordinary Branches of his Metropolitcal and Episcopal Office; how he took care to discharge those with great Faithfulness, to preserve the Church of *England* in its Rights and Establishments, and to secure the Purity of her Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline (so far as his Power and Authority extended: These are notorious to all the Kingdom; and it will be sufficient here to observe, that while he sat in the Chair, there was no under-hand Trucking with the *Socinians*, or others, out of her Communion. He was a very wise, but withal a very plain and sincere Bishop; he was above little Tricks and politick Arts, and knew not how to preach against People, and then to stroak and fawn, and curry Favour with them when he had done: He was never at the Bottom of any Project to give up the Liturgy, the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church: For alas! (quite contrary to modern Policy) he thought, that the best Way to preserve a Society had been in keeping stedfastly to the Terms of it. He had as great a Tenderness and Compassion for the Seduced and Misled as any Man, and used all just and moderate Ways for their Instruction and Information; but, in good Truth, he had not that Latitude of Principle to sacrifice the Church out of secular Intrigues and Politicks, and to deliver up the Mounds and Fences of it to a Party which had been endeavouring the Destruction of it for a hundred Years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had Favour at

Court, and was able to recommend a Person to the highest Offices in the Church, it was never his Custom to lay aside, or postpone the most worthy and able Men, and firm to the Constitution of the Church, and to make use of his Interest to advance a Sort of Men, who are equally principled for *Geneva* as for *England*, or for any Constitution besides; who were never true nor honest to the Church, in their Inferior Charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to support her. In fine, when he was possessed of the Revenues belonging to the Church, he never made it his Business to destroy and plunder it, by cutting down the Timber upon little Pretences, and then putting the Money into his Pocket. Upon the whole, he was a true Father; the Interests of the Church were his own; and he spent himself in preserving her Honour, Rites and Revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago observed, that an Intruder is always a Step-Father, who spins out the Bowels of the Church, and fattens himself with her Blood; who having no legal Right, and Foundation, is for compounding with Religion, and bartering the Securities of the Church to support himself, and uphold the Injustice of his own Tenure. And this Observation is so true, that it hath never yet failed in any one Instance. He that came into the Church a Thief and a Robber hath always continued so; and from the Beginning of the Church to this very Day there hath not been one Ecclesiastical Usurper, but who, in one or more Instances, has pawn'd something of Religion to gain an Accession to his Party, and to secure and strengthen his unrighteous Possession.

Another famous Instance demonstrating this great Prelate's Virtue and Piety, and his admirable Fitness for that high Office he sustained in the Church, was this, that he chose rather actually to suffer an Expulsion from all his Honours and Ecclesiastical Revenues, than to violate his Conscience, or stain the Purity of those Principles, he had always maintain'd and adher'd too: This is a Proof next to Martyrdom, and there cannot be given a greater Testimony to a Man's Sincerity, except it had been the laying down his Life; and no Doubt, that he would also have as chearfully done, had the divine Providence thought fit to have call'd him to that Trial. God knows the Heart, but Men cannot know one another, nor yet themselves, but by Trials and Temptations: Disguised Virtue will deceive the World, and perhaps ourselves too, and when we meet with no Interruption in our Affairs, a general Care of Inoffensiveness may pass for great Uprightness, both in the Eyes of Men and in our own: But when the Business comes to Experiment, when we must either part with the World, or with our Consciences and Principles; this is a Touchstone of our Sincerity, and the Distinction is soon made. And here we have a most Reverend Arch-
bishop

bishop thrust from his high Station, and divested of all his spiritual Promotions and Preferments, meerly upon the Account of his Conscience, and which he might easily have kept, if he could have but tamper'd with his Principles, and brib'd his Judgment to Submission, by carnal Inducements and fallacious Arguments. But as he was too wise and judicious to be impos'd upon, so he was too honest to act upon hypocritical Pretensions and sophistical Evasions; for (as he often said) he had rather suffer under his lawful Prince, than flourish under an Usurper. Alas! Sir, he never was able to know which way the People (collectively or representatively) became Sovereign of this Kingdom, and could give away the Government to whom they pleased; he never had Philosophy enough to know that the Streams rose higher than the Fountain; that the Receiver of a Gift for that very Reason had a better Title to it, than those that gave it; how those who gave away that which was none of their own, could derive a better Right to the Taker, than they had themselves. He had no Skill to dive into the Mystery of a People being conquered by themselves, and thereby deriving a Title of Conquest to a third Person; he could not expound the Riddle of conquering by Vote, or that giving and taking were discriminating Marks of a Conquest; nor could he submit his Conscience to the maddest Hypothesis that ever was broach'd by Men. He had not the nice Subtily to distinguish between Allegiance *de Facto*, and Allegiance *de Jure*: For, as he knew that all Duties whatsoever were founded in Right, and flowed from it, and there is no such Thing in the World as a Duty to Wrong, so he knew likewise, that neither our own Laws, nor any in the whole World, had been so contradictory and inconsistent, as to provide for a double Allegiance in Opposition to one another. These were Fig-leaves, which some had sewed together to cover their Nakedness; but the covering was so very thin and slight, that a far less discerning Judgment than his would easily look through them; it needed no Skill nor Art, but plain Honesty was sufficient to uncloath them, and to perceive that they served only to blind or shuffle with the Conscience, by no Means to direct or satisfy it. He knew an Oath was too sacred and serious to be taken upon Phantoms and Shadows; upon such wild and ridiculous Suggestions, as have not the least Being in Nature, Reason, Religion, or the Law. And he knew withal, that to take two contradictory Oaths must necessarily involve a Man in the Guilt of Perjury: In such a Case, there is no Medium betwixt swearing and forswearing. Upon this Basis he stood, and he stood like a Rock, firm and unshaken, and all the Billows that Beat upon him could not make the least Impression. His high Post and great Revenues were mighty Temptations, but when they came to be put into the Balance with his Conscience

science, he soon determined his Choice, and gave a convincing Demonstration, that his Virtue was superior to the World, and independent of it; that Truth is better, and far more eligible than Riches and Honour, when, for the Sake of one poor persecuted Truth, a Man can, without the least Hesitation, forsake all that is great and honourable in the World. It is true, on this great Occasion, he had many Partners; seven of my Lords the Bishops, and a considerable Number of the inferior Clergy, besides many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, preserved themselves from Contagion, and gave the same great Proof of their invincible Fidelity and Constancy, whereby they have not only secured the Uprightness of their own Consciences, but have withal maintained, and upheld the Honour and Reputation of the Church of *England*, which hath so terribly been impaired by the scandalous Apostacy of so many others. And this is of such mighty Consequence, that it must be confessed, that Posterity hath nothing left to vindicate the Church and her avowed Principles, but their heroic and memorable Examples; and when After-Ages shall come to dispute the Principles of our Church, they will have the Piety and Practices of these excellent Men, to counter-balance the general Defection which hath overspread this unhappy Nation.

II. Another General Observation, which I have to remark to you, is, that these immortal Virtues, which have embalmed his Name to all Posterity, were not newly acquired, or even exercised; but his younger Years gave an early Testimony of the Greatness of his Mind, and the Steadiness of his Principles. There was a Time when a Wicked Covenant and Engagement were to be taken; the one Oath was designed to propagate Rebellion, and to destroy the Church, and the other to support a cruel Usurpation; and these, (in their respective Seasons) blocked up all Preferments, and a Man could neither keep what he had, nor be admitted to any other, but he must first make his Way by swallowing the *deadly and accursed Thing*. In those Days he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, when gaudy Seducements are generally the most prevailing, when the Passions and Propensities to the World are most strong, and the Judgment less mature and solid to correct them; but even in his greener Years his Virtue was ripe; he then became an actual Sufferer for the very same Principles, and chose to relinquish his Interest in his native Country, and to submit to a voluntary Exile, rather than advance himself by the Rewards of Ungodliness, and own the Authority of an unjust, though prevailing Usurpation. This therefore is not the first Time that he gave the World Proof of his admirable Constancy; he was a Confessor near fifty Years before, upon the very same Account; and the very same Reasons and Arguments (that in those Days were urged for Rebellion and

and Usurpation) which could not work upon him then, much less could they do it now, (though they had new Names put to them) when his Judgment and Virtue were improv'd, and the Truth of those Principles confirmed, by his most mature Thoughts, and by long Experience. He had seen and sifted all these Matters long before ; and it was not likely, that to a wise and good Man, the Copy and Transcript should prevail more upon his riper Years, than the Original itself did upon his Youth. *Doleman's* rebellious Arguments had no better Effect, when transplanted into Dr. St——'s *Unreasonableness of a new Separation*, than they had in the vile Book of *Parsons* the Jesuit itself ; and the very same numerical Reasons could satisfy as little, when baited with modern Names, than they did heretofore, when they came immediately from the Pens and Persons of the first Authors themselves ; from Regicide *Cook*, and *Milton* ; from *John Goodwin*, and *Hugh Peters*. In short, he was always just to his Conscience, and true to his Principles ; and the repeated Instances he hath given of an untainted Fidelity, will exceedingly add to his great Character, that in all the various Concussions of State, the Turns and Changes of the World, he was always the same ; and the last great Actions of his Life will suffer no Diminution or Reproach from any temporizing Levity, or Unworthiness of his former Proceedings. I do not deny but a Man may once trip and miscarry, and afterwards relent and recover himself, and become very great and useful ; and there is no Repugnancy in the Reason and Nature of Things, for a Man erring through Weakness of Judgment, Inconsiderateness, or Violence of Temptations, to raise himself up again, and to stand firm ever after : But, if we shall consult Fact, we shall find this Theory not always, perhaps not very often, confirmed by Experience. Those who have once played Fast and Loose with their Principles, are generally prepared to travel the Compass ; and we have, in our own Memories, some who passed from the Covenant to the Engagement, from thence to the *Cromwell's*, thence to the Restoration, and from thence to the Revolution : And, no Doubt, if there was Occasion, from the same Unchangeableness of Principle, could travel the same Way back again. Now, Sir, if this be no Blemish to a Man's Integrity ; if, when he can receive new Principles with every Tide, and turn himself and his Conscience to every Turn of Affairs ; if he can dispute the same Things *pro* and *con*, and resolve a Case of Conscience backwards and forwards, and rise and fall his Doctrines in Proportion to his Interests ; if, notwithstanding, he shall sustain the Character of Steadiness and Fidelity, then, by my Consent, *Ecebolius*, and the Vicar of *Bray*, shall henceforward be reckoned among the Confessors, a versatile and winding Craft shall pass for the Mark of a plain and fair-dealing Man, and the Wind and the Moon be hereafter the fittest Emblems of Constancy. But, if Mankind have

always taken other Estimates of Things ; if the Truth and Goodness of a Man's Virtue hath always been measured by its Strength, that it is able to abide the Trial, to weather all Storms and mutable Accidents, and remain the same under all Difficulties and Discouragements ; if the Difference between counterfeit and standard Virtue consists in Permanency and Perseverance, not subject to the Changes and Chances of this lower World : If, finally, these are in themselves, and were always accounted great and glorious Things, then the several Stages of our venerable Father's Life will afford us so many external Monuments of his Piety. And he hath left behind him very few, who, in this degenerate Age, are likely to equal his Virtues, or to come near them by many Degrees, and none less than him, who sits in his Chair, and some others, who fill the Sees of our deprived Bishops.

But, Sir, you will give me Leave more fully to excite your Piety and Imitation, and to improve to your Use and my own this great Example to the best Advantage. It may be necessary to go a little deeper, and to uncover the Root from whence so many excellent and praise-worthy Actions did spring ; for it will be impossible to copy out one of his great Virtues, without acquiring a just proportion of all the rest. To aim at his Constancy without his Humility, is to plant without a Soil ; and to aspire at his inflexible Faithfulness without an equal Measure of his Mortification, is to make a Superstructure without a Foundation. And therefore it may be fit to observe, that that wonderful Staidness and Evenness of his Conduct, those high and eminent Virtues which rendered him so conspicuous, were built on a Foundation abundantly sufficient to support the Weight of them : His Humility and Denial of the World were as bright as any of his Virtues, and bore up this mighty Fabrick : The World could lay no Biass on his Affections, to suborn his Judgment, and tamper with his Conscience ; but he could, and did, with equal Affection and Resolution, embrace Truth, when naked and despised, as well as when attended with Honours and Revenues : And you yourself know, and so does every Man else, that had the Happiness to converse with him, that he suffered his Remove from his Possessions and Preferments, with greater Satisfaction and Chearfulness than any Man could take them. It was a smart Answer that he gave to a Person, speaking to him concerning the Revolution, and what were like to be the Effects of it ; *Well !* (saith he smiling) *I can live upon fifty Pounds a Year*, meaning his paternal Inheritance ; and thereby intimating how little the Loss of all the rest would affect him, and what an inconsiderable Inducement the highest Station of the Church was to mislead him, and to pervert his Conscience. He had no Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, or Luxury to maintain, and consequently was secure against all Assaults that could
come

come from those Quarters. When a Man hath once brought himself to that Pass, that he cannot live under so much by the Year! whenever such a Posture of Affairs happens, that he cannot honestly keep his Integrity and his Incomes too, he is in great Danger of turning to the Left-hand, of distrusting Providence, and starving his Conscience for to keep warm his Back and his Belly. When Ambition and Love of the World prevail upon the Affections, Religion will become Art and Management, calculated for Designs and Interests, must vary and alter with Seasons and Opportunities; and such a Man's Conscience will observe the Wind, and be sure to sit always in that Corner from whence Preferments come. In fine, whosoever hath not a competent Degree of Self-Denial, Mortification, and Contempt of the World, Religion can have no sure Hold of him, nor he of Religion, and he lies under an utter Incapacity of being true to himself and to his Conscience; his Principles will be arbitrary and precarious, and follow all the Revolutions and mutable Contingencies of this World: What therefore our Lord and Saviour said, *Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple*, Luke xiv. 33. This was not so much a Command, as a plain Declaration of the State of the Case: There is an utter Impossibility in the Nature of Things, that a Man should be *Christ's* Disciple who is not prepared and disposed to forsake all the World for him, and to put these Dispositions into Act, upon all just Occasions; for otherwise he can be a Christian no longer than his Religion and Interests agree; for when they differ one must be parted with, and the predominate Principle will certainly carry him, and he will determine his Choice in behalf of his Affections. To be mortified to the World therefore, is not only to do our Duty in that one Instance, but to gain a general Preservative. The Cross is the fundamental Principle of Christianity, and secures the honest Observance of all the rest.

By this Time, Sir, I presume, that you perceive how necessary it was to enter upon this last Paragraph; it hath an immediate Tendency to lead us in the right Way, and to direct us how we may follow his Steps; if we would imitate his Greatness of Mind, his Christian Fortitude, and admirable Constancy; why then we must lay as deep a Foundation as he did; we must mortify our Pride and Passions, and wean our Affections from the World; we must endeavour to attain the same Measure of Patience, Humility, and Self-denial; and, if this be effectually done, we may then hope to partake of his Spirit; but if our Appetites remain irregular, if our Thirst of the World be yet immoderate and intemperate, we have a Plummeth at our Heels, which will be sure to weigh us down, let our Judgments and Understanding be what they will, and let the Occasion of Perseverance be never so just and honourable. The World is, and always will be,

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changeable;

changeable ; and if there be Room left in our Hearts to plant that Engine, it will turn us about in spite of the clearest Apprehensions, and the best Resolutions we can make ; when we doat too much upon the Fortune, we shall forsake our Mistress on the Loss of her Portion, and court another. In truth, without such a Measure of Indifferency to the World, it will be impossible we should be true and faithful upon any Occasion where Truth and Fidelity are required ; we shall abandon our Friend or our Father, our King or our Country, as well as our Virtue, in a declining and unprosperous Condition : For it is an infallible Maxim in Morals, and which holds good in all Instances, that Ambition and Levity of Principle, that Covetousness and Unfaithfulness, that Love of the World and Inconstancy, are convertible ; there is never one, without some Proportion and Degrees of the other.

And thus, Sir, I have laid before you these two general Observations ; and I think I shall not need to remark, how fit and pertinent they are to lead us into the Consideration of the last Scene of this great Man's Life. Here we have the Picture of his great Virtues, of his Moral and Christian Endowments ; and when we shall find his last Hand to it, when we shall see it compleatly finished by himself, it will give a mighty Addition to its Grace and Beauty ; the last and finishing Strokes are always the fairest, and give Lustre and Perfection to all the rest. And this is what I have undertaken (according to my poor Measure) to give you some Account of ; and when you cast your Eye lower, you will see, that as he lived, so he died. He resigned up his Soul in the Profession and Practice of those very Principles which he owned and maintained with so great Constancy and Vigour all the Time of his Life, which is the most perfect and unsuspected Evidence that a Man can give of his intire Satisfaction in his Principles, and of his great Sincerity in the owning them, and living up to them. The Hour of Death is, of all others, the most unfit Season for Hypocrisy and Diffimulation ; and if there be any Seriousness and Sincerity in Men, they will shew themselves on a Death-bed. But when a Man hath lived unblameably all his Days, when the most malicious and critical Eye is never able to tax him with deceitful daubing, in the whole course of a long Life ; when such a Man shall come to lie under an apparent Sense of his Dissolution, if, in the last Article of his Life, he shall renew the Profession of his Principles, we have all possible Assurance, not only of the utmost Plainness and Sincerity of that Profession, but of the Sincerity also of his past Actions in Pursuance of those Principles : for he stakes his Soul for the Truth of his Belief of them, and appeals to God (to whom he is immediately going) for the Uprightness and Honesty of his former Proceedings.

But

But Sir, that I may proceed in Order, I am, in the first Place, to acquaint you, that some Time after his Expulsion from his Habitation at *Lambeth*, he retired into the Country, to the Place of his Nativity, which was the ancient Estate and Residence of his Ancestors, for above three hundred Years, and where he built a small Habitation, but large enough for his Retinue and Attendants, which were only two or three Servants: Here he chose to fix himself in his Retirement; here he enjoyed the same Chearfulness of Spirit, the same Serenity of Mind, and (in one Word) the same good Conscience; there was some Difference in the outward State, in the Splendor and Ornament, but none at all in the Man; and those who repaired to him from all Parts were blessed with the same charming and familiar Converse, the same holy Admonitions and Instructions, and they found exactly the same great Archbishop, under a plain Roof in a Country Village, that they used to meet with in his Palace. Some receive Honour and Reputation from the Places they hold, and some Infamy; the one, as having too little Virtue, the other too much Vice: But when a Man's Virtues bear an equal Proportion with his Station, they are inherent in his Person, and remove with it. When he resided at *Lambeth*, his episcopal Virtues had there their Residence also; but when he was forced to leave it, he did not leave his Virtues behind him to be possessed by the next Comer; (and if this needs to be proved, we have ocular Demonstration) but they followed his Person in all Fortunes and Places; and we had a most Reverend Archbishop in *Fresingfield*, when there was none at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it. His Obscurity was a new Accession of Honour to him; it was the Effect of a good Cause and a good Conscience; which, though it added no new Virtue, it made it more bright and visible; they were the same Virtues he had before, but with greater Lustre, and we had with us the very same venerable Archbishop; but we had him with the additional Characters of his Expulsion, and cloathed with the new Honours of his Constancy and Sufferings.

In this just and honourable Retirement, he enjoyed all the Pleasures and Advantages of Solitude; a meer Quiet from the Hurry and Business of this World, thereby affording greater Vacancy and Leisure for the Concernment of the next, is, in itself, so desirable, that some have voluntarily stript themselves of all their lofty Accessions, on Purpose to gain an Opportunity of retiring into themselves, and cultivating their Minds: But when it is an Escape from a spreading Contagion, when quitting the World is quitting the Sins of it too, it is then not only an Opportunity of exercising good Things, but a Sanctuary and Refuge also from those that are bad; but when, to both these is superadded a noble and glorious Occasion, when it is the Result of Piety and Principles, the Lot of Virtue

and a good Conscience; Privacy is then set out to the best Advantage; it is both our Peace and Security, but it is withal our Joy and our Crown. This was our great Prelate's Retirement, and in this glorious Sphere his Virtues moved, during the last Stage of his Life; for although he needed no Sequestration from the World, to learn to know himself, and to search into his Conscience, those had been his constant Exercises and Employment from his Youth; although no Incumbrances of his Station, or Emergencies of publick Affairs, could ever tempt him to rob God of his Dues, to interrupt his Devotions, and the necessary Works of Piety; yet the Recess his Conscience had made him, afforded him larger and more frequent Opportunities of conversing with God, and with himself; of imploring the divine Favour, Forgiveness, and Assistance; of perfecting his Repentance, making up the Accounts of his Soul, and preparing himself for another World: And these were the Companions of his Solitude, the Fruits and Improvements of his Sufferings. But, besides his own personal and particular Concerns, there were others of a more publick Nature which he charged himself with, and interested himself in, the Groans of a languishing and afflicted Church, and the Scandal and Sins of an Apostate one, were each of them sad Subjects, and both deserved and excited his Christian Compassion, and his earnest Address and Application to God for Grace and Mercy, in Proportion to the respective States and Conditions. These are Times of Trial and Temptation, of Defection and Apostacy; and, as God knows there was Occasion enough, so he suited his Petitions to the Exigency of the Times, that God would be graciously pleased to establish the Strong, confirm the Weak, reclaim and recover the Lapsed; those who deserted his Authority as well as their own Principles, could not run away from his Prayers and Charity; and God grant that they may find the Benefit of his holy Devotions, who would receive none by his Influence and Example!

But besides these, there is yet another Ingredient, which rendered his Solitude more triumphant, and that is the Reason and Occasion of it; it was not the Effect of Weariness or Satiety, of Sullenness or Disappointment, but founded in just and righteous Principles; and the Goodness of the Cause sanctified the Affliction, and made his Privacy venerable in the Eyes of all, and very comfortable to himself; it was indeed the Exercise and Safeguard of his Virtues; but it was moreover the actual Suffering for them, and this gave it Life and Spirit, changed the Stile and Denomination, made his Meanness his Glory, his Abasement his Honour and Ornament; and though he was always a very great Man, yet he made a greater Figure in the World, and sustained a more honourable Character in his Privacy and Retirement, than ever he had done in the utmost
Extent

Extent of his Prosperity and Plenty; and this was not only external, and terminated without him, but it was an Honour founded in Righteousness, the Honour that comes from God only, which exerts a mighty Power within, and sheds ineffable Comforts into a Man's own Breast. He saw nothing about him but what were Arguments of his Uprightness, and carried the Marks of his Sincerity; and this, joined with the internal Testimony of his own Soul, is perhaps one of the most reviving and cherishing Things in the whole World: And here we may contemplate the mighty Power of a good Conscience, how easily it triumphs over the World, and what unspeakable Pleasure ariseth in the Soul, from the Sense of an honest and resolute Adherence to Duty: He did not only bear his Suffering and low Condition with Patience, but he exulted in it; it was Matter of the highest Satisfaction to him, and any Man might read the Pleasure in his Breast, by the constant Serenity and Chearfulness of his Aspect: And, I dare say, that the most greedy Worldling never enjoyed half that solid Complacency, in the most lucky and fortunate Acquisitions, as he did in being deprived of all, and reduced to the mean Circumstances of a private Habitation.

Thus holy were his Exercises, thus heavenly his Comforts, till at length it pleased God (in order to perfect and compleat them) to visit him with a long and languishing Sickneſs: His Disease was at first an Intermitting Fever; but the Fits were so extreamly violent, that he was very near dying in the second, and lay speechless, and bereaved of his Senses for some Hours; but, by the Help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, advised and directed by his Physician, a third Fit was prevented; but however the stopping the Fits gave some Respite, yet it was without any promising Hopes; he had some lucid Intervals, but recovered no Strength: He lay under a general Weakness and Decay, and so continued wasting to the last Period, till his Spirits and Vitals were exhausted, and his Soul took Wing from a dry and emaciated Carcase. This Distemper, from the Beginning to the End, continued just thirteen Weeks: He fell sick on the 26th of *August*, and died on the 24th of *November* following.

And now, Sir, I presume you expect to see the Fruits of a good Life, the Conduct of sincere Virtue, when it is to wrestle with the Terrors of Death; this is the last, and it is the greatest of Trials. And here we perceive the wonderful Advantages of Sincerity, that it standeth us in stead when we have most Need, and when all Things else fail us; it supporteth us when our Spirits are spent, and enableth us to look grim Death in the Face, not only with Confidence, but with Address. When he had once shewed his Physician his wasted and shrivel'd Thighs and Legs, void of Flesh, and all nourishing Juice and Moisture, saith he, *And can these dry Bones live?* In Truth, he was not only contented and willing to die,

die, but he breathed after it with Ardency ; he desired it, and called for it ; but still with the humblest Submission and Resignation to the Will of God. He used to express the Sense of his Heart in these Words of the Psalmist, *I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him : I will lay my Mouth in the Dust.* In his greatest Extremities and Agonies, he used to set before him the great Example of our Saviour: *For, saith he, as a Lamb carried to the Slaughter, he was dumb, and opened not his Mouth.* Those great Virtues of Humility and Patience, of Trust and Affiance in God, of universal Charity and Good-will to Men, which, by a long Practice, he had made habitual and familiar to him, now exerted themselves most powerfully in this critical Season ; and we beheld the Graces of his Life triumphing over the Decays of Nature, and were both the Support and the Crown of his Death-bed ; which plainly teaches us how necessary it is to gain a Habit of Virtue in the Days of our Health, that we may not have it to seek when we have the greatest Occasion to use it. We saw the admirable Humility and Patience of his Soul, with what quiet and chearful Resignation he submitted to the divine Will, throughout the whole Course of his languishing Sickness : There was not the least appearance of any Disturbance or Discomposure ; but the same Meekness, which had always calmed his Passions under former Dispensations, was ready now to assist him, and was, in Truth, more eminent and visible *in extremis*. That which came the nearest to a Complaint, was only a Description of his wasting Condition, in these pious Words ; *Thy Hand is heavy upon me Day and Night, my Moisture is like the Drought in Summer :* But even this joined with an Act of high Trust in God ; for, saith he, *I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the Dust of Death ; yet, though he kill me, I will trust in him.* His great Piety (which was always quick and active) was now most sprightly and vigorous ; and it was surprising to behold, in the perfect Failure of all bodily Supports, with what Presence of Mind he would turn himself to all the Difficulties he lay under, with what wonderful Dexterity he would meet with and alleviate his Extremities, by pious and suitable Ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breathed from his own pious Soul : An acute Pain, or Dejection of Spirit (the frequent Companions of his Sickness) could no sooner approach him, but he was always as ready to obviate them by a divine Sentence, or holy Prayer. It was indeed an unspeakable Comfort and Satisfaction to us, and we reflected on the mighty Power of a well-spent Life, the great Efficacy of the constant Practice of Virtue ; when we saw him with so much Ease and Facility overcoming the Throws and Pains of a mortal Distemper, and preventing the Terrors and Convulsions of Death itself. We saw his flaming and ardent Charity, both extended and limited, according to the Apostle's Direction ; *To all, but especially*

especially to them of the Household of Faith. His suffering Brethren were the principal Objects of his Charity and Prayers, but not exclusive of others ; but upon the frequent Returns and Exercises of his Devotions, he suited his Prayers to the general Needs of Men, and recommended them respectively to the divine Mercy. In particular, the Apostacy of a once glorious Church stuck very near to him, and this gave great Employment to his Charity ; he knew that Prayers might reach them who were obstinate to all other Convictions ; and in this he was earnest and frequent, that God would touch their Hearts, and reduce them to a Sense of their Sin, and of the great Scandal they had occasioned, and dispose them to repair it by a timely and seasonable Repentance. In short, if he had any Enemies, they also were included in his Prayers ; and in particular, a little before his last Hour, he solemnly prayed for *a Blessing upon his Family, and Relations and Friends, and earnestly begged Forgiveness for his Enemies, as he desired it of God for himself.*

But, Sir, I know you expect from me a more particular Account of his Grace's Management of himself in this his last Sickness, with respect to the Principles which he owned, and for which he suffered. And, Sir, I shall answer your Expectation, having something very considerable to observe to you on this Head ; and you will soon perceive how far his Conscience and Soul were engaged in that Matter, and that it was impossible for him to have acted otherwise with the Safety of his Conscience, and preserving the Uprightness and Sincerity of an honest Man, if you please to consider,

I. That by his own Order and Appointment, and with Words of his own framing, was inscribed upon his Tomb, *At last deprived of all that he could not keep with a good Conscience.* I shall presently give you the Inscription at large ; in the mean Time, this is as plain and full a Declaration as Words can make, that the Reason and Ground of his Non-compliance with the present Powers, was a good Conscience. He was deprived because he could not comply ; and he did not comply, because he could not do it with a good Conscience ; and it is remarkable, that this came from his own Hand, and with Intentions to survive him ; so that we have not only a Death-bed Declaration, but that Declaration perpetuated by himself, his dying Testimony recorded to succeeding Ages, and to remain a Monument to Posterity.

II. Throughout the whole Course of his Retirement, and more particularly during the Time of his Sickness, he never communicated with the Swearing Clergy, nor would permit them to officiate ; but I cannot express this better than

than in his own Words, dictated to a Person who was then with him, some little Time before his Death, to be sent from his Grace to a Friend of his ; and a Copy of which I have kept by me. It is in these Words :

—— My Lord is sensible of how great a Concernment it is who ministers to him in holy Things. We have very few Non-swearers hereabouts : Mr. W—— hath been with us once, and visited my Lord solemnly : Mr. E—— hath been here often, and at first visited my Lord very solemnly ; and it happened to be at a Time when there were many Swearers and Non-swearers in the Room : He gave me the Absolution of the Church, and not long after the holy Sacrament : He comes often hither, and when it is seasonable, performs the holy Offices. At other Times Mr. S——, who perfectly understands the Liturgy, useth as many of the Prayers as it is fit for him to do ; and we heartily implore God's Mercy for the Pardon of our Defects and Indecencies in the Performance of his holy Service, and hope that we are accepted. My Lord never receiveth the Sacrament but with those that come not at the Parish, and are Non-jurors. He never admits any of the irregular Clergy to be at the holy Offices ; as for the rest, if they come when he goes to Prayers, he excludes them not : This hath been his Course.

This my Lord dictated to me from his own Mouth ; you see how ready his Apprehension and Judgment are.

Nov. 15, 1693.

This, Sir, I conceive needs no Application ; and here you have your Desire from his own Mouth, an Account of his Sense and Judgment, together with his particular Practice in Pursuance of it. You know there were other Reports spread with you at *London*, as if he had received the Communion at the Hands of a Juror, and many such like ; and the Noise of this came to us in the Country, and was a great Trouble to his Lordship ; and, in Truth, gave the Occasion of representing his own Practice in the foregoing Letter. He had too just a Sense of the Unity of the Church, and the Flagrancy of the Schism, to admit such Practices : And you may please to observe, that this was but nine Days before his Death ; and I can assure you, he never altered his Course afterwards ; nay, he took particular and especial Care, that a Non-juror should perform the last Office of the *Burial of the Dead*, and particularly appointed him by Name. I suppose you will make no Objection, that the Letter above runs in two Styles, one in his own Name, and another in the Person of the Writer ;
that

that is very usual and familiar, when a Person dictates what is to be sent to a particular Friend; and there was no Need, in Matters that related purely to his own Practice, to be very nice as to the Style of the Representer: And this Difference of the Style farther confirms the Testimony of the Writer, *that it was dictated from his own Mouth*; for Part of it sustains his own Person, and thereby gave Credit and Authority to the rest, as proceeding from the same Fountain, being Branches of the same Letter, and Part of the same Representation.

III. The third and last Thing I have to remark to you in this Particular is, that drawing near to his End, he said, in the hearing of some of his Servants, *that his Profession* (in the particular Case for which he suffered) *was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister Ends; that he had the very same Thoughts of the present State of Affairs, which he had at first; and that, if the same Thing was to be acted over again, he would quit all that he had in this World, rather than violate his Conscience*: And, in further Confirmation of this, in less than an Hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest Petitions to Almighty God.

1. *That God would bless and preserve this poor suffering Church, which, by this Revolution, is almost destroyed.*

2. *That he would bless and preserve the King, the Queen, and the Prince; and in his due Time restore them to their just and undoubted Rights.*

And now, Sir, you see the Make and Composition of these his Grace's Principles and Practices; you see their very Inwards, and have a Window open into his Breast; you plainly perceive his Conscience, and his Uprightness in this whole Affair, and you have the Testimony of his last Breath, and his expiring Prayers: He was so well satisfied both of the eternal Truth of those Principles by which he acted, and of his own Sincerity in living up to them, and suffering for them, that he ventured his Soul in the same Bottom with them, closed up his Life with a Profession of them, and made them the Subjects of his last commendatory Prayers. I must confess, this Inference needs an Apology; for if the Nature of the Thing itself did not sufficiently testify this, (as it certainly does) I do not believe, that any Man who knew him did ever think otherwise, or in the least imagine but that he proceeded with the highest Sincerity. But, since we live in an Age where Men oftentimes speak more than they think, and because they themselves are apt to act upon corrupt Ends, are willing to

charge the same upon others in their own Justification ; it may perhaps not be altogether unseasonable to make good that by undeniable Evidence, although all Men, in their own Consciences, do already believe it ; and if the Loss of all this World, and the venturing our Hopes in the next, in Behalf of a Man's Principles, be not a sufficient and convincing Proof of his Satisfaction and Sincerity in them ; then either there are no such Things in the World, or they can never be known.

I am now come to the last Period of this great and holy Prelate's Life ; and all that I shall represent to you, is, that his Memory and Intellectuals remained perfect to the last Moment, and even his Senses also : A very little Time before he died, he called for a Common Prayer Book of the smallest Print, and turned to the commendatory Prayer, and ordered it to be read ; and that being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his Departure : He put his Hands and Arms down to both his Sides, and in a Manner laid out himself, and would have his Head laid lower, and with great Willingness and Chearfulness, submitted himself to the Stroke of Death : The Time, his Age, and other Circumstances, you will see in the Postscript, when you read the Inscription on his Monument, composed by himself, and directed by him to be engraved thereon. He was buried in *Fresingfield* Church-yard, against the South Wall of the Church, by his own Appointment.

And thus, Sir, I have given you a true, though very imperfect Account of the pious and exemplary Behaviour of our late most Reverend Archbishop, in his last Sickness, and of his Death. And I desire you would account it (what in Truth it is) very defective ; and that there are many other Passages relating to his abundant Charity and Beneficence, his memorable Edifices and Endowments, which equally serve to be recommended to us, and to be transmitted to Posterity ; and I hope to see a more full and perfect Representation performed by a more able Hand. I shall conclude with this Prayer, *That God would give us Grace to follow his Steps with the same Resolution and Constancy, that, in his good Time, we may be Partakers of the same Glory and Immortality.*

I am, S I R,

Your faithful Friend and Servant.

On the Right Side of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

*LECTOR, Wilhelmi, nuper Archi-Præfulis,
 Qui natus in Viciniâ,
 Quod Morti cecidit, propter hunc Murum jacet
 Atqui resurget. Tu interim
 Semper paratus esto, nam quâ non putas
 Venturus Hora Dominus est.*

*Obiit Nov. 24. An. { Nat. Dom. MDCXCIII.
 { Ætat. suæ. LXXVII.*

On the Left Side.

P. M. S.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, born in this Parish, afterward, by the Providence of God, Archbishop of CANTERBURY, at last deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good Conscience, returned hither to end his Life; and professeth here, at the Foot of his Tomb, That, as naked he came forth, so naked he must return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; (as the Lord pleases so come Things to pass) blessed be the Name of the Lord.

Over his Head this.

St. Matth. xxiv. 27.

As the Lightning cometh out of the East, and shineth even unto the West, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.

The CASE of the two Absolvers that were tried at the King's Bench Bar at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the 2d of *July* 1696, for giving Absolution at the Place of Execution, to Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*.

By JEREMIAH COLLIER, D. D.

Printed in the Year 1696.

I. **F**OR a Minister of the Church of *England* to give Absolution to a dying Penitent, if he humbly and heartily desire it, is a lawful Act, as appears by the Rubric in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick; which is not only confirmed by, but a Part of the Act of Uniformity.

II. There being no particular Office appointed in the Liturgy for Persons to be executed (whose Souls are as precious, and as much to be taken Care of, as the Souls of those who die in their Beds) that for the Visitation of the Sick, which by parity of Reason is fairly applicable to the Case of Persons to be executed, who are to be considered as dying Men must be used, or none at all in their Case, unless the Ministers officiating are left to the Liberty of extemporary Effusions, which rather become a Calvinistical Elder, than a Presbyter of the Church of *England*. And why is it not as justifiable to use the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, in the Case of Persons to be executed, as to use the Prayer in that Office publickly in Churches in Behalf of the Sick, which are appointed by the Rubric to be used in the sick Person's Chamber, for which only Necessity, and a Defect in the Liturgy, is pleaded?

III. The Circumstances of Time, and Place, and Ceremony, being intirely left by the Rubric (where there is neither Command nor Prohibition concerning them) to the Discretion and Choice of the Ministers absolving, and the Penitent to be absolved; how could it be criminal in the Absolvers of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, to give them Absolution with Imposition of Hands at the Place of Execution, which they desired as a comfortable Support under the Terrors of Death, as a *Viaticum* in their Passage to Eternity?

IV. 'Tis intirely left to the absolving Minister to judge of the spiritual State of his Penitent, whether he be duly qualified, or not, to receive Absolution. *Vide Rubric, ut supra.*

V. The

V. The Minister absolving is to rest satisfied with an Account of the general Repentance of the Person to be absolved, who is not obliged to make a particular and special Confession of his Sins to the Absolver, unless he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty Matter, as appears by the Rubric, *ut supra*. To affirm the contrary, is to plead for auricular Confession, as it is taught and practised in the Church of *Rome*.

VI. If the Person to be absolved makes a special voluntary Confession of his Sins, the Absolver is bound by the Canon to conceal it, and keep it a Secret from all the World, *Vid. 113 Can.* If it be objected that in Case of a treasonable Conspiracy, which the Penitent confesses, the Absolver is not bound to conceal it, it may be answered, that in the Case of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, there was no treasonable Conspiracy so pretended or laid to their Charge, but what was discovered and made public, and which they were convicted of.

VII. Suppose, that after the Death of the absolved Penitent, who dies in his Bed by the Visitation of God, a Paper should be published under his own Hand (which the Absolver knew nothing of) whereby it appears that he was guilty of Heresy in the Church, and Treason in the State, and that he justified both the one and the other, shall this affect the Absolver, and make him a Criminal in giving Absolution? If not, then, with Submission, neither could the Paper left by Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* with the Sheriff, and afterwards published, which the Absolvers were altogether Strangers to, any ways affect the said Absolvers, or render them Criminals in giving them Absolution.

Suppose that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left no Paper with the Sheriff, and none had been published after their Death, 'tis presumed then that the Absolvers would not have been questioned or censured for giving them Absolution.

IX. Nay farther, suppose that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left a Paper with the Sheriff, which he had afterwards published, acknowledging their Guilt, and signifying their Repentance as to that particular Crime which they were convicted of; then it is presumed that the Absolver would have been so far from being censured for giving them Absolution, that it would have been generally agreed to be a charitable, regular, and lawful Act. And if it was, in itself, a lawful Act at the Time of the Performance of it, no subsequent Act or Circumstance whatsoever, which the Absolvers were Strangers to, would make it unlawful. Nothing could make it unlawful *à parte post*, which was a lawful Act *à parte ante*. But if it was in itself an unlawful Act at the Time of the

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the Performance of it, no subsequent Act or Circumstance whatsoever, how grateful soever to the Government, as in the before mentioned Instance, could make it lawful.

A SPEECH spoken by ISAAC CREW, an Orphan of the Grammar-School in *Christ Hospital*, to his Majesty King WILLIAM III. in his Passage through the City of *London*, November 16. 1697. on his Return from *Flanders*, after the happy Conclusion of the Peace.

AMIDST the loud, repeated Acclamations of your joyful People; which, like the Voice of Thunder fly round our Isle, vouchsafe (Dread Sir!) a gracious Ear to us poor Children, who, in softer Accents, but with no less Loyalty of Affection, congratulate your long desired Return in Peace and Triumph, to this once more happy Nation: Whose antient Government and pure Religion, whose Laws and Liberties, whose Rights and Immunities, (Things dearer than our Blood, and always highest in the Esteem of wise and good Men) your sacred Majesty, with utmost Hazard of your invaluable Person, has so gloriously retrieved, and with such matchless Gallantry continues to maintain. Nor doubt we, but so immense Goodness, joined with so great Prudence, is still preparing a fairer Scene of Things, and new Joys for your People.

It is you, (Illustrious Sir!) who are the Support of all our dearest Interest, the *Palladium* of our present Felicity, and the Pledge of our future. But your unparalleled Virtues are a Subject too lofty for our Praises, sufficient to exhaust the Vigour of the boldest Panegyrist: Nor can the Stock of the whole inspired Tribe furnish out an adequate Encomium. Your great Atchievements fill our Histories and Annals; and Fame, which has spoken such mighty Things concerning you, almost Staggers in the belief of her own just Reports.

Go on, (Great Sir!) beloved of God and Man; and having surpassed all antient Heroes, be your own great Rival and Example.

Heaven smile on all your Enterprizes, and favour all your great Designs, for the Advancement of the Protestant Interest, the Prosperity of these Nations, and the Weal of *Europe*; and crown that Zeal with which your great Soul is inflamed towards the Publick, with suitable Successes and Rewards.

May

May you long sway the Scepter of these flourishing Kingdoms, in Security and Ease, blessed always with the faithful Counsels of the wisest Senate, and the entire Obedience of a most loyal People. And amidst all the Glories of such Sovereign Greatness, vouchsafe to look down on us poor Orphans, and grace our numerous Foundation with your Princely Favour.

May no *Alastors* henceforth infest your State, no factious Jars disturb the civil Harmony; but in an entire Accord, may all Orders apply to their respective Duties, and wisely and thankfully enjoy their Happiness, under the best of Princes, the best of Governments, in the best of Kingdoms.

The History of the *Kentish* Petition, 1740.

The P R E F A C E.

TWOULD be hard to suspect him of Errors in Fact, who writes the Story of Yesterday: A Historian of three Weeks must certainly be just, for had he never so much Mind to lye, it would be Nonsense to expect the World could be impos'd upon; every Body's Memory would be a living Witness against him, and the Effect would be only to expose himself.

Authors of Histories generally apologize for their Quotations, plead their Industry in the Search after Truth, and excuse themselves by asserting the Faithfulness of their Collections. The Author of the following Sheets is not afraid to let the World know, that he is so sure every thing that is related in this Account is literally and positively true, that he challenges all the Wit and Malice the World abounds with, to confute the most trifling Circumstance,

If Aggravations are omitted, and some very ill-natured Passages let go without Observations, those Persons who were guilty of them may observe that we have more Good-Nature than they have Manners; and they ought to acknowledge it, since a great many Rudenesses both against the King himself and the Gentlemen concerned have escaped their scurrilous Mouths which are not here animadverted upon.

And lest the World should think this presumptive, and that the Accusation is only a Surmise, we will query what they think of that kind Remark of Mr. *J. How*, finding the King's Letter to the House, and the *Kentish* Petition to come both on a Day, and the Substance to be the same, 'that the King, and the *Dutch*, and the *Kentish* Men were all in a Plot against the House of Commons.'

I could have swell'd this Pamphlet to a large Volume if I should pretend to collect all the *Billingsgate* Language of a certain House full of Men, against the King, the Lords, and the Gentlemen of *Kent*; but it is a fitter Subject for a Satyr than a History: they have abus'd the Nation, and now are become a Banter to themselves; and I leave them to consider of it, and reform.

I assure the World I am no *Kentish* Man, nor was my Hand to the Petition: Though had I been acquainted with it, I would have gone a Hundred Miles to have signed it, and a hundred more to have had the Opportunity of serving my Country, at the Expence of an unjust Confinement for it.

It may be fairly concluded, I am no *Warwickshire* Man neither, with a Petition in my Pocket brought a hundred Miles, and afraid to deliver it.

Nor my Name *Sir Robert Clayton*, by which you may know that I did not promise the Members, who were then in Fear enough, to use my Interest to stifle a City Petition.

Nor is my Name *Legion*, I wish it were, for I should have been glad to be capable of speaking so much Truth, and so much to the Purpose as is contained in that unanswerable Paper.

But I am an unconcerned Spectator, and have been an exact Observer of every Passage, have been an Eye and Ear-Witness of every most minute Article, and am sure that every thing related, is as exactly true as the Causes of it all are scandalous and burthensome to the Nation.

As to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I shall not pretend to enter into their Character, because I care not to enter into Captivity, nor come into the Clutches of that worst of Brutes, their Serjeant.

Literally speaking, no Member of the House of Commons can be a *Jacobite*, because they have taken the Oaths to King *William*. But this may be observed, that the *Jacobites* in *England* are generally the only People who approve of their Proceedings, and applaud their Measures; and it is observable that at *Paris*, and *St. Germans* the genteel Compliment of a Health in all *English* Company is, *a la Sante Monsieur Jack-How*; the Truth of which there are not a few very good Gentlemen in Town can attest, from whence I think I may draw this Observation, that either he is a *Jacobite*, or the *Jacobites* are a very good-natured People.

Noscitur ex socio qui non Dignoscitur ex se.

The following Sheets contain an exact History of the *Kentish* Petition, and of the Treatment the Gentlemen who presented it, met with both from the House, the Serjeant, and at last from their Country.

The

The best way to come to a Conclusion, whether the Gentlemen Petitioners were well or ill us'd, is to review the Matter of Fact, all Panegyricks and Encomiums come short of the natural Reflections which flow from a true Account of that Proceeding, and the whole is collected in this Form, that all the World may judge by a true Light, and not be imposed upon by partial and imperfect Relations.

ON the 29th of *April*, 1701, the Quarter-Sessions for the County of *Kent*, began at *Maidstone*, where *William Colepeper*, of *Hollingbourn*, Esq; was chosen Chairman, tho' he was then absent, and with an unusual Respect the Bench of Justices proceeded to do Business, and kept the Chair for him, for several Hours, 'till he came.

The People of the County of *Kent*, as well as in most Parts of the Kingdom, had expressed great Dissatisfaction at the slow Proceedings of the Parliament; and that the King was not assisted, nor the Protestants abroad considered; and the Country-People began to say to one another in their Language, 'That they had sowed their Corn, and the *French* were a coming to reap it;' And from hence it is allowed to proceed, that during the sitting of the Session, several of the principal Freeholders of the County applied themselves to the Chairman aforesaid, and told him, it was their Desire that the Bench would consider of making some Application to the Parliament, to acquaint them of the Apprehensions of the People.

The Chairman replied, 'It was the proper Work of the Grand-Jury to present the Grievances of the Country, and therefore he referred them to the said Grand-Jury who were then sitting.'

The Grand-Jury being applied to, accepted the Proposal, and addressing to the said Mr. *Colepeper*, the Chairman acquainted him that they had approved of such a Motion made as before, and desired that the Bench would join with them; the Chairman told them he would acquaint the Justices of it, which he did, and they immediately approved of it also, and desired the said *William Colepeper*, Esq; their Chairman, to draw a Petition.

Mr. *Colepeper* withdrew to compose it, and having drawn a Petition, it was read and approved, and immediately ordered to be carried to the Grand-Jury, being twenty-one in Number, who all unanimously signed it, and brought it into Court, desiring all the Gentlemen on the Bench would do the same; whereupon the Chairman and three and twenty of the Justices signed it, and the Freeholders of the County crowded in so fast, that the Parchment was filled up in less than five Hours Time; and many Thousands of Hands might have been had to it,

if the Justices had not declined it, refusing to add any more Rolls of Parchment, as insisting more upon the Merits of the Petition, than the Number of Subscribers. By all which it appears how foolish and groundless their Pretences are, who would suggest, that the Petition was a private Thing transacted by a few People ; whereas 'tis plain 'twas the Act and Deed of the whole County.

As soon as the Petition was signed, and there was no more room for any Hands, it was delivered by the Grand-Jury to the aforesaid *William Colepeper* Esq ; Chairman of the Session, and he was desired to present it in their Names to the Parliament, which at their Request he promised to do, and the rest of the Gentlemen, viz. *Thomas Colepeper*, Esq ; *Justinian Champneys*, *David Pollhill*, Esq ; and *William Hamilton*, Esq ; offered themselves to go with him.

On *Tuesday* the 6th of *May* they came to Town with the Petition, and the next Day they went up to the House, and applied themselves to Sir *Thomas Hales*, in Order to desire him to present it to the House ; he being one of the Representatives of the County of *Kent* ; Sir *Thomas* read the Petition, and telling them it was too late to present it that Day, it being after twelve o'Clock, desir'd they would let him show it Mr. *Pelham* of *Sussex*, and Mr. *Colepeper* told him he was willing enough Mr. *Pelham* should see the Petition, not doubting he would be a Friend to it, but that he was unwilling to part with it, being entrusted with it by his Country, adding, ' That he should make but an indifferent Figure in the Country, if the Petition should be got out of his Hands and ' lost.' Whereupon Sir *Thomas Hales* past his Word and Honour, that he would not show it to any Person whatever, but to Mr. *Pelham*, and that he would return it to them immediately. But this Word and Honour so solemnly engaged, was as easily forgotten : For having got the Petition, he carried it into the House, where he stayed an Hour and a Half, and then returning, he gave it to the Gentlemen ; and told them he had shewn it to Sir *Edward Seymour* and several others.

This perfidious Action to that very Part of the Nation which he represented, deserves some special Notice, and there is no question but the People will remember it for him, and show their Resentment on proper Occasions.

Mr. *Colepeper*, in the Name of the rest, gave him an Answer suitable to the Action, and sufficient to let him know their Surprise at so ungentleman-like Usage, viz. ' That he had broke his Word, and served his Country very ill.' But this being neither Place, nor Season, for further Debates, he appointed to meet them in the Evening, and then after making them wait two Hours beyond his time, he adjourned them till next Morning in the *Court of Request*, where he told them absolutely, that he would not deliver the Petition.

Here

Here it is very observable, that at the very time Sir *Thomas Hales* came out of the House, and returned the Petition in the Manner above-mentioned, Mr. *Meredith*, the other Representative for the County came to them, and told them that their Petition had been exposed in the House, and that Mr. *How* was then making a Speech against it.

The Gentlemen finding themselves thus betrayed by Sir *Thomas Hales*, consulted together about finding another more proper Person to deliver the Petition, and resolved to apply themselves to Mr. *Meredith*, the other Member for the County of *Kent*, and Mr. *Meredith* having agreed to deliver it, in Case Sir *Thomas Hales* should refuse, had appointed to meet them, with several other Gentlemen, Members of the House, in Order to consult about the Matter of the Petition, and the Manner of delivering it.

In the Morning the House being met, Mr. *Meredith* came out and told them the House was in such a Ferment that none of the Gentlemen durst appear for it, nor come to them, and he doubted would not venture so much as to speak a Word in the House for the Petition.

Nor were these all the Discouragements the Gentlemen met with in their presenting the Petition, but several Members of the House pretending Respect, and others that were really their Friends, and in concern for them, came out of the House to them, and endeavoured to persuade them not to expose themselves to the Fury of the House, by delivering the Petition, telling them that Mr. *How* in particular had said, ‘ That if there were one hundred thousand Hands to the Petition, they should be all made Examples of.’ And Sir *Edward Seymour* added, ‘ That the whole Country should be double-taxed, and the Estates of those who presented it, be confiscated to the Use of the War.’

Altho’ these Menaces, together with the almost Omnipotent Power of the House of Commons, had Circumstances enough in them to shake the Resolution of a whole County, yet they had not the Effects here which was expected, for the Gentlemen, far from being terrified at all this, unanimously declared their Resolution to discharge the Trust placed in them by their Country, and to present it to the House; and Mr. *William Colepeper* in particular alluding to the Words of *Luther*, to those who dissuaded him from going to the City of *Worms*, told them, ‘ That if every Tile upon the Chappel of Saint *Stephen’s* was a Devil, he would present the Petition.’ And all of them declared, ‘ That if none of the Gentlemen would do their Country so much Service as to present their Grievances to the Parliament in a legal Petition, they would knock at the Door of the House and deliver it themselves.’ Mr. *Meredith*, finding the Gen-

tlemen so resolute, did consent to carry in the Petition, which he perform'd with great Discretion and Fidelity.

The Petition being thus delivered, the Gentlemen attended, for Mr. Speaker further to intimidate them, had let fall some Speeches, ' That it was the Usage ' of the House when a Petition was brought in, the Persons who presented it ' ought to be ready without to justify the Matter of their Petition.' And the Gentlemen seeing no Reason to be ashamed of theirs in particular, resolved to abide the utmost which their and the Nation's Enemies could do to them.

Having waited about half an Hour, they were called in to the Bar of the House, where Mr. Speaker, treating them in his usual haughty Tone. This short Dialogue passed between them.

Speaker. Gentlemen, is this your Petition? [*Holding up the Petition by the one Corner.*]

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker. [*Bowing very respectfully.*]

Speaker. And, Gentlemen, you own this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker. And, Gentlemen, your Hands are to this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Speaker. [*Turning to one of the Clerks.*] Carry it to them, and see if they will own their Hands. [*Which they severally did.*]

Speaker. Withdraw, and expect the Order of the House.

Whereupon they withdrew, and attended in the Lobby, and now began the second Attack upon their Resolutions for the Members, who came out represented with all the Terror imaginable the Fury of the House; Imprisonment and the Ruin of their Fortunes and Families was the least they had to expect; Impeachments, Laws *ex post Facto*, tacking them to Money-Bills, and all the arbitrary Methods which any arbitrary Parliament have ever made use of to ruin those who have felt their magnipotent Indignation, were laid before them. When some who pretended Pity for the Misfortune of so many worthy Gentlemen, came out of the House and told them they had yet a lucky Moment left them, by an immediate Submission, to fly to the Clemency of the House, that they were sent out by Sir *Edward Seymour* and the rest of the Gentlemen on that Side, to let them know that Mr. *How* was now speaking, and would continue so for some time, to give them Opportunity to recollect themselves, and by a timely Acknowledgment to save themselves from Ruin.

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The Gentlemen being at a loss to know in what Particular they could have given the House such Offence, and being well assured they were in the Protection of the Law, and had not acted any thing but what the known Constitution of the Realm expressly allowed, remained still unshaken, and boldly replied, ‘ They had nothing to say but what was in their Petition.’

But being further pressed by Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, and several other Gentlemen ; and because they would not show any Disrespect to the House, or seem to slight their Displeasure, they consider’d of an Answer to be given to the Proposal of Submission.

And because whatever Answer they gave might be misrepresented to the House, delivered by Word of Mouth, they resolved to put it into Writing, and having consulted a while they agreed to send in this civil Answer.

‘ We are humbly of Opinion, that it is our Right to petition this honourable House, according to the Statute of 13 Car. II. As to the Matter of our Petition, we declare that we intend nothing offensive to this honourable House.’

This Writing being shewn to Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, and several other Members, they began to smile, and imagined their Point gain’d, and told the Gentlemen they were glad they began to be sensible of their Danger ; and if they would but add one Word more, *viz.* that they were sorry for what they had done, they would undertake for the Clemency of the House : This they unanimously refus’d, one of the Gentlemen with some Heat replying, ‘ We will have no sorry.’ Here the Members, (or Conspirators rather) would have had them put it, that they did it through Inadvertency. This they also refus’d, declaring they did it at the Request of their Country, maturely and deliberately, were justified in doing it by the Laws of the Land, and they wou’d never recede from it.

So they delivered the Paper to Sir *Thomas Hales*, but whether he delivered it to the House or no, he never had the Civility to inform them.

The Debate in the House held five Hours, after which Notice was given them by the Messengers, that the House had voted the Petition scandalous, insolent, and seditious, [*vid.* the Votes] tending to destroy, &c. and ordered them to be taken into Custody for the same ; upon which the Gentlemen went and immediately surrendered themselves to the Serjeant, though the Warrant was not made out for some Hours after.

The Serjeant only asked them where he should come to them at Dinner, which was agreed to be at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleet-street*, where they dined on *Thursday*.

day, Friday, and Saturday, and were hitherto very civilly treated by his Officers ; and accompanied by great Numbers of Citizens and Gentlemen of the first Quality, and not a few of the Nobility ; the Officers were seldom with them, went of Errands for them, and oftentimes were all absent together ; so that there was no Colour of Reason for the Serjeant to say, he feared a Rescue, for they had all the Opportunities they could desire, if they had had the least Design to escape, and it was never heard of that they who could escape when they pleased, would expose their Friends to the Hazard of a Rescue.

On *Friday* in the Evening, Mr. Serjeant began to treat with them, and representing his absolute Power, letting them know, that he had an unbounded Liberty of using them at Discretion, that he could confine them at Pleasure, put them into Dungeons, lay them under Ground, keep them apart, remove them daily, and keep all People from them, by making them close Prisoners. He thereby gave them to understand, that he expected a Consideration suitable to his civility ; upon this the Gentlemen offered him 100 Guineas, half in Hand, and the other when they should be discharged, though it should be next Day : The Serjeant neither accepted nor refused the Offer, nor expressed any Dislike as if he thought it too little, but appointed to come to them the next Day.

Saturday in the Evening Mr. *Thomas Colepeper*, having Notice that his Lady was very much frightened at his Confinement, desired Leave of the Messenger in whose Custody he was, to let him go down to *Maidstone*, upon his Parole, to return by *Monday Night* ; which the Messenger tacitly granted.

The rest of the Gentlemen being met at the Tavern, expecting the Serjeant according to Appointment, and having waited till ten o'Clock, instead of coming himself, he sends Orders to the Messengers to separate the Gentlemen, and confine them in several Prisons, that very Night ; which Order the Officers executed as rudely as the Serjeant could desire, saving that they obtained the Civility from the Officers to be confined two in one Place, and two in another ; but were hurried away with such unmannerly Indecency, that they would not permit them to send for their Night-Gowns and Necessaries.

In this Manner Mr. *William Colepeper* and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were carried to *Myatt's House*, the Messenger, in *Fox-Court* in *Holborn*, where they had this hard Choice proposed to them at their Entrance, Whether they would lodge in the Cellar or in the Garret ; and chusing the latter, they were thrust into a little Hole on the Top of the House, where they had all the Inconveniences of a nasty Prison, as base Lodging, foul Sheets, little Covering, and a cold Room ; by which Means they both took such Cold as they have not yet recovered.

But Mr. Serjeant, lest they should not be treated ill enough, coming the next Morning to Mr. *Myat's House*, was in a great Rage at him, and drawing his
Sword

Sword cut him over the Head, for ‘ using the Gentlemen so civilly,’ as he call’d it ; Afterwards coming up into the Garret where Mr. *Colepeper* and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were lodged, they asked him, What Order he had for using them thus? He replied, He had an Order from those who committed them. Being asked again, If there was any such Vote passed in the House? He said, No ; but he had an Order. Mr. *Colepeper* reply’d, ‘ If it be not a Vote of the House, pray how is ‘ it an Order? Have the Majority of the House, one by one, come to you, and given you Direction to use us thus barbarously?’ He reply’d, Yes, they had. For which scandalous Reflection, if false, his Masters the Members of the House of Commons, are exceedingly obliged to him. Mr. *Colepeper* told him, ‘ He believ’d he should live to see him hanged ;’ And so they parted.

All this while Mr. *Polhill* and Mr. *Hamilton* were put into a Cellar, without the Favour of having their Choice, and had so vile a Lodging that they could scarce breathe ; and were likewise in their Turn bullied by Mr. Serjeant the next Day ; and when they asked him to shew them the Copy of their Commitment, he denied it ; Mr. *Polhill* in particular replied, they asked him nothing but what by Law he ought to grant : He rudely replied, ‘ He cared not a Fart for them, ‘ nor the Law neither.’ And so left them ; which Refusal of his he may hear of again perhaps in a way of legal Application.

On *Tuesday* he gave the House Notice, that the younger Mr. *Colepeper* had made his Escape, though he had a Letter from him that he would be in Town that very Day ; and at the same Time he made a Complaint that the other Gentlemen behaved themselves so disorderly, that he apprehended a Rescue ; though the Gentlemen, to avoid any Suspicion, had voluntarily surrendered their Swords to the Messengers, without being required so to do.

This Complaint to the House was the Gentlemen’s Deliverance, and the Serjeant’s Disappointment, though not in Kindness to them neither, for ordering them to the *Gatehouse*, as a more ignominious Confinement, the Serjeant lost the extravagant Fees which he designed to extort from them ; and the Humanity of Captain *Taylor*, the Keeper of the *Gatehouse*, made their restraint easy to them ; for this Keeper used them like Gentlemen, and the Reputation he has obtained by his Civility, will be as lasting as the Infamy of the Serjeant, the one leaves a grateful Acknowledgment in the Mouths of all Men, and will always be spoken of to his Advantage ; and the other nauseous like the Person, is dishonourable both to his Memory, and to the House that employed him.

On *Wednesday*, *Thomas Colepeper*, Esq; the younger Brother, who had been in *Kent*, and who was just come up according to his Promise, rendered himself to the Speaker, and desired to be sent to his Brethren. Mr. Serjeant, who thought to make himself Amends upon him, laboured to have him continued in his Custody,

tody, and had not that Party in the House thought the *Gatehouse* a greater Punishment, possibly it had been so. But therein that infallible House were deceived, and he was delivered from the Hands of a Villain, by his Enemies themselves, who thought they had mortified him the more, to the infinite Regret of the Sergeant, and the general Satisfaction of his Fellow Sufferers.

The same Morning that Mr. *Colepeper* surrendered himself, *The Legion Paper*, as it was called, was sent to the House; it was said it was delivered the Speaker by a Woman, but I have been informed since that it was a Mistake, and that it was delivered by the very Person who wrote it, guarded with about sixteen Gentlemen of Quality, who, if any Notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force; it was reported, that Mr. *Thomas Colepeper* brought it out of *Kent*, and that all the Country were at his Heels to make it good, though it was really no such Thing, and that Gentleman declared he knew nothing at all of it.

But be it as it will, that Paper struck such a Terror into the Party in the House, that from that time there was not a Word ever spoken in the House of proceeding against the *Kentish* Petitioners, and the Members of that Party began to drop off and get into the Country, for their Management began to be so disliked over the whole Nation, that their own Fears dictated to them they had run Things too far.

The Clashings with the Upper House about the Trial of the four Peers they had impeached, and the miserable Shifts they were driven to by the Lords, to avoid trying them, served but to make them more uneasy, and to hasten the Dispatch of the Money Bills in order to the Prorogation, which was on the 23d of *June*, 1701.

By the Prorogation, the *Kentish* Gentlemen were discharged; but to shew their Respect to the Civility of Captain *Taylor* their Keeper, they continued to lodge with him till they went into the Country.

The first Honour done them on Account of their Sufferings, was their being invited to a noble Entertainment at *Mercers-Hall* in *Cheapside*, at the Charge of the Citizens of *London*, where above two hundred Gentlemen dined with them, together with several noble Lords and Members of Parliament.

Thursday, the 2d of *July*, they set out for *Kent*; the Citizens had offered to accompany them out of Town, but they declined it, desiring to go privately.

And those who pretend to charge them with affected Popularity, would do well to remember, that they were fain to send their Coaches empty out of Town, and go by Water to meet them, to avoid the Respect which the Citizens would have shewn them.

But

But there was no shunning the Appearance of the Country, who shewed their Value for the Gentlemen, and the Cause for which they had suffered, in all the possible Terms of Respect and Affection.

The first Instance of this was at *Black-heath*, where Mr. *David Polhill*, one of the Gentlemen, was to separate from the rest, his Road lying near *Bromley* to his House at *Ottford* in *Kent*. He was met at *Black-heath* by above five hundred Horse, who received him into the midst of them, and surrounded his Coach with such Shouts, and Joy, as sufficiently testified their Respect for him and their Satisfaction at his Return among them: Nor can I omit, that having to satisfy my Curiosity, drank among and discoursed with some of that Party, while they were waiting for Mr. *Polhill*: I never heard of any Gentleman more universally beloved by the Country, or more particularly distinguished for Modesty and Temper; and I believe I may affirm that it would be hard to find any Gentleman so near the City of *London*, who could have had such an Appearance, of his own Tenants and Neighbours, to congratulate his Deliverance.

Mr. *Polhill* being come to the Corner of the Park Wall on *Black-heath*, stopt to take his Leave of his Brethren, and giving them a loud Huzza, wished them a good Journey, and proceeded to *Ottford*.

All possible Demonstrations of Joy concluded the Day, and it has not been known that the Country ever expressed more Satisfaction since the Coronation of King *William*, than at the return of this Gentleman.

The rest of the Gentlemen proceeded to *Rocheſter*, where they were met by such a Body of Horse, that the principal Inns of the Town could not entertain them, some of whom had come Twenty Miles to meet them.

The Mayor of *Rocheſter* paid his Respect to them, and complained that he had no Notice given him of their coming, otherwise he would have met them out of Town with a good Body of Horse.

Here they rested to refresh themselves and Horses, and about six o'Clock set forward for *Maidstone*; the People of *Maidstone*, though it was Market-day, could not have Patience to wait at the Place where they generally go to meet the Judges, but a great many Horsemen met them on the Downs, and the Top of *Boxley-hill* four Miles from the Town.

At *Sandlin*, about two Miles from the Town, the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood met them with their Coaches, and an innumerable Multitude of People on Horseback, and on Foot, shouting and bidding them welcome.

After a short Stay here to receive the Compliments of the Gentlemen, they proceeded (the Gentlemen's Coaches falling into the Rear) to the Park, the Seat of the Lady *Taylor*, who is married to Mr. *Thomas Colepeper*, where they were wel-

comed by the said Lady *Taylor*, the old Lady *Colepeper* the Mother of the Gentleman, and several Ladies of Quality, the People shouting all the while, *A Colepeper, a Colepeper*, and the Poor strowing the Ways with Greens and Flowers; and thus they proceeded into the Town, with such universal Acclamations of the People, as the like was never seen in that Country since the Restoration of King *Charles II.*

The Night concluded with a great Bonfire, and the Healths of all the Gentlemen drank round it, to the great Mortification of the *Jacobites*, of whom there are but very few in those Parts; and to the general Satisfaction of the Country.

Nor was this the only Appearance, for at *Beartsted*, about three Miles further, the Country was assembled, the Bells rung, and several hundreds of the People continued together all Night, with extraordinary Joy, expecting that the elder Mr. *Colepeper*, Mr. *Champneys*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, would have continued their Journey to *Holingbourn*, the antient Seat of the Family of the *Colepepers*; but the extraordinary Reception they found at *Maidstone*, had detained them so long, that it was too late to go on; so they lay at *Maidstone* that Night, and the next Day abundance of Gentlemen and Country People came particularly to pay their Respects to them, and bid them welcome into the Country.

And at the Time of the Assizes lately held at *Maidstone*, the Grand-Jury, consisting of very eminent Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County, whereof twelve were Justices of the Peace, went in a Body to the Gentlemen, and publicly gave them Thanks for their Fidelity to the Country, in delivering their Petition to the Parliament.

In all these Expressions of the Country's Joy at the Return of these honest Gentlemen, it might be enquired, what they said of the Parliament? because it is so natural to curse with one Hand, when we bless with the other, that it might be rationally expected; it is true, the Country being justly disobliged at the ill Usage of these Gentlemen, did not spare their Reflections, but I chuse to pass it over, because it is not Parliaments in general, but the Conspirators and Jacobite Party in a Parliament, that are at present the Nation's Burthen, and from whom the groans to be redeemed.

The Conclusion.

HAD this Nation listened to the Calls of their own Reason, and to the Voice of Things, all this Confusion of Councils had been prevented; had the People of *England* chosen Men of Honesty, and of peaceable Principles, Men of Candor,

dor, disengaged from Interest and Design, that had nothing before them but the Benefit of their Country, the Safety of Religion, and the Interest of *Europe*, all this had been avoided; they would never have imprisoned five honest Gentlemen, for coming to them with the Sense of their Country in a peaceable Petition; they would never have had the Occasion to repent of their refusing to hearken to the Voice of the People: But it is too late to look back, the Nation has had the Misfortune to chuse them, and our Peace, and Liberty, and the Protestant Interest in *Europe* is too much in their Hands.

All the Advice I can pretend to give my Fellow-Slaves and Countrymen is, that they would not be backward to let the Gentlemen know, that the Nation is sensible they are not doing their Duty; and withal, that to impose upon the Rights and Liberties of the *English* Nation, has always been fatal to the Persons of those who have attempted it, and their Examples stand as Buoys and Marks to warn Posterity of the hidden Dangers which others have fallen into.

It has been fatal to Favourites, to Judges, to Lords, and to Kings, and will certainly be so even to Parliaments, if they descend to abuse the People they represent.

The imprisoning these five Gentlemen had neither Reason, Law, Pretence, nor Policy in it.

It had no Reason in it, because they had offended against no Law, either of Reason, or the Nature of the Thing.

It had no Law in it, because they had no legal Power to commit any but their own Members.

And I am of the Opinion, they are convinced there was no Policy in it, for there is seldom much Policy in doing that publicly, which we know we shall be ashamed of.

The not proceeding against them afterward, shewed they were either ashamed or afraid; had they been in the Right, there could be no Reason to fear; and if in the Wrong, they had all the Reason in the World to be ashamed.

To commit five Gentlemen to Custody, for petitioning them to do what they really knew they ought to have done, it was the most preposterous Thing in Nature: To punish for humbly Petitioning! it is Nonsense in itself. God himself permits the meanest and most despicable of his Creatures to remind him, as we may say, of their Wants, and petition for his Aid: The most contemptible Beggar is permitted to be importunate for Relief, and though the Law is against him, we are not affronted at it. But to resent the Representation of their Country, and imprison Gentlemen who, at the Request of the Freeholders of a County, came, under the express Protection of an Act of Parliament, to deliver a Petition;

tion; it was the most ridiculous inconsistent Action that ever the Parliament of *England* was guilty of; and, with Submission, I think the best Action the same House can do, at their next Meeting, is to vote that it should be razed out of their Journals, and never be made a Precedent for the Time to come; upon which Condition, and no other, the Nation ought to forgive it them.

The Act of 13 *Carol.* II, to assert the Right of the Subjects Petitioning, is a sufficient Authority for any one to quote, and those that pretend to call this an illegal Act, must first trample down the Authority of that Act of Parliament.

Let this Act justify me, in saying, that to imprison *Englishmen* for Petitioning, is illegal, and a Dishonour to *English* Parliaments, *Legion* Article the 3d.

But say the lame Excusers of this excentric Motion of the House, this was a factious Thing contrived by a few private insignificant People of no Value, and the Matter of it is saucy and impertinent.

First, had it been a Petition of the meanest and most inconsiderable Person in *England*, and that single by himself, provided he were a Freeholder of *England*, he had a legal Right to speak his Mind, for that same Reason from whence the Commons in Parliament claim a Freedom of Speech, gives every Commoner a Freedom to speak to the House, since every Freeholder has an equal Concern in their Debates, and equal Power in deputing them to sit there. But because this Right unlimited might be tumultuous and uneasy, therefore the Method how we shall do it, is circumscribed for Decency's Sake, that it shall be done by Petition, and that Petition shall be presented so and so, and by such a Number, and no more: but that it should not be lawful to petition, no Tribunal; no Court, no Collective or Representative Body of Men in the World ever refused it; nay, the Inquisition of *Spain* does not forbid it; the Divan of the *Turks* allows it, and I believe if *Satan* himself kept his Court in public, he would not prohibit it.

But besides this, the Fact is not true: As for it being contrived by a few People, let the impartial Relation here given, answer that ridiculous Untruth, unless you will account the County of *Kent* a few, for certainly eleven Parts of twelve of the whole County, and now of the whole Kingdom, approve of it.

Nor has the Reproach upon the Persons presenting it, more of Truth, unless Gentlemen of ancient and illustrious Families, whose Ancestors have been known for several Ages to be Men of Honour and Estates, allied to several of the Nobility, and now known and valued by the whole Country, both for their Considerable Fortunes, as well as personal Merit, unless I say such Men are to be accounted private and inconsiderable, the Charge cannot be true: To such I shall only say, that the Ancestors of these Gentlemen were Members of ancient Parliaments, and of such Parliaments as would have been ashamed of committing such

such an Absurdity, as to imprison the Freeholders of *England* for a peaceable Petition.

As to the Matter of the Petition, and which some People say was a Banter, the turning their loyal Addresses into Bills of Supply. The Gentlemen ought to have had Liberty to explain themselves, which if they had done, I am of the Opinion that it would have been to this Purpose, that they thought it was proper ‘ the House should speedily supply the King so with Money, as that he might ‘ be enabled to defend our Protestant Neighbours from the Encroachments of ‘ *France* ;’ and not to lose their time in addressing the King in Matters of less Moment.

I shall conclude with this short Animadversion by Way of Remark, and let all Men judge of the Justness of the Observation.

‘ That as this was the first Time that ever the *English* Nation petitioned to be ‘ taxed, so this was the first Parliament that ever addressed the King to take care ‘ of himself, and defend himself against his People.’

Addenda.

SOME Book-learn’d Fools pretend to find a Flaw,
In our late Senate Votes for Want of Law,
And insolently say the Men of *Kent*
Were rudely handled by the Parliament.
Knowledge of Things would teach them every Hour,
That Law is but an Heathen Word for Power.
Might, Right, Force, Justice, Equity,
Are Terms synonymous, and must agree ;
For who shall e’er the Argument confute,
Where Power prevails, and no Man dare dispute.

Nature has left this Tincture in the Blood,
That all Men wou’d be Tyrants if they cou’d,
Not Kings alone, not Ecclesiastic Pride,
But Parliaments, and all Mankind beside.
All Men, like *Phaeton*, would command the Reins,
’Tis only Want of Power that restrains.
Then why should we think strange the Parliament
The People’s late Petitions shou’d resent :

’Tis.

'Tis fatal to tyrannic Power, when they
 Who shou'd be ruin'd, grumble to obey :
 And Tyrants never can complete their Reign,
 So long as injur'd Subjects dare complain ;
 If they do not their first Addrefs withstand,
 What now they supplicate, they'll soon command,
 By first suppressing early Discontent,
 They aim'd the Consequences to prevent,
 For well they knew that shou'd the Nation try,
 To ask once more, they durst not twice deny.

England has this one Fate peculiar to her,
 Never to want a Party to undo her,
 The Court, the King, the Church, the Parliament,
 Alternately pursue the same Intent,
 Under the specious Term of Liberty,
 The passive injur'd People to betray :
 And it has always been the People's Fate,
 To see their own Mistakes when 'twas too late,
 Senseless of Danger, sleepy and secure,
 Till their Distempers grew too strong to cure ;
 Till they're embrac'd by the approaching Grave,
 And none but *Jove* and Miracles can save.

In vain bold Heroes venture to redeem
 A People willing to sink than swim :
 If there's a *Brutus* in the Nation found,
 That dares Patrician Usurpation wound,
 He's sure to find an ignominious Grave,
 And perish by the People he would save.

Such are by Virtue signaliz'd in vain,
 We'll own the Merit, but abuse the Men.
Marius sav'd *Rome*, and was by *Rome* despis'd ;
 And many a *Russell* we have sacrific'd.
 Then who for *English* Freedom would appear,
 Where Lives of Patriots are never dear,
 And Streams of generous Blood flow unregarded there.

Posterity will be asham'd to own,
 The Actions we their Ancestors have done,

When

When they for ancient Precedents enquire,
 And to the Journals of this Age retire,
 To see one Tyrant banish'd from his Home,
 To set five hundred Traitors in his Room.
 They'll blush to find the Head beneath the Tail,
 And representing, Treachery prevail:
 They'll be amaz'd to see there was but Five,
 Whose Courage could their Liberty survive,
 While we that durst illegal Power dethrone,
 Should basely be enslav'd by Tyrants of our own.

The CHURCH of *ENGLAND*'s Advice to her Children, and to all Kings, Princes, and Potentates. By Mr. LESLIE. Printed in the Year 1715.

My Most Dear Children,

IT is now Twenty seven Years that *I have been seeking you whom my Soul loves, I sought you, but I found you not*; and to which way soever I turned myself, I saw nothing but Desolation, *I see the Hand of the Adversary upon all my Pleasant things, and the Heathen within the Walls of my Sanctuary.*

Behold, O Lord! for I am in Distress, and my Heart is turned within me: my Enemies have heard of it and are glad; for these things I weep Day and Night, and my Eyes run down with Rivers of Water.

Every Day, my Dear Children, adds to these Calamities, and your next Care should be how to extricate yourselves from the present Difficulties, and to ward off those that are Roleing towards you with every Tide of Time.

To this End, receive the Instructions of your Unfortunate Mother, for I speak not to your Reproach, but to the Furtherance of your Temporal and Eternal Happiness.

A little Reflection will bring to your Remembrance the many Lessons of Obedience which I have taught you to the Anointed of the Lord, upon which you may perceive what a want of Duty has attended you, towards God, your King, and your Afflicted Mother, which may move you to compound with an Incens'd God, and your Desolate Mother, by a Repentance that may intercept his Judgments, and heal the Wounds that I have received at your Hands: For the

I

Arm.

Arms of the Almighty are open to you, and it is still in your Election, whether you will Involve yourselves in a Ruin past all Recovery, or not.

You cannot forget that I always told you, *That you should render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's* : And that I exhorted you to such a Dependence upon the Providence of God, as should carry you through all the Temporal Inconveniencies that could attend you, in the Practice of this Branch of your Duty to the Supreme Being, who is Represented in the Person of *Cæsar* ; and this Injunction, without any reserve for the Body, was first laid upon you, by the Son of God, who best knew what would be required of you by his Father, and the Doctrines of your Redeemer is my Warrant in the Eyes of Heaven and Earth ; therefore in Obeying me, you had Obeyed God, but in Resisting me, you have Resisted him.

You know that I told you, with St. *Paul* the Apostle, *That you should obey for the Lord's sake*, and the Reason of such Obedience is clear. For,

First, Order comes out of it, in which the Good of all is comprehended both as to Soul and Body.

Secondly, In this State of Probation it gives a Discipline to the Soul, which proves an extraordinary Virtue, when Temporal Conveniencies shall contend against your Duty towards God, and it shall appear your Choice to Suffer in his Service, rather than to possess them in the Tents of Wickedness.

Thirdly, It is an Honour to *Jesus* Christ, that his Disciples should Resign their Bodies to Pain, in Confidence of a Deliverance by Him, when those that have depended upon the Arm of Flesh, have shewn a Diffidence in the Providence of God, that has call'd his Power and the Veracity of his Promises in Question. And then,

Fourthly, God has commanded it, and Obedience therefore is your indispensable Obligation.

When I told you with St. *Paul*, *That you should obey for the Lord's sake*. I also assured you with him, *That you should receive to yourselves Damnation*. Yet as if it were in Contempt to the Injunctions, the Promises and Threats of the Son of God, of his great Apostle, and of me your most Affectionate Mother, the Sacred Person of *Cæsar* was torn from his Throne, by your Unfortunate Hands, driven by you out of his own House, and left without Mercy, to the Charity of those that knew him not : And after these Indignities, many Untruths were invented to destroy his Credit, which of all things was the most dear to him, as it is to most Men that live.

What must it be to him, whose Thoughts was turned to the making you a Rich and Happy People, to see you engaged in a Resistance that must unavoidably

ably draw a Contempt upon you from all Nations, and in its Consequences, effect the Ruin of your Properties, of your Posterity, and Extinguish the Glory of one of the Bravest and most Flourishing Nations in the World?

How must it wound him who was the most Affectionate Father to his Children, to hear himself Traduced, with the crying Injustice of Imposing a Child of another Man's Begetting, to deprive the Off-spring of his own Bowels of their Right in Succeeding to the Crown?

What must it be to him to hear himself charged with all the Evils that Flesh and Blood could be concerned in, and that by the Mouths of many, whose Lives, whose Fortunes and Preferments were owing to an Excess of Clemency in him?

How must it strike his Afflicted Soul, to hear that the Prince his Son should be reputed an Impostor, by the Clergy and Laity of all Degrees, after the strongest Proof that ever was made of any Birth before his, and after you had all acknowledged it, Thanked God for it, in your printed Addresses, and Invoked Heaven in the most solemn Acts of Worship, that he might live to succeed his Father in the Throne?

Therefore, besides the Grief which the Crying Injustice done to him and his Posterity must give him, his Afflictions could not but be multiplied, upon the Thought of these Dissimulations, being offered to the Lord and his Anointed, by you, to whom he was Deputed, by the King of Kings, the Nursing Father; for his Affections were Irreversibly Devolved upon you, and it was a severe Punishment to him, to see you in the very Abyss of Iniquity, forfeiting Religion and Morality, that Loyalty and Integrity which has been imputed to the *English* Nation by all the World.

Then how must it Torment him, to see you Persuading the Off-spring of his own Bowels, for whose Souls and Bodies he must have more than an Ordinary Regard, to an Unnatural and an Irreligious Disobedience, to a most Indulgent Father, and their Lawful King; when their Compliance with you might hazard their Salvation, and would infallibly be a Renunciation of the Honour that had been the common Inheritance of that Blood with which their Veins were filled.

Besides, the Calumny of that Time laid his Person (tho' Sacred) open to the Outrage of the Meanest of the People, as appear'd in the Blacksmith at *Fever-sham*, who struck at his Head with a *Bar* of *Iron*, and had beaten out his Brains, if the Arm of Captain *Platt* had not Received the Blow.

After all these unprecedented Severities, you turned Him out of His own Kingdoms, barred the Gates against him, and Exiled Him to a Life of Misery:

Which made His a feverer Case, than that of the Royal Martyr's, whose Pains met a speedier End, than the Course of Nature might have given 'em: And He had Comfort of eating his own Bread to the Day of His Death; but His Son, of whom I speak, you made a Receiver of Alms, for Twelve Years, before He surrendered His Soul.

These Things are recorded in Heaven against you; and must be Accounted for, either in this, or in your future State. Therefore, instead of an Act of perpetual Forgetfulness, which you may desire should pass upon it, it is my Advice to you, that you recal the whole History of some Years past, and refuse not to see it, even in it's darkest Circumstances; for it may produce a Repentance, that may obtain your Pardon.

In such a View, you will find, that you were so far from giving unto *Cesar* the Things that were *Cesar's*, as that you have taken from him all that was his; and pursued him afterwards with Sword and Slander, refusing to spare him either Life or Reputation, and could condemn the Persons that consented to the Decolation of his Father, at the very Time that you sent Men with Arms and Ammunition, to take away the Life of him, who was no less your King, than his Father was the King of those that put him to Death.

Indeed the Artifice of those that were under the Direction of *Republican* and *Latitudinarian* Principles, wrought you up to the unhappy Temper, by which all this was done, and made you believe, that what they did was to preserve me, whom they always hated, and to save that State, which they then sought the Destruction of.

Thus they plunged you into a seeming Necessity of multiplying your Iniquities; that those which came after might defend you from the Punishments that were due to those that preceded them: But the Cause being bad in the Beginning, needed perpetual patching; and the Evil that was prescribed, as a Cure to the present Fraction, still proved greater than those that went before it: And whenever the Scheme was failing, it portended the greater Danger to its Managers, who made it their Care to ward off the impending Calamity, with the more desperate Remedy; and to guard a few Offenders, at the Cost of your Religion, your Blood, and your Treasure.

Under the Pretext of saving your Religion, you were drawn in to make a tacit Renunciation of the *Gospel*; you may object, 'That tho' you renounced "that one Point of Christian Doctrine, which relates to the Obedience that "you are to pay unto *Cesar*, yet all other Points have been duly regarded by "you." But it cannot be unknown to you, that your Redeemer has declared, *That the Breaker of any one of his Commandments, incurs the Guilt of breaking all his*

Commandments; and the Reason is clear, for the *Commandments of God* are equally proposed to you: Therefore every particular *Commandment* is from that very Authority that recommends the whole Body of the *Divine Laws*; so that in rejecting any one of the *Commandments*, you reject that Authority which proposes them all to you, and are as great Offenders against that Authority, as you can be in renouncing all its *Injunctions* together. Therefore in renouncing this one *Point of Christian Doctrine*, our Lord cannot impute any Thing less to you than a tacit *Renunciation* of all that he has taught, and of his Name too; for to what End is his Name retained, if you defy his Authority, unless it be to strengthen the Affront that you have already offered him?

Would Any-body believe, that it was the *Christian Religion* which you intended to save, since the Means which you used to that End, was a *Renunciation* of the *Doctrines of Jesus Christ*; and if you meant not the *Christian Religion*, what a *Diffimulation* was it, to give out, that your Intention was to save, even the purest Part of it?

When your Enemies had thus betray'd you into their Service, they imploy'd your Hands against me, and made your Tongues bring upon me the Reproach of all Nations; for you have learned of them to say, That it was the Honour and Glory of God, and my Preservation, that was intended in all the Indignities that were offered to God and your King. "But all that passed by, clapp'd their Hands, hiss'd and wagg'd their Heads at the Daughter of *Jerusalem*, and said, Is this the City that Men call'd the Perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the whole Earth: She, who has bound her Kings in Chains, and her Nobles in Fetters of Iron." She, who pretended to serve the Lord, in the Destruction of his Anointed: She, whose Children pretended to defend her, in the Death of their Nurfing Father?

Consider, my dear Children, what a Scandal you have been to Religion in general, under these Inconsistencies, and to me in particular, in declaring yourselves my Children, under these Abominations: But I call Heaven and Earth to witness, that I never taught you thus, and do hereby declare to all the World, that I commanded you, at all Times, to give unto Cesar the Things that were Cesar's; and did assure you, that nothing less than Damnation would be inflicted upon those that resisted him.

You still speak affectionately of me, but who can believe that your Heart and Lips correspond, unless you restore the good Name you have taken from me, in a Return to your Duty; for except you bear the Fruits of Repentance, who will believe that you do repent?

I know that the Enemy did craftily insinuate, that, without this Expedien, *Papery* would have prevailed, to my Destruction; but if the *Alchoran* had prevailed, your State, as to Salvation, had been no worse than your Resistance has made it; for the bare retaining the Name of *Jesus*, under a Renunciation of what he has taught, makes not your Case any Thing better than theirs, who, at this Day, worship the Sun at his Up-rising.

Your refusing Credit to the Providence of God, and making your whole Dependence upon the Arm of Flesh, may raise a Belief, in those that are not of me, of my inculcating the modish Principle, that will not allow his Providence any Concern in the Affairs of this World.

But the Goodness of God has preserved some, that have firmly adhered to their Principles, who bear Witness, that I ever told you, that if Passive Obedience were due from the *Primitive Christians* to *Nero*, as appears by an Epistle of St. *Paul's* to the *Romans*, it could not but be a Debt from you to your *Christian* King, tho' he happened not to be in Communion with you: For they cannot be of a Religion worth any Man's coveting, who would destroy the Property of another, because he cannot think as they would have him.

You have frequently imprisoned your persevering Brethren, oppress'd them with double Taxes, endeavour'd to force their Consciences with Oaths, contrary to those which they had taken before, and persecuted them with all the Evils of the Tongue, for no other Reason, than that of their retaining those Principles of Loyalty which they had learnt of me, and at the Time that you were persecuting Men for their being my Disciples; you inconsistently spoke of your Duty towards me as if you were then in the full Exercise of it.

The Craft of your Adversaries, brought you to believe that these impious Expedients were absolutely necessary, to the Preservation of your Liberties and Properties, as if the God that gave them, could not be prevailed with to continue them to you, without your making a Breach upon his Commandments: But the Justice of God render'd them as ineffectual, as the *Jewish* Design of putting their Redeemer to Death; for that was done under the Pretext of saving their City and Nation from a *Romish* Conquest, and their Mean, the Justice of God turn'd to the Destruction of their City, their Nation and Posterity.

Your Pretext was, the Rescue of your Liberties from the Tyranny of the *Romish* Religion; and the same God, ruling the World the same Way, has turn'd your Expedient to your Destruction also, as will appear from some Incidents, before and since the Fatal *Revolution*.

You

You may have observ'd, that a Scheme was laid by some of the most considerable Men in *England*, not so much against the Person of the King, as against Kingly Government: So that the King was not the first Person to be removed, for the Duke of *Monmouth* had attracted the Affections of the People, and might (in Case the King was first struck at) step into his Throne, and be succeeded there by the Issue of his own Body, to the Ruin of their intended Republick: So that to perfect the Scheme, the Duke was to be decoyed into a Resistance, which in its Consequences was to end his Days and then if the King could be Remov'd, the Point would be obtain'd intirely.

The Prince of *Orange* (being a Man of Policy, of some Power, and of Republican Principles) was consulted in this Affair, he approved the Design, and promised his Assistance in reducing the Government of *England* to the *Dutch* Form, tho' his Hope was fix'd in the Crown's becoming his own, in case of Success in their Attempts against the King and the Duke.

He, with the Chiefs of that Faction on this Side, advised the Duke to take Arms, and pretend a Right to the Crown, assuring him their Interest, and pretending not to doubt of his Success.

The Unfortunate Duke did so, and had no sooner taken Arms but they deserted him and his Cause, and his Rebellion brought him to the End intended by them.

The *Republicans* were pleased, to see that there was only the Person of the King between *Monarchy* and a *Commonwealth*; and the Prince of *Orange* was no less pleas'd, at the Thoughts of there being but One between him and the Crown of *England*.

Their next Attack was upon the King and his Religion; the Reports which they had already form'd against him, facilitated their Design, so as to bring you into their Measures, which made the Resistance general, and put it out of the King's Power to suppress.

They finding the late Unhappy Lord *Sunderland*, as capable of working in their Way as any Man then living, he was constituted their Principal Agent, and by Occasionally conforming to the *Romish* Religion, by praying much, and counterfeiting all Vertues, he gain'd so upon the Credulity of the King (whose Native Charity and Candour render'd him easy in believing the rest of his Fellow-Creatures endow'd with his own Integrity) as that he wrought himself into all his Secrets, and was the Person that determin'd him in all his Councils.

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It was not yet a Time to publish the Calumny intended against the King, for to give it the Face of Truth, that Lord advised the King to make the Change that ensu'd in *Magdalen College*.

Their Aspersions were publish'd next, and circled through the Kingdom, with the Success proposed by their Authors ; and when the Kingdom was so thoroughly inflamed, as that every Mouth had Evil in it against its King : That Lord advised, that a Standing Army should be raised, and the Pretext was the Security of the King's Person: Which seeming very plausible upon the Ferment which the Kingdom was in ; an Army was raised, and led, to the End that was desired, by those that proposed it, for it confirm'd the People in what they had heard before, and it was easy to make them believe that they were to be Dragoon'd out of their Religion, their Lives and Liberties, and it was well known to him that advised it, that the Army would Revolt upon the Prince's Landing. The Army did Revolt accordingly, and it proved a Political Way of raising an Army for the Prince at the King's Cost, and perfected the Designs of the King's Enemies against him.

But to bring all the Calamities upon the King that could befall him by bad Counsel, that Lord advis'd him in his own Vindication, as he artfully term'd it, to send some of the Bishops to the Tower : The King consented, but he who could never do a severe Thing, Recal'd it, by offering them their Liberty upon each others Bail.

That Lord and his Party, fearing that they would accept of this Offer, and render their Contrivances Ineffectual; they set some of their Secret Springs to work upon them, who made such Advantages of the Candour, the Good-Nature and Credulity of Dr. *Sancroft*, Dr. *Ken*, and other Prelates, as to bring them to believe that their refusing the King's Favour, would prove the greatest Service they were then capable of doing to me and the King : The poor Gentlemen, who were better Divines than Politicians, consented to this unhappy Counsel, and to the Tower they would go ; which Injured the King and me, more than any of the other Ill Offices that had been done before. And thus these abused Prelates were by a strange Paradox, made Instruments of Mischief to me, and their King ; tho' if their Lives had been required in mine, or the King's Service, they would have resigned them chearfully.

At length many of you were made to believe that I should Expire, and that Liberty and Property would be no more, unless the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, who, as the Artists affirmed, was only to settle the King in Peace upon the Throne, to appease the People, and gain Terms for them that should remove all their Jealousies, and then to return again.

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The Story being pretty plausible, it obtained many Hands to an Instrument, by which the Prince was invited to you with a Body of Military Men; but the inviting a Foreigner into the Nation, with Men in Arms, without the Sovereign's leave, was one of the greatest Breaches of their Duty towards God and their King; and its Consequences seem'd to manifest the Divine Indignation's being kindled by it, against those that were concerned in it: For the Prince came, and you were disappointed in his deposing the King with the King's Army, and the Republicans were equally disappointed in his taking the Crown to himself; for they expected that King *James's* Administration and the Monarchy of *England* should expire in the same Day.

By this Time many of you found your Mistake, and that it was too late to Recal it; yet some returned to their Duty, in a Repentance that shortened the Days of the greatest *Ecclesiastick* in *England*, who never forgave himself his Mistake in going to the *Tower*; and such of them, as had Religion and Resolution enough to Refuse their Assent to the Usurpation, were thrust out of their *Bishopricks*, *Parsonages* and *Employments*, and if they could find Charity they might find Bread, but if no Charity, Hunger was to be their Death.

These Disobedient and Inconsiderate Acts, gave me a Wound that almost proved Mortal, and what they did for Liberty and Property, proved to them the immediate Ruin of both.

The Lord *Churchill*, with other Licentious Persons, took Oaths of Fidelity to the King, upon the four *Gospels* over Night at *Salisbury*, and deserted to the Prince the next Morning. The Army soon followed, upon which the *Republicans* hoped, that Monarchy was labouring under the Pangs of Death; but to their great Disappointment, the Prince would not destroy the Face of Monarchy, because he had a mind to be the Monarch, which spoiled their intended Republick for a Time, but he compounded with them for that Sovereign Remedy that comes out of the best Places of Honour and Advantage in the Kingdom.

The Prince of *Orange* at length was Crown'd, contrary to all the Laws of *England* Ecclesiastick and Civil, which was the Destruction of your Constitution, in Things Spiritual and Temporal; for it put a Period to an Hereditary Right in the Crown, and who knows but this very Precedent may be used in times to come, against those, who by the Laws which you have violated, should succeed to your Estates; for if the People may destroy the Right of the Crown, of which they hold their Lands, can they complain if any that should succeed to the Crown, should do the same by the People by way of Reprisal, when Opportunity shall offer? Or if they should complain, you have made an Answer for the Crown,

Crown, that will be always ready ; for it has to say, that you began first, and the Precedent, by which it acts, is of your own giving.

Let who will be your King, this Precedent may be of fatal Consequence to you and your Posterity, and Entail a fruitless Repentance upon you, that may convince Posterity of your making a miserable Bargain for them, in the Market that you have made of Crowned Heads.

Having destroyed positive Institution both Civil and Sacred, you have no other Property than that which moral Rectitude, or an Usurp'd Authority can secure you in ; but as you have managed the Matter, you cannot depend upon either of these. For,

First, You have been unanimous in doing by God and your King, as you would not be done by. Therefore, which of you can expect a better Usage at the Hand of another. And then,

Secondly, An Usurped Authority will never bind the Consciences of *Christian Men*, because it is not the Authority *that you are to obey for the Lord's Sake* : And whenever an Usurper prevents your breaking in upon each others Properties, it is not to prevent your being devoured one of another, but that he may have the Devouring of you ; for it has been hardly known that the Upholders of an Usurpation, have paid any thing less than all that they had for it.

An Usurper never expects that his Usurpation should continue any considerable time, for the Ordinary Method of the Divine Providence, has been to restore the Heir, to his own sooner or later : Therefore all Usurpers enrich themselves, and their own Creatures, at the Cost of those that submit to their Usurpation, and proving the *Sherks* of those Nations that are so unhappy as to submit to them ; they take away *Legs* and *Arms* at their going off, so that your Fence is down, and nothing can prevent all things being in common, but the Restoration of your Lawful King, which will restore things to their Ancient and happy Form again.

You all know, that St. *Paul* in his Second Epistle to the *Romans*, did previously condemn your Revolution, therefore you never approve it by Word or Deed, but you sin against the Light of Faith, which by the greater Number of the most learned Divines, is concluded to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, *which the most undoubted Authority has assured you, will not be forgiven in this World, nor in that to come.*

You have condemned the Assertors of St. *Paul's* Doctrines as Enemies and Traytors, to *Church* and *State*, in asserting them. Is not this an Accusation against that great Apostle, of teaching what you have lately call'd High-Treason ?

son? but can that be a *Christian* Church, which the Doctrines of an Apostle of *Jesus Christ* can be injurious to? or can that State be composed of *Christian* Men, that cannot bear to hear the Doctrines of *Jesus Christ*? No, it seems the highest Affront to Almighty God, that such a Church or such a Nation, should be numbered with *Christian* Churches or *Christian* Nations.

Upon a little Reflection it will appear to you, that there is a Blasphamy in the Revolution Principles, and consequently that the Abettors of it are Blasphemers.

You may think this a very severe Assertion, but consider that the Votaries of the Revolution, do tacitly impute Sedition to the Doctrines of *St. Paul*. And is not that an Imputation of Sedition to the Dictates of the Holy Ghost? And that is a Blasphemy for which the Blasphemer, by the Laws of *England*, ought to be bored through the *Tongue* with a burning Iron? But instead of this Punishment, your Revolution has brought forth Acts of *Parliament*, which confirm and propagate that horrid Sin.

An Hereditary Right to the Crown, is the best Expedient for the Peace of the Public, but the Revolution has made the Crown of *England* Elective, and destroyed that Happy Mean to Peace.

Woeful Experience teaches, that an Elective Monarchy is the utter Ruin of the Subject; as appears in the Distracted Kingdom of *Poland*, which is almost destroyed by those Intestine Troubles that are the unavoidable Consequences of their Elections.

Their Case is very bad, but yours will be much worse; for the Elections of that Kingdom are under certain Laws and Restrictions which prevent those Riots, those Tumults, and that Loss of Blood that would otherwise attend them: But you have no Laws to over-rule you in your Elections that are to come; so that Riots and Tumults that cannot end but in the Loss of a great deal of your Blood, will be the unavoidable Consequences of your Elections.

Then there are no other Potentates to dispute the Right of him that shall be so Elected to the Crown of *Poland*; but there are many powerful Princes in *Europe*, who will not so easily part with their Rights to the Crown of *England* as you may imagine, and will undoubtedly give perpetual Disturbance to the Person or Persons, that shall be Elected to their Prejudice: So that your Revolution has Entail'd upon you, and those that may succeed you, Wars both Foreign and Domestick, that cannot end whilst the Kingdom has Men or Money in it.

Some of you may be of Opinion, that your Elections may be managed with more Ease and Safety to the People than is apprehended by others: But if Riots, Tumults and Loss of Blood, do attend your Elections for Members of *Parlia-*

ment, as you know it sometimes does, tho' the manner of those Elections is Regular, what will your and Posterity's Case be when you come into the Field, in a confused Tumultuous way upon the Choice of a King?

Upon such an Occasion there may be many Candidates, each Candidate may have a powerful Party, the Sword will determine your Choice, and support him in the Throne that shall be so Elected; which will entail a Standing Army upon you, that will breath out immediate Destruction to those that happened to be in a different Interest, and load it's Votaries, at long run, with Insupportable Calamities, and here will the Ruin of your unfortunate Nation be compleated.

This being an unavoidable Consequence of the Revolution, who can believe that the Security of your Liberties and Properties are mended by it, You were made to believe that this vast Expence of Blood and Treasure was for Liberty and Property; but it is too evident that there was nothing meant by it. But,

First, The Ruin of Monarchy, And,

Secondly, The Saving of the Heads of a few Popular Traytors, who (by the Laws of *England*) ought to have died for their Endeavours to Destroy the Constitution.

Your Adversaries have promis'd to make the Crown Hereditary again, in the remote Family they invited from *Hanover*, which they would have you believe will Avert the Inconveniences that may attend its being Elective. But,

First, the Principles and Practices of those that promise this, make it appear that they will not endure Monarchy, neither in an Election nor in an Hereditary way; for it is well known to you that they have been Defacing Monarchy these many Years, in order to introduce the *Dutch Form*.

Secondly, It shall appear, before the End of my Letter, that the Deposing of Kings is an Avow'd Principle of theirs; so that if Kingly Government should be continued, yet the King must be brought to their Tribunal to be depos'd when they please, and leave a Vacancy in the Throne, which is to be filled with the Person they shall appoint: So that they can intend nothing by talking of an Hereditary Right but an Amusement to you, whilst they are working the Government into their own Form.

Thirdly, The making it Hereditary, before the Revolution, is Condemned by the strongest solemn Act that can be made, and is Preposterous, because that unhappy Precedent will be a Law to you and your Posterity: for if you had a Right of Deposing one King, and Electing another, in the Year 1688, who can say that the same Right remains not in you? and if you asserted such a Right, then, who can doubt whether you will do the same in time to come? And if that Right be in you, those that succeed to your Estates, will believe that they succeed

ceed equally to the same Right ; so that nothing is more inconsistent with right Reason, than a Belief of the Crown's becoming hereditary in the *Brunswick* Family, unless the Family itself can make it so by a Standing Army.

The few that were principally concerned in the *Revolution*, intended not an Elective Monarchy as it now is ; for their Aim was at the Ruin of Kingly Government : But the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange* defeating that Design, is the Reason why they are fallen into the present Measures, which they will continue till they can trip up the Heels of him whom they have Elected : For their Design in the Beginning was to break the Line of Succession in the Glorious Family of the *Stuarts*, which if they could effect they knew that your whole Constitution would fall after it, and intended to Erect your Government upon a perfect new Plan of their own making, which would make a vast Provision for the few that should be concern'd in it, though it would be the Ruin of the People in general.

As the picking out of one Stone from an Arch, renders it easy to sink the whole Fabrick, so they foresaw that upon the Dissolution of this Fundamental Point, or Basis, of your Constitution, the whole, in a gradual way, may be wrought into the Form that is already in the Idea of the Artificer, for it would give him the *Power over you, that the Potter has over his Clay* ; and your Revolution, as glorious as it seem'd, was nothing less than a Preface to this unhappy Work, in which you and your Posterity will undergo greater Severities than were known to the *Israelites*, in the Captivity of *Babylon*.

As a Decoy to you, they pretend under all this the greatest regard to my Preservation ; but you already see in their Practices, and may perceive in their Principles, that which in a very little time (humanly speaking) will be my Death ; for there is a Royalty in the Church as well as in the State, and the Hand that will Destroy the One, will never be stretched out in the Vindication of the Other ; for it may be a standing Rule to you, that the Enemies of *Monarchy*, will never be very great Friends to *Episcopacy*.

In showing you what an Inundation of *Atheism*, *Deism*, *Infidelity* and *Immorality* came in by the Door, which the *Revolution* opened upon you. I am to tell you,

That it was put to the Vote, in the first *Parliament* which the Prince of *Orange* called, Whether an Oath of Allegiance to him, should be tendered to the People, or not ? Which, after some Debate, was carried in the Affirmative. But the Party that opposed it, finding that they were launched so far into the Deep, as to endanger Me and the State ; they resolved upon a Struggle for keeping our Necks above Water, hoping that God had still a Reserve of Mercy for us, and

would help us to some Expedient by which we might be Saved : For whilst they could preserve a little Life, they conceived some Hopes. So the Question was put, Whether the Oath should be tendered to the *Clergy*, or *Laity* first? Verily believing that if it were proposed to the *Clergy* first (which was the Point they endeavoured to gain) that it would be refused by them, and that their Example would have such an Influence upon their *Flocks*, as would render the Vote for the Oath Ineffectual.

They obtain'd a Majority, and believed it would prove a great step to the Retrieving of what they had Lost, by their past Over-sights ; but upon the Tender of the Oath, there were but few of the *Clergy* that had the Courage enough to Refuse it : So the *Shepherds* going quietly through the Gap, the poor *Sheep* unthinkingly followed, not doubting that their Leaders had found out an endless *Paradise* for them.

When the more discerning, had compared this new Oath to the Prince of *Orange*, with that which they had taken to King *James*, it appeared that the *Clergy*, who had unfortunately taken both, were in a manifest Contradiction upon the four *Gospels*.

Upon this general Defection, it began to be question'd, Whether there were more Truth in *Christianity* itself, than appeared in the Unhappy *Ministers* of it? And in a short Time *Religion* and *Religious Men*, were rendered as Odious in every *Tavern* and *Coffee-House*, as the most Satyrical of the *Prophane* Wits could make them.

Though *Dr. Burnet*, and some other Time-serving *Prelates*, had strenuously taught the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, as appears in their Printed Works ; yet, because they had *Resisted*, they delivered the Doctrines of *Resistance* for Sacred Truths, and would have *St. Paul*, and his *Adherents*, to pass for Sowers of *Sedition*.

Many of the younger *Divines* were corrupted, in the *Schools*, by such as the Men of *Loose Principles* had made their *Directors* ; and as *Bishopricks* and *Parsonages* became vacant, those were Preferr'd that could measure their *Doctrines* by the *Will* of him who was call'd their *King* : and whether that Corresponded with the *Will* of God, was no longer the Question : For be that as it would, the *Pulpit* was engaged in the Cause of the *Usurper*, and seem'd resolved to Propagate it, without any regard to the Justice of the Means by which it was to be done.

These *Contradictions* were improved against you, and the *Town* was soon fill'd with *Prophane* Books and *Pamphlets*, that poisoned the growing *Youth* of the Nation, who not only *Ridicul'd* Religion, but made it a part of their Employment, to laugh those out of Countenance that made any mention of it in a serious way.

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The *Clergy* perceiving the shame which they had brought upon themselves, and their *Character* ; they endeavoured to mend the matter by setting up for a *Reformation* of Manners.

To this End, they procur'd *Acts* and *Proclamations* from their pretended *King* and *Parliament* ; but such as knew that they open'd the Gate by which these Calamities came upon you, took it for a *Political* Turn, by which those Temporals were to be saved, that were given as a Consideration for the *Spirituals* that were openly contemned, but this proved a Heightner to the Disgrace which they had brought upon *Religion* before ; and all that was said by them, upon the Subject, was called the *Political Cant* of Religious Cheats, who would *bugbear* the World into an Intolerable Servitude.

To this another Calamity succeeded ; for the greatest Artist in all Evil, suggested to the Men in Power, a Necessity for Qualifying such as were to Preach, to practice Physick, or be concerned in many other Employments, by taking Oaths upon the four *Gospels* that were directly contrary to the Oaths which they had taken before : By this the roaring Lion was let loose upon you, and he began to devour at a great Rate : For, under these deplorable Circumstances, it could not be supposed, that the Concern of the Clergy for your Souls could be very great, since they could surrender their own in this unfortunate way ; nor can it remain a Wonder why great Numbers die of the Doctor ; for he that can kill his own Soul, that he may practice Physick, it is to be feared will have no other regard to the Life of your Bodies, than what his Credit in the Practice of it shall require.

You are now driven to this *Dilemma*, Swear or Swear not : If you Swear you kill the Soul, and if you Swear not, you kill the Body, in the loss of your Bread. A false Oath upon the *Gospels*, is become as Light a Matter as a Word in Course ; and the time is come in which a Man's Property may be sworn away for a few Shillings : So that you have but little Remedy left, in any of your pretended Courts of Judicature, against the greatest Wrongs that can be done to you. These are the Liberties, and these the Properties that were secured to you, by the *Revolution*.

I must remind you again of the Reproach you brought upon yourselves, from all Nations, and the Injuries you did to the Christian Religion, by the Contradictions that occurred to you upon the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, now your King.

The Prince's Birth had the Clearest and Strongest Proof that ever was made of any Birth before, or since that time ; The Oaths of a great Number of the best Quality in the Kingdom, who were then present, were recorded in the Court of Chancery ; where they are to be seen at this Day. The Prince was
Acknowledged

Acknowledged by the King and Queen ; All *Europe* acknowledged his Birth, and Congratulated the King upon it ; All the Clergy of the Kingdom, the Lords, the Commons, Grand-Juries, Counties, Corporations, Burroughs, and the *Dissenters*, under every Denomination, addressed the King upon it ; and (with the rest of the People) call'd Heaven and Earth to Evidence the Sincerity of those Joys which they Express upon the Birth of the Prince.

All the Clergy, in their respective Parish Churches, Prayed for six Months, with their Congregations, in the most solemn Manner, that the Prince might Live to fill the Throne of his Ancestors. But the Royal Family was no sooner Driven from its own Country, but the Prince's Birth was called in question, and a Perfidious Fellow Employed in writing the Warming-Pan Story ; which was Printed and Scattered about the Kingdom to poison the Lower Degrees of Men, with whom every Lie against the Royal Family pass'd, at that time, for a sacred Truth ; but Infinite Justice Remarkably exerted itself, in making that very Story the Occasion of many severe Whippings to its Author, in *Bridewell* ; and that by the Order of a pretended Parliament of the Prince of *Orange's* calling, though it was their Cause that the Story was contrived for ; as if the Divine Goodness had directed those his most Inveterate Enemies, to Confirm that Birth which they began to call in Question. And it pleas'd God, in the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel*, that the same Party gave a further Confirmation of it, by the Mouths of Mr. *Stanhope*, *Parker*, and others, who declared, *That if the Doctrines of Hereditary Right were true, that the Queen had no Right ; because her Brother then had a Right before her ;* and since that, his Birth has been acknowledged by all Mankind.

Could there be a greater Affront offered to Almighty God, than that of Imploping (in his Sacred Temples) with Hands and Eyes uplift, Blessings with your Mouths, upon a Family which you were then Cursing in your Hearts ; as appear'd immediately after, by your running to Arms and Slander, to destroy their Persons and Credit. What was this but a bringing the Divine Capacity to the Human Standard ? Or Endeavouring at least to convince the World, that the Heart of Man was not known to him that made it ? Or, as if Words without Meanings could tickle the Ear of Almighty God as they sometimes do the Ears of Deluded Mortals.

When this Account of you shall reach the Ears of the Pagan or *Mahometan* World, will it not make them abhor the Name of *Jesus*, on Account of these sinful and unprecedented Contradictions that Appear in you, who call yourselves his *Disciples* : If this had been the Spirit of the Primitive Christians, the Name of *Jesus* would hardly have been known to the Second Generation : For such a
Stain

Stain as you have incurred, would have spoiled their Credit with the unconverted.

Your Credit, indeed, may not suffer so much in After-Generations, for when your Story shall be Transmitted to them, they will never believe that their Fathers were so Impolitick, and so Impious, unless you entail a string of Curses upon them, by your Perseverance in Sin, that shall abundantly convince them of the Truth of it.

Others are astonished at your celebrating the Thirtieth of *January*, whilst you Persist in those very Principles and Practices that occasion'd its Solemnity. You are equally concerned in the Shame which that Day gives to your Enemy, for though it tells them that they did Murder King *Charles*, yet it does not spare to tell you, that you would have Murdered King *James*; and leaves you without Argument, against the Rebellious Spirit that possesses your most Inveterate Adversary. Nor can you ever Reproach those of the *Romish* Religion with the Deposing Doctrine, till you have convinc'd the World (by a Return to your Duty) of your being in Repentance for putting that very Principle in practice.

The Prince of *Orange* having already accounted to Almighty God for the Facts of his Time; I shall instance no more of them to you, than may be necessary to convince you of the Truth of what I have advanced, relating to the Loss of your Liberties, and the Artifice of those by whom you have been deluded, from the Beginning of the *Revolution* to this Day.

The Prince of *Orange* protested in his Declaration, printed at his coming into *England*, that he came not to take the Crown from his Father, but to settle him in Peace upon the Throne: But it is too well known to you, that he did take the Crown, and punish'd most with Prisons, all with double Taxes, and many with Death, that refused to forfeit that Fidelity which was due from them to his Father; and was so far from settling him in Peace upon his Throne, as that he turn'd him out of his own House in the Dead of Night, stept into his Throne, and kept him thence, (with Sword and Gun) to the Day of his Death.

To please you, he promised to protect me, and in order to it, forced my Head from my Body, wounded me by all the Ways in his Power, severely persecuted the few of you that firmly adhered to me, and precipitated you into a Rebellion against me, which you now feel the dire Effects of.

He promised to prove, that the Prince of *Wales* was an Impostor, but you know, that the only Step that was ever taken towards that, was the Warmingpan Story of *William Fuller's*, which (as I have already said) was exploded in the last of his own pretended Parliaments; and its Author (the Justice of God would have

have to be sentenced, even by them for whose Cause it was contrived) to a severe Whipping in *Bridewell* for it.

These Untruths are too evident to be controverted, and the rest of his Declaration was as false ; yet this Man was made your Idol, and you were then so delirious, as to think your Civil and Sacred Rights well secured to you, under the Guardianship of him who had never performed the least of those Promises which he had made to you, and from whose Mouth you had never heard one Word of Truth, and were deluded by a Number of Falshoods, that would have ruined the Reputation of any Man then living, but his, and would have destroy'd his too, had you not before forfeited the Divine Favour, by which you might have discern'd his Treachery, and the Calamities that he and his Creatures had wheel'd you into.

At his deplorable Accession to the Crown, he took down the Tax that was upon Chimnies, to catch your Affections ; but he led you into a War immediately, under the pleasing Pretext of advancing the Trade and Tranquility of the Nation : When the true Intent of it was, the supporting himself in the Throne, and the enriching and making Conquest for the *Dutch*, at your Cost : And the Abatement of Chimney-Money, was only a Political Bait for your Affections, which being thus caught, rendered him capable of Bridling and Sadling, and Riding you to Death.

Your Lands were immediately taxed to one Fifth of their Revenue ; Food and Raiment were taxed ; Virginity was taxed ; Wedlock was taxed ; your Children and Servants were taxed ; a Tax reached the very Womb and the Grave ; every Birth was paid for, and the Dead themselves could not escape it : Nor was there any Degree or State of human Life excluded. A Tax reached the very Heavens, for you had no Light through a Window, but what was paid for ; and more Money was raised, under his Usurpation of thirteen Years, than was raised for all the Kings of *England* from the Conquest to his Time ; yet he pawned the very Jewels of the Crown for Money, robbed the Royal Palaces, stripped them to the bare Walls, and carried their Hangings to his House at *Loo* ; and at his Death left a very great Debt upon the Nation, and bequeathed to you a Foreign Family, to pick up those Remains of Money that are yet amongst you : And all this you seem to undergo with Pleasure under an Usurpation ; when a trifling Tax upon Chimnies, which was levied by a lawful Authority, seemed to you an insupportable Calamity.

Besides, the War which he had engaged you in, poured out your Blood like Water, filled your Parish Books with the Widows and Orphans of the Slain, and

has tied you to a Conflict with other Nations, that will not end till the next Generation, unless Poverty puts a Period to it, or the Divine Mercy shall interpose, and settle you upon the ancient Foundation, by restoring his Anointed, and your lawful King, to you ; which is the only Remedy that is left, against the Destruction of one of the bravest Kingdoms in the World.

What a Breach did the Prince of *Orange* make upon your Privileges, by that horrid Massacre (which was committed by his Order, given under his Hand and broad Seal) upon the Body of *Macdonald*, Laird of *Glencoe*, with the rest of his Clan ; and that after they had submitted to him, and thought themselves in the utmost Security, from the Indemnity they had accepted, which he proposed to them by Proclamation.

First, It was a most perfidious Act in him, after he had taken them into his Protection, to order, that they should be fallen upon in cold Blood, murdered in their Beds in the Dead of Night, their Houses plundered by those that did it, and then burnt to the Ground.

Secondly, It was the most absolute Breach that could be made upon the Liberty of the People ; for if they had done any Thing contrary to Law, they should have been tried by the Law for it, and if any Thing worthy of Death, the Law should have inflicted it upon them ; but the Usurper resolv'd that they should die, and because there was no Law by which their Lives could be taken from them (their reputed Crime being nothing but an Acknowledgment of their Duty to their lawful King, in opposing the Usurpation) this Cruelty was exercised upon them, without any Regard to those Souls, which should have had Time to have asked the Divine Mercy, before they had been forced out of their Bodies, or to the Widows and Orphans of the Slain, who perished in the Snows that fell, after their poor little Dwellings were destroy'd by the Fire of their barbarous Enemy.

This Breach upon your Liberties, it might have been supposed, would have convinced you of that Prince's Insincerity, of a more cruel Disposition being in him than does appear in the most savage Creatures, under the Make of Mankind, and of a stronger Tendency towards Tyranny, than appears in any of the most absolute Princes in the World : For in all the World, this Age has afforded nothing like it ; and the *Pagan* Emperors were not so arbitrary, nor so cruel, in grinding the Primitive Christians to Death, with the Teeth of Lions, for in that they did nothing contrary to the Laws of their Time ; and their Captains knew their Doom before their Death, and could prepare for a State of Bliss : But in this Case, the Hand that kill'd the Body, might kill the Soul together with it, which is a Punishment that a Man would believe could not be offer'd by any but the common Enemy of Mankind.

Yet, to save the Credit of him whom you had placed on the Throne, you smother'd this black Deed, as if you had consented to the Loss of those Advantages that used to flow from the Laws of the Land to the Subjects; and had surrendered yourselves and your Posterity to the same Cruelties, when it should please that merciless Prince, or any Successor of his, by this Precedent, to inflict them upon you.

If a Lawful Prince had laid but his Finger upon you, in such an Illegal Way, it is not to be doubted but you would have made the whole Earth to have heard of it, and it may be, have depos'd him too; when the unwarrantable Murders committed by this Usurper seem'd not to deserve your Notice.

The numerous Colony of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that went with their Effects for *Darien*, had Orders with them, under the Hand and Broad Seal of the Prince of *Orange*, to all your Forts, Towns, Factories and Plantations, in their way thither, to afford such Refreshments as they should require: But that Prince treacherously dispatch'd a single Vessel, which arriv'd before them at the Places they were to be reliev'd from, with Orders of a later Date, that they should be treated as Enemies, if they should put into either of them for Refreshment.

After some Sail, their Water fail'd them, and the Place they requir'd fresh Water from, turn'd its Guns against them, and they retir'd in Astonishment: At length, most of their Provisions fail'd, they sought Relief in many Places, but were every where treated as Enemies: A terrible Famine ensu'd, which destroy'd some Thousands. The Fleet with it's Dead perish'd, and the very few that survived, had endur'd the same Fate, if a happy Wind had not cast them upon the Coast of *Norway*, of which small Number the present Mr. *Patterson*, of *Queen's Square, Westminster*, was one, but his Lady perish'd.

Had these unfortunate People been of any other Nation, in Friendship with you, what they required could not have been refused them; and if they had been of a Nation at Enmity with you, the worst that would have been done to them, would have been the seizing of their Shipping and Effects, with Confinement to their Persons, yielding them the Conveniences of Life till they could be redeemed; it being against the Laws of Nature and Nations that any should be starv'd to Death.

But these were called the Subjects of him that wore the Crown of *England*; yet he depriv'd them of the Natural Conveniences of Life, and destroy'd their Civil Rights which entitled them to such Refreshments as those in the same Subjection could afford them, and to doom them to so severe a Death, without the Proof or Imputation of the least Offence committed by them, when the greatest Offender is entitled to the Benefit of those Laws that require his Obedience, is

not only as great a Cruelty as ever was committed, but such a Breach of Privilege, as none but himself dared to attempt, nor he neither, upon any other People than those he had betrayed into a most destructive Rebellion, in which you seemed unwilling to see your Danger, and to make it your Choice to perish in the Dark, rather than to receive those Rays of Light that might direct you to a way by which you might be saved.

You all know, that Sir *John Fenwick*, was in the most Despotick Manner deprived of his Natural Right (as an *English* Man) who had his Life taken away without any Legal Proof of his being guilty of the Crime of which he was accused; and in so Arbitrary a manner, that the very Persons whom the Prince of *Orange* had engaged, by Money and Promises, to Vote him to Death, dreaded its Consequences to them, and their Posterity; and therefore Enacted it immediately, that it should never be a Precedent in time to come.

Now, whether Sir *John* was guilty or not, was not the thing that you were to Question, he being before his reputedly proper Judges, whose Judgments in the Case was to be measured by the Laws of the Land: But the Question, whether he was condemn'd by Law or not, so nearly concerned every *English* Man, as to require the Inspection of the meanest Subject, whose Life, an Ill Precedent might subject to the Will of the Usurper?

The Act that immediately ensued against its being brought into a Precedent, tells the World that their Proceedings were against the Laws of the Land, and consequently Perilous, and equally so to every *English* Man..

What a Man would suspect the least of any thing, was your being brought to believe that this Act against its being a Precedent, would preserve you and your Posterity from the like Injustices, in time to come; for if they could break through the whole Body of your Laws, in the Destruction of that Gentleman, Can it be supposed, that others of equal Authority, that may succeed them, will be bound by this single Act, when all the Laws of *England* could not bind them?

When it shall be considered, that the Laws which they violated were given by indisputable Authorities, and that this Act (in which you hope) was made by an Illegal Assembly, and never had the Royal Assent, without which it has no Sanction, nor can never be a Law that will bind any Man's Conscience; it will appear that there is nothing but Moral Rectitude to restrain you from the like Barbarities, when you have a mind to commit them upon one another: And I have already shew'd in part, that you have but little reason to depend upon the *Morality* of each other.

By Sir *John's* Case, it may appear to you, that Innocency will save no Man, for every Man is innocent in the Eye of the Law, till Guilt be prov'd as shall be requir'd in *Law*: No such Proof was made upon Sir *John Fenwick*, your *Laws* therefore declar'd him Innocent, but it was the Will of the Usurper that he should Die, and you consented therefore to his Death.

By this it appears, that you have given up the Laws that should bind the Men in Power; so that it is only for them to say that this Man shall Die, and the other shall have his Estate taken from him, upon no other Reason, than that of its being their Will that it should be so, and that it must be complied with: For you consented to the Usurper's breaking your Fence, and nothing but your Lawful King can repair it.

From hence, Judge whether that Usurper was the faithful Steward of the Subjects Liberty, as you were made to believe he would be? Or Question rather, whether he has not been that Thief to the Publick, as to have robb'd it of its Blood, of its Treasure, and of all its Sacred and Civil Rights? And be the Consequences of this Pernicious Precedent what they will to You, or your Posterity, you are to account for them, for there will not be a Drop of Blood spilt by it, but what will prove to be the Natural Result of your Resistance in the Revolution; this very Precedent being a Consequence of it: So that if any of you Die by it, your own Blood will be upon you, and such of your Posterity as may loose their Lives by it, will accuse you in Judgment, of so many Murders committed upon their Bodies.

There are at this Day some Gentlemen in *Newgate*, as *Meldrum*, *Barnardy*, and others, who were committed to that Prison by the Prince of *Orange's* Order, as Persons concern'd in the Assassination Plot, but nothing was ever prov'd against them, nor have they been brought to Trial, in the Nineteen Years that they have been Imprisoned.

They Petition'd for Trial many Times, earnestly begging that if they had done any Thing worthy of Death, that they might Die, rather than be continued in the many Miseries of a Perpetual Imprisonment; but if they had done nothing worthy of Death, or Bonds, or other Corporal Pains, that they might be Acquitted, according to the Direction of the Laws of *England*: They having an Indispensible Right to the Thing Requir'd, being born in Subjection to the Laws of the *English* Nation.

Notwithstanding, they are committed to *Newgate*, to this Day, against the Fundamental Laws of *England*, and for no other Reason than that of its being the Will of the Usurper that it should be so. Yet you are still so Delirious as to believe that an Arbitrary Power was never known to the *English* Nation since

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell, and that you are, and have been, in the full Possession of your Liberties and Properties, and of all Rights (both Civil and Sacred) from the Revolution to this Day.

This has not yet had your Notice, tho' there is nothing that more nearly concerns you ; for these Gentlemen are Members of the Common Body, and what injures them, as they are such, must affect you ; for the Privileges that are taken from them, the same Power may take from any of you when it pleases. Therefore this Injustice offer'd to them may be of terrible Consequence to you ; for by this very Precedent, any of you may be dragg'd from your Business, driven from your Families, and shut up for your Lives in this Tyrannical way, when it shall please an Usurper to sport himself in your Destruction.

The Republican Spirit that did this, prevails now, and has pretty well proved that you are to have no Mercy at the Hands of those which it possesses : So that when the Party has added sufficiently to its present Power, you that cannot come into these Measures, may very well expect that this unhappy Precedent shall lead you into the same Slavery.

I know that you depend upon your Number, but if the Number of those that are of you, were ever so much greater than it is, it may be reduc'd by a Handful of Resolute *Whigs*, without much Difficulty, if the same want of Courage and Conduct should attend you that has attended you hitherto.

Most certain it is, that if a lawful King were to imprison any of you, in this unwarrantable way, (under a full Cry of your Liberties and Properties being in Danger) you would go near to lay the Place of Confinement to the Ground ; but under an Usurpation you tamely consent to it, tho' you and your Posterity are threatned by it with the same Injustice, when it shall be the Will of the Usurper to inflict it upon you ; for if these Things have been Done, and are still Continued (as will appear to any that will but ask for the Persons, in their way through *Newgate*) ; Why should you, who are as hateful to the present Ministry as those Suffering Gentlemen, expect any thing better ? They are Subjects, and were born such, as well as you : Their Protection by Law, they have as good a Right to as you have : But if their Innocency, with the Laws of the Land, could not fence them from this Cruelty, you have but little reason to expect that the same Plea should save you.

The Prince of *Orange* was so regardless of his Future State, as to sign the *Abjuration Act* in the very Hour of his Death, and after his Death, an Instrument was found in his Strong Box, by which it appear'd that if he had lived three Weeks longer, the late Queen had been committed to the Tower of *London*.

don, and her Life taken from her in a short time after, as the present *John How*, Esq; particularly affirm'd, having seen the Instrument.

The Parliament that was then sitting, appointed a Day for his coming to the Bar of the *Commons-House*, to receive the Sentence of that Assembly, if he could not prove the Truth of this Assertion; but they found, before the Day came, that he was capable of making his Allegation good. All Proceedings therefore were dropp'd, that this very dark Account of the Prince of *Orange* might not reach the Ear of the Publick.

Those who had the Administration of Affairs at that time, assured the Queen, that it would be her Interest that the utmost Respect should be paid to the Memory of the Prince of *Orange*, and Advised her therefore to require Mr. *How's* Silence, and under their Precaution this Black Deed was smother'd.

It appears that these Abominable Actions were to cut Off King *James* for ever, from his own Inheritance, and to destroy the late Queen, that there might not remain a *Stuart* upon Earth, to Interpose between the Throne and the Foreign Family that now fills it.

Then as if the People had not done enough, by the False Oaths they had taken before to destroy them Eternally, this Oath of Abjuration was Added, by which the People should be obliged, upon the Four Gospels, to Forswear and Renounce him for ever whom the Lord had anointed their King, and from whom therefore they had no right of giving their Allegiance to any other Person or Persons whatsoever.

Having provided thus against your Eternal Happiness, he seem'd Resolv'd not to be wanting, in his Endeavours against your Temporal Happiness also, for he would deprive you of a *Stuart* for your King, as if it were in contradiction to the Divine Providence which placed that Family over you, to make you the happiest People upon Earth: For it has been a Family without Fraud. The Breast of every Branch of it that God hath given to you, has been replenish'd with Mercy: They ruled without Deceit, and were so tender of the Subjects Blood as to spare that of their known Enemies, to their own Misfortune, and still made the Peoples Good preferable to their own; and it may be observed that in all the World there has not been one Family in which many Branches have Inherited that Probity, that open and unmixt Honesty, as have Illustrated the Family of the *Stuarts*, in every Branch of it, that has sat in the Throne of *England*.

Then, to fill the measure of your Misfortunes, and to make your Destruction sure, he endeavoured to make the Crown Elective, as if it were on purpose to

to put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment, by which it should destroy itself.

It is very much to find Men (as you may some at this Day) of Opinion that the Prince of *Orange* was a Favourer of Religion, and particularly of that which you are of: For if the Actions of a Man are the Index of his Mind, it must appear to you that it was Indifferent to him whether it were the *Jewish*, the *Christian*, or the *Mahometan* Religion that should prevail: But among *Christian* Societies, he had the strongest Tendencies towards that of *Geneva*; for in that he had his Education; And to show that his Education had some Influence upon his Actions, he destroyed *Episcopacy* first in *Scotland*, as is very well known to you. And to do the same by it in *England*, he had New Oaths Coined for the *Episcopal* Clergy, which he thought they would never take. So their non-compliance was to be a Reason for their Deprivation, and the vacant Livings were to be filled by the Enemies of *Episcopacy*, who (as is well known) would not have hesitated at any Oath that could be Coin'd for them, by the way of a Qualification for those Preferments.

But when this Design was defeated, by the unexpected Compliance of the *Clergy*, an Act of Occasional Conformity was Coin'd, which was to Qualify your Enemies, by a Strain of the Conscience, if Conscience they had, for Places of Honour, Trust and Advantage, that your known Enemies, in Conjunction with your pretended Friends, might do that by *Episcopacy*, in a gradual way, which he endeavour'd to do before at one Blow.

This Design was not perfected in his Time, but it has entail'd an *Hypocrisy* upon the Kingdom that has advanc'd the Work, and may compleat it in this Generation, with the Help of that Occasional Conformist whom you have Elect-ed to the Throne, unless you endeavour'd to Exchange him, for the only Heir Male that is left of a Family, by whom the Experience of several Reigns will tell you, that you were never doubly dealt with.

I would speak with the utmost Caution of the Dead, every Man having as good a Right to his Credit, when Dead, as if he were Living. Therefore what is said of the Prince of *Orange*, it would have been my Choice to have forbore, that his Crimes might have been buried with his Body: But I am conscious of the least Injustice done to his Memory, in any thing I have Recounted; and since I found it absolutely necessary to remind you of the things I have instanc'd to you, and consequently in my Duty towards God, if they had been omitted.

The Matters of Fact are too well known to you, to admit of the least Doubt of their being true, the Conclusions from them are Natural, and I dare say that my Reader will not believe, that they are forced, or too far fetched.

The late Queen, finding the Restoration of Her Brother impracticable, at the Death of the Prince of *Orange*: She took the Administration of Affairs upon Her, hoping thereby that it would please God to make her instrumental in His Restoration, and in restoring to you their Liberties, and Properties, Tranquillity to me, and you to the Obedience that was due from you to your Lawful King, without which She foresaw that you could never be a happy People; but being plunged into a War, She found the Restoration a Work of more Difficulty than she imagin'd.

Then the Regard which appeared in all Her Actions to a Publick Good, engaged the Affections of the People to Her, even to Her own Disappointment; for She found that another Obstacle to the Work that She had at Heart.

Your Adversaries perceiving, that the Queen made my Interest much more Her Care than was Consistent with the Establishment of their Republican Schemes, they labour'd incessantly to incline Her to their Measures, which they had disguised so, as to bring Her to a Belief of their being sincere Espousers of me and of the State.

The Queen doubted not its being as fully intended by you, who were then distinguished from them, by the Tory Character; yet as your Means to that End were not the same with theirs, they had gained Her Belief of the Means which they would make use of, to be the Product of a more certain and better concerted Policy.

The Credit of their Scheme therefore prevailed with Her, till that time that Dr. *Sacheverel*, Mr. *Higgins*, and others, had Courage and Christianity enough to revive the Antient and Apostolick Doctrines of Passive Obedience.

The Ministry of that time, compos'd of Christian Men, if their own Words may be taken for it, resolv'd to try Dr. *Sacheverel*, as a Malefactor, for delivering the Doctrines of *Jesus Christ*, and could think of nothing less than a severe Punishment for him, for delivering the Avow'd Doctrines of that Church of which he was a Minister, and of which they pretended to be Members.

They obliged him to considerable Bail for his Liberty, in short, they brought me to a Trial, in the Person of the Doctor; and in Thirteen Bishops, Seven, with the Majority of that Assembly voted me to Three Years Silence, and in all likelihood would have voted me to Death, if the awakened Multitude had not made an unexpected Appearance in my Favour.

The Queen being present at the Trial, she there heard the Mouths of *Prelates* deny the Doctrines which they had strenuously Taught, and inculcated on Pain
of

of Damnation. There she heard me reviled, and saw me treated, by my pretended Patriots, with more Contempt than the most inveterate of my declared Enemies would have offered at.

This happy Incident unfolded the Curtain, and displayed to Her their whole Mystery of Iniquity, and convinced Her of my pretended Friends, being the most dangerous Enemies that I had to Encounter: which occasioned the Change that ensued, in most of the Offices of the Kingdom, to which a Peace succeeded, and suspended the total Destruction of this impoverished Kingdom for a time.

The Queen inclin'd all the Southern Princes of *Europe* to Peace, upon which the Ejected Party insulted Her, as if she had been the Common Enemy of Mankind, in preserving the Human Blood that would have been lost in a War, and the greatest Enemy to the *English* Nation, in preserving, by the Peace, those small Remains of Money that were yet amongst you.

The *English* of their Outcry against the Peace, runs thus: The Peace was not of their making, and their Hand in it was the only Ingredient that was wanting to make it a Safe and an Honourable Peace. Had they been concerned in the making it, the Queen might have been now living. That blood which is threatened by a secret Committee would have been spared; and the same Peace would have been approved, by the Party that now talk of nothing but Gibbets and Scaffolds for every one that had a Hand in it.

They Incessantly Petitioned the Queen, that the King (whom they had acknowledged to be Her Brother, in Her own hearing, at the Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*) should be driven from *Lorrain*; and at Her Request too, that he might feel a Want of all the Conveniences of Life, unless the Laws of Hospitality, should constrain some distant Prince to communicate them to him: And continually press'd Her to this Cruel and Unnatural Action against Her own Brother, as if it were on purpose to make Her detestable to God and Man, in showing that she had no Remains of Nature, and was capable of exercising a Cruelty against him, which, the bare Relation of, would draw Commiseration from the hardest Heart in the World, excepting that of a Whig.

They were continually affronting the Queen, by the Injuries which they offered every Day to Her Brother, and in the Stain they would have obliged Her to bring upon Her Personal Credit.

It is not hard to find a Reason, either true or false, for the foulest Action; so they falaciously pretended the securing of Religion, Liberty and Property, by this Barbarity; but it was well known to them, that they had exchanged all these for *Dutch* Kings, in the *Revolution*: So that this Cruelty seemed to be level-

led at the Queen's Credit, and to be persisted in, that they might have a King of their own making, though they loose their Liberties and Properties by it, rather than to have one of God's giving.

The Queen not countenancing these shocking Petitions, their Cry was, that she and Her Ministry were consenting to the Restoration of Her Brother: Nor would any thing less appease them, than the Queen's offering a Sum of Money for his Blood; which she was advised to do, to wipe of the Calumny that came plentifully upon Her, from the Mouth of every Whig.

The same Disposition they Imputed to the Parliament, which extorted from them an Offer of 100,000 Pounds for the Life of their King.

In all this they have treated the King, as if his being born of the Queen's Body had been in his own Election, and his Birth an Injury to them of his Directing; or as if he deserved to be Murdered by the Hands of Ruffians, for refusing to quit his just Pretensions to his own Property.

If he is to be Murdered thus, because he refuses to give up his Right to his own Dominions, Do they not deserve to be knock'd at Head, because they'll not give up their Estates to the Needy? When they have convinc'd the World of the one's being Reasonable, it is not to be doubted but the Needy will soon find the other to be so too, and quickly dispatch them all by a Law of their own making.

By way of Reprisal, the King or any other Person may offer Money for their Heads; and since the World does not want Men that will do any thing for Money, if such an Offer were made, a few Months would clear the Kingdom of them and their Posterity.

This Inconveniency occurred to their Recollection, and then they mitigated the Matter, by ordering that the Money should be for His Life, in case He Entered His own Dominions; but in this case the Danger returns: For if their Servants, in measuring by their Standard, should say (when any one of them Approaches his own) *This is the Heir, come let us kill him, that the Inheritance may be ours*; a short time would send them all into another World, and their own Blood would abate their Thirst after the Blood of Crown'd Heads.

They would doom Servants, under such a Combination, to the Halter, so that their Merit might be guess'd at without much Difficulty, by their own Reckoning.

Had they not forgotten the great Law *of doing as they would be done by*, and blow'd their own Passions, till their whole Party was Involved in a Destructive Phrenzy, they would never have given a Precedent, by which the Needy may warrant all the Murders that can be committed upon them and their Posterity.

Besides,

Besides, this very Precedent calls upon every Man to arm against a Whig, and at long run must call the very Whigs themselves upon the Guard against one another, for when Men are in the way of bidding Money for the Blood of one another, a short time would reduce the World to its Primitive State, of having but one Man in it: The Distinction of Whig and Tory would expire, and the strongest Man would take all, and there would be the Destruction of that Fence by which the weaker are secured from the strong.

It is very remarkable that the Whigs, who have gone thus far in taking down the common Partition, should be in perpetual Outcry for the Preservation of Liberty and Property, when nothing is more evident than the Impossibility of any Man's enjoying a Property in any thing, if their Principles and Practices should be Marks for other Men's Imitation; and this being a Consequence of the *Revolution*, you may perceive by this, and what has been already said, by how many different ways your Religion, your Liberties and Properties are endangered by it.

I know they affirm that the Laws of the Land has destroyed the King's Inheritance on the Account of his Religion; and that He pretends a Right therefore to what is none of his. But,

First, You know that by the Fundamental Laws of *England*, the only Right to the Crown is in him, and in no other Person till his Death: And that there was never any thing called a Law, in *England*, before the Usurpation of the Prince of *Orange*, that cut off the Heir from the Crown, on the Account of Religion; unless it were an Act of *Oliver Cromwell's* against the Royal Family, whose Acts you never numbered with the Laws of the Land.

Secondly, When this Act of the Prince of *Orange's* was made, you had no King in *England*, and consequently no Parliament legally Assembled. Therefore their Acts became void in themselves, they being made by no better Authority than *Oliver Cromwell's* was, and could not exclude him therefore, nor bind you or your Posterity. And,

Thirdly, If the Administration of that Time had been Legal, yet I could not make Laws against a Divine Right that could bind the Consciences of Christian Men; for when Human Laws are so manifestly repugnant to the Laws of God, they become void in themselves, because you are bound to obey God before all Things.

The Right of the Crown is divine, therefore whatever Laws are made to its Prejudice, or to the Predjudice of him in whom that Right centers, are the highest Breach upon the Prerogative of God, and consequently a Renunciation of

the Divine Authority. Therefore the Observers of that Pretended Law are in open Rebellion to the King of Kings.

Then if Religion (by this pretended Law) shall destroy the King's Property, the same Law will equally affect the Properties of all the People that differ in Principles with those that made it. Whig and Tory differ in one very considerable Point in Christian Doctrine, if not in more. This pretended Law was made by the Whigs. Therefore, if it be a Law, the Properties of all the *Tories*, *Papists*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, &c. are forfeited to the *Whigs*, and are held by their Courtesy only ; and if you should ever get the Ascendant over them, this is a Precedent by which you may make a Law that shall bring them under the same Forfeiture : So that it is of as pernicious Consequence to the Makers of it, as to the present Sufferers by it.

You have join'd with the *Whigs*, in the Argument they built upon this pretended Law, which speaks out your Approbation to it ; so that when they shall use it against you, or you against them, which is neither impossible, nor altogether improbable, each Party, in its Turn, must submit to its Fate, under the Reproach and sad Remembrance of *Perillus's* dying, in the Body of that *Bull of Brass*, which he had made for the Death of others : Your Case being a Parallel to his, and this Calamity also is a Consequence of the Revolution.

So vast a Sum of Money had not been offer'd for the King's Blood, had it not been very well known, to those that extorted the Offer, that he was their King ; so that tho' they extorted from you an Offer of Money for the Blood of your King, yet they brought out of you a Proof, by it, of his being your King, tho' it was in a very unusual Way.

The *Whigs* were still implacable, and gave out, that the Queen and Ministry were then bringing the King upon them, which was another Proof of his Birth, from the Mouths of those that call'd it first in Question ; for if they had not known, that the Queen was assur'd of his being her Brother, and the Ministry of his being their King, what could they think should move them to make him a Way to the Crown, rather than the remotest and the meanest Person in the World ?

At length they hurried the Queen out of the World, and on the Day of her Death the Elector of *Brunswick* was proclaim'd, contrary to all the Fundamental Laws of *England*.

The Sin and the Shame you brought upon yourselves, and the Elector, by it, Time will severely punish ; and the Danger it may occasion to him and his Posterity, (or to such as are said to be his) Time may also convince both him and them, that they have but little Reason to thank you for.

If any Prince abroad should (in his Absence) enter his Town of *Hanover*, and reduce that Country to his Obedience, there is no Doubt but he would cry aloud for Justice, and think himself hardly used by such as should refuse to assist him against so vile an Offender ; and if such an Usurper should vindicate his Usurpation, upon the Plea of an Invitation made him by rebellious Subjects, it cannot be supposed, that the Elector of *Brunswick* would take that for a Reason, why the Usurper should knavishly accept of it, to his Prejudice, since the Invitors invite him to that which is none of their own.

This is the Case between him and your lawful King, and if he has either Religion or Morality, he will decline what he has so sinfully and so shamefully undertaken ; but if he persists in this inhuman Acquisition, it must fully convince you of his being a Man that has no Regard either to Religion or Morality, and if that be the Case, you cannot depend upon him for the Security of your Religion or your Liberties ; for if he continues the Possession of the King's Property, you may be assur'd that he will not spare yours, when he shall be favour'd with an Opportunity of laying his Hand upon it, it not being possible for him to have a greater Dislike to the Person of the King, than he has to the Persons of any of you ; and if ever he quits this Nation, as is his bounden Duty by the Laws of God, of Nature, and Nations, he can never reflect upon what he has done, without Shame, unless his Front comes to that Degree of Hardness, which infernal Assistance gave to *Cromwell* and the Prince of *Orange* ; and the Truth is, it is very much that he can appear amongst Men, since he must believe, that no Man can look him in the Face, without a Thought of his being one of the vilest Things in human Shape, for taking the Crown and Title of the King of *England* upon him.

In this Usurpation he has fallen upon the Properties of above forty Princes, in their Turns, before he can be a Pretender to it ; which (as is already said) has entail'd a perpetual War upon you, which will be commenced as soon as the Affairs of *Europe* are settled, that the Parties concern'd may be the better able to assert their Rights ; and how meanly soever you may think of the Power of each of the injured Princes, yet, when the forces of the King of *Sicily*, the House of *Bourbon*, and the House of *Austria*, and the rest that suffer by it, are cemented together against you, you will find it a Power too strong for you (and the Confederacy you can make) to struggle with ; and if you put them upon a Necessity of reducing you by Conquest, you know (besides the Loss of Blood and Treasure) what a Forfeiture your Liberties and Properties will lie under to the Conqueror.

Besides, this Usurpation has involved you in the Folly of treading the Fence yet lower, which the Laws of God and your Country has made to every Man's Property,

Property, and the Destruction of positive Institution being confirm'd by it, all Things are laid open, and a Man can call nothing his own, but what he has a natural Right in, which are no more than the bare Conveniencies of Life ; for you have unbound the Consciences of Men, and the Hands that were restrain'd by Laws, are now at Liberty.

The Elector of *Brunswick* makes himself an Occasional Conformist for the Crown, which involves him in an Hypocrisy, that should convince you of his being an unsafe Hand, for you to trust with your Liberties and Properties ; for he that parts with his Religion, upon Considerations purely Temporal, cannot be just to God and his own Soul, and you have but little Reason, therefore, to expect that he should be so to you ; and it favours very much of *Morefields*, in any one to imagine, that the Person who parted with the Religion which he knows not, (and therefore made all Religions indifferent to him) should have a greater Regard to yours than to any other ; for as he parted with one Religion for another, to make his Way to the Throne, can it be supposed, that he will not part with that for the Presbyterian, or any other, that, in Process of Time, may seem to give him a better Security in it ?

Besides, you know that he was, at *Hanover*, one of the most absolute Princes in all the World ; and yet he, who never knew any other Law than that of his own Will, must be call'd to the Guardianship of your Liberties and Properties. He who never knew the least Restriction, but had always a Power without any Limitation, must be placed in the Gap, to keep out a Power which it is only supposed might prove absolute ; which is as if the taking one into your House with the Plague upon him, were the best Remedy against that Distemper. But the *English* of this Paradox, is the saving of three or four of the most considerable Miscreants, from the Hands of that Justice which they have offended ; for if the Will of this Usurper from *Hanover*, was the Law of those that inhabit that Country, there is no Doubt but it may be so to you, when the willing Hand has gotten Strength enough to lay its Weight upon you. For (as a Specimen of what you are to undergo) he has laid about you pretty handsomely already ; and the *younger* Gentleman, whom they call his Son, has (through an Infirmary which he is known to have in his Head) declar'd, that if he were King, he would try whether he could not purge the Kingdom of every *Tory* that is in it, within four Months ; so that you will have a fine Time of it, when there shall be nothing but Death or Banishment for you.

I know that your Hope, of being secur'd from all the Evils that you were threaten'd with from the Foreign Family, centers in the Limitation Act ; but the *Whigs* already talk of complimenting him with some Things it binds him from,

from, others he will be sure to ask, and the rest he may then take; so that by their giving, and his taking, he would soon eat his Way thro' that Act; and you cannot well complain, when it shall so happen, for it is well known to you, that the Breaker of it has as good an Authority as the Maker of it had, and may therefore as well break it, as he could make it.

The Head of the illustrious House, by his coming hither, will, at long run, prove himself very wise, or extremely otherwise; for if he be wise, he must know, that his Makers are very well acquainted with the Way, by which a Crown'd Head may be brought to the Block, and he must have learn'd, from their own Mouths, that they place the Power in themselves, of making and un-making Kings, and by a strange Paradox do affirm, that they are the Rulers of him whom they shall Elect to rule them; by which he must perceive, that the Patent they granted him, at his Creation, is made to run during their Pleasure, and that at their Scrutiny, the Question will not be, whether he has behav'd well, but whether he has behav'd as they would have him; that if he makes but the least Trip, down he must go, and that they will soon make him to understand, it had been better for him, and his numerous Issue, to have remain'd in their Security, on the other Side of the Water, than to have invaded the Property of another Prince, at the Hazard of their Lives; and must see (if he knows not himself to be an extraordinary Artist) that it may be a doubtful Case, whether he will play his Game here with better Success than the *Winter King* his *Grandfather* did his, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

Then, if he be Wise, he must know that the most strenuous Assertors of his pretended Right are implacable Enemies to Kingly Government, and therefore cannot long admit of his being King: So that upon the Supposition of his being a wise Man, you have Reason to believe that a Scheme was laid before his coming hither for the raising a Standing Army of *French Hugonots*, and other Foreigners, whom he may rely on for his Establishment, else how can he account to the Family he has brought with him: Since it is evident from *Whig* Principles, that they are invited hither, as tools to work up the Kingdom into the last Disposition towards a Republick, and to be laid aside when the Work is done.

Upon the former Condition of his being Wise, he must know the Parties Reasons for the Murder of King *Charles* the First; for their Attempts to Dethrone King *Charles* the Second, and their Deposing King *James*; and that in Dr. *Sacheverel's* Trial, the Doctrine of Hereditary Right, was the highest of those pretended Crimes for which the Doctor was brought to Trial. Therefore he could not believe them to be in earnest, in their Promise to make the Crown Hereditary, whilst there shall be any of his supposed Issue to succeed it, and must have a

View

View therefore to somewhat more than their Promises for the Security of this Succession, and that in the ordinary Way of thinking, must be an Army of another Nation.

Upon the same Condition he must know, that they will never reverse their old Maxim of *the Voice of the People's being the Voice of God*; and that as they create the King, He, (as their Creature) is to account to them as his Creators; and if he cannot make both Ends of his Account even, and in their way of Reckoning too, he is deem'd a Traitor to the People, that shall dispute their Right of Electing him, or what other they shall think fit, to his Office; as must appear to him in his being on the Throne: This being the Principle that plac'd him there.

These being their Principles, the natural Result of them, are the Conditions upon which he wears the Crown, and if he believes he can support it upon these ticklish Terms, during the Course of his natural Life, it will be a Reason why he should not be number'd among the Wise, for it will prove him extremely otherwise, and that he came into the World with that Infirmary in his Head, which his reputed Son is known to labour under. But if he be a Man of that Sagacity that was imputed to him before you saw him, he has some Assurances of an Army that will nail him to the Throne; which seems highly probable, when the Steps which he has taken are consider'd.

First, He affronted, aspers'd and degraded the best Quality of the Kingdom, and advanced the meanest of your Quality, the vilest and most notorious Rebels to all the Offices of Honour, Trust and Advantage. Their Crimes has made them desperate; and to ward off the Merit of their Personal Offences, it may be their Choice to leave you to the Outrage of a Tyrannical Army, rather than hazard their being deliver'd up to that Justice which they have offended; and thereby lead your Liberties into a Captivity, from which they may not be deliver'd in many Generations.

Then, their Avarice (with their Ambition) may gain their Consent to a Standing Army, to support them in their Posts of Honour and Advantage, and to confirm the Conquest which they have lately made over You.

The *Exchequer* has purchased a Parliament that is to fall in with the Measures of your pretended King and his Ministry; and when the Blood is drawn which they are hankering after, if an Army should be requir'd (under the Pretext of an Invasion) by him that has a Prior Title to the Crown, you have no great Reason to believe that it would be refused; but if they should hesitate upon that Demand, that Treasury that bought a Parliament of the Country, may buy an Army of the Parliament, and when that Bargain is struck, *Dutch Bottoms* can bring in more
Prussians

Prussians and *Hanoverians* (to the *French* you have already) than succeeding Generations may be able to weed out again.

Then, as if it were to facilitate this Design, your pretended King is at present a mere Prostitute to the Direction of a few that are in the most desperate Circumstances ; who, if their Consciences were unburthen'd, would start at the Thought of a Standing Army : But as they are labouring under a Desperate Evil, it may be their Choice to make Use of a Desperate Remedy. And as their pretended King has been very tractable hitherto, it may not seem to them so desperate a Remedy as it may to others ; for they may hope to Govern him and his Army, as he has been Govern'd by them to this Day, and then all will be theirs, even *King, Army, and People* ; which will put a Face upon the Government, that the most Discerning Eye will not be able to distinguish from that of a Commonwealth.

The Army being obtain'd, he may prove a Man of the deep Intellects that were imputed to him ; and (by a Turn of the Tables) make himself as absolute in *England* as he was in *Hanover*, and make them know that made him, that he will Govern them ; and with *Alexander's* Sword, at one Blow, cut through the Knot of those Republican Schemes which will be too hard for him otherwise to untie ; and if all his Compliances, with those that are now of his Council, should be designingly made to counterfeit an Ignorance that may compleat the Project, which is neither impossible nor improbable ; then the Property of *Whig* and *Tory* will fall a Victim to the Avarice of the Army, and its Commander : There will be no Partiality of Affection in the Prince, for (like *Jupiter's Stork*) his Prey will be made upon all that his Hand can reach ; that what you enjoy to Day, may be the Spoil of *Prussian, Hanoverian* or *Hugonot* Plunderers to Morrow, without any Respect to Party or Persons. And if they should imitate the *Danes* of Old, in Ravishing your Wives and Daughters before your Faces, it is hard to know how you will prevent it. For when he has an Army, he may augment it to a Number that shall make you *Hewers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water* ; which deserves the Notice of *Whig* as well as *Tory* ; for the Calamity will be general, and therefore equally affect both.

This Usurpation, if continued, may eclipse the Liberties of all *Europe*, and at the Ruin of this miserable Nation too ; for if your pretended King should think of enlarging his Dominions in *Germany*, he will not come to ask you whether he shall do it at your Cost or not ; for his Army will fetch in the Money he shall need, and will very well pay its keeping : He will then have but little Occasion for Parliaments, for he will know how to raise Money without them.

The King of *Prussia* is a Prince of great Power in the Empire, and to make him yet more Powerful, your pretended King has engaged the *Dutch* to be concerned with him in an Expedition which they say is to be very manfully made, under an Equipment of above Thirty Men of War, *English* and *Dutch*, against the poor Young King of *Sweden*, who has many of the most powerful *Northern* Princes upon him already, and whose present Circumstances demand the Assistance of every one that has a Turn to the Service of God and Man.

When *English* and *Dutch* Bravery, in Conjunction with the *Muscovite*, the *Danish*, the *Saxon*, the *Polish* and the *Prussian*, have reduced him, *Prussia* it may be supposed will be a Sharer in his Dominions tho' he has not borne any Proportion of the burthen of the War that may reduce him, which will enlarge his Dominions upon very easy Terms.

Prussia and *Hanover* being in the same Interest; when what *Prussia* may thus acquire (with what he had before) is cemented to the Force of *England* and *Hanover*, and such other Troops as the *British* Treasury is capable of keeping in Pay; they may become Princes of too much Power for any, if not for all the rest of the *German* Princes to contend against.

Every Inch of Dominion they shall obtain will give them an Increase of Power, and carry their Conquests, in a progressive way, through the Dominions of all the Princes of the *Germanick* Body, and at the Cost of the *English* Nation, which they will see shall never share in the Advantages that shall accrue to the Conquerors.

It might be imagined, that the Power that accrues to the Houses of *Prussia* and *Brunswick*, should awaken all the Princes in *Europe*, but your *Dutch* Neighbourhood more immediately; for that Ballance of Power which occasioned the late War, and has cost so much Blood and Treasure, is in the Hand of the two Houses who in any Quarrel that may arise in time to come, may bring what Force they please, with *English* Money on one Side of them, whilst a Superiority of *English* Shipping shall invade them on the other; by which that Republick may quickly come to a Period.

It may be believ'd that *France* (upon such an Occasion) will exert itself, to lessen the Power that such an Attempt may give to the House of *Brunswick*. But the King is arriv'd to a great Age, and at his Death, the Minority of the *Dauphin* may engage that Kingdom in Intestine Troubles, that may be a full Employment for it for many Years.

Besides, if the Kingdom of *France* should not feel the Calamity of an Insurrection, in the Minority of the present *Dauphin*, yet Factions will be unavoidable Consequences

Consequences of his Minority; Councils therefore will be divided, and Money, from *England*, may do very much with those that are of the Council, and prevent all Determinations that otherwise might be made to interrupt such an Undertaking against the *Dutch*.

When they have reduc'd that Republick, whither may not their Conquests be carried, and to how many Miseries will the *English* be exposed, when its *Blood* and its *Treasure* shall run (like *Water* from a *Fountain*) to satiate the Ambition of two or three Tyrannical Princes.

Your Pretended King cannot be ignorant of the Uncertainty of the *English* Humour, in respect to Crown'd Heads, nor of the vast Confederacy that may be made against him (in time convenient) by those that have a Right to the Crown of *England* before him, Therefore, and in Case a Standing Army should not answer all the Ends propos'd (no Man being able to know what unforeseen Accidents may prevent it) it may be expected that he should make Use of your *Blood* and your *Treasure*, before his Harvest be over, to enlarge his Dominions in the *Empire*, and to fill his *Foreign* Coffers, that if the Princes Abroad, or the People at Home, should oblige him to retire, he may have the larger Country, and the better Purse to retire to.

This being foreseen by the Makers of the *Limitation* Act, was the Reason why they provided against it, by a Clause that forbids a War on the part of the *British* Nation in the Defence or Increase of Your pretended King's Dominions in *Germany*, without the Consent of the *British* Parliament; but when that Act is dissolv'd (as unquestionably it will) then it will appear that this Provision was made to very little purpose, and that the labouring Oar will be your Lot.

If the present Elector of *Brunswick*, or any of his pretended Issue that may succeed him, should aspire to the *Imperial* Diadem, it may be obtain'd without much Difficulty, if the Confederacy between him and *Prussia* be continued: In that case his Residence will be at *Vienna*. *England* will then become a Province of the *Empire*, and every three Years may bring you a fresh Sponge, under the Name of a *Vice-Roy*, to cleanse your Coffers: For it has been the Policy of all Sovereign Princes, to send (to their remoter Dominions) such of their Noblemen for *Vice-Roys*, as have been under hard Circumstances.

First, That they may squeeze out of the People committed to their care Fortunes, to repair their Decaying Families.

Secondly, That large Sums may be drawn by it, from the remoter Dominions, to center in the Nation where the Sovereign resides, that part of his Dominions being his principal Care, as the Mistress of all the rest.

Thirdly, That the remoter Nation may be Impoverish'd by it, to a Degree that may preserve its Subjection.

Then it is generally the Policy of the Sovereign to depute a Vice-Roy that is an Alien to the People he is to Govern, that he may not attract their Affections, so as to acquire a Power that may set him up for their Sovereign; it being the Choice of all wise Nations to be govern'd by a Native rather than by a Foreigner.

Therefore, when you become a Province to the Empire, which may be expected, if this Usurpation be continued; you will be Impoverish'd by all the Means, in your pretended King's Power, to continue your Subjection to him; and will be Insulted and Squeezed, by Foreigners that will be constituted your Rulers, who will carry your Treasure into the Countries where they are to end their Days; and there will end all the Felicities which you may reasonably promise to yourselves from the Government of your Lawful King.

I know that the People of *England* have stomach, and will say (upon the reading of this) that they will not endure what I foresee will be their Fate, but if they tamely yield their Hands and Feet to the Chains of a Foreign Family, it will prove an Oversight that they will not be able to Recall; for they ought not to forget what came of the Wood that granted an Helve to the Hatchet; nor must they expect (after they have given their strength into the Hand of another Nation) that it will return, by Miracle, as *Samson's* did.

The Princes of other Nations, it might reasonably be supposed, should exert all their Power, in forcing a Thief and a Robber out of the House, even of an Enemy, lest the same Thief (or some other, by his Example) should Visit them all in the same way, when time shall serve. No trifling Robbery is committed but the Country is alarm'd, and every Man is a Pursuer of him that commits it, till he is chas'd out of the World; and the same Policy should equally alarm the Princes in our present Case: For it is but one that is Robbed, yet it is every Man's Business to pursue the Thief. The great Thief that gives our Subject, Hangs those that have not stole a Shilling, where he has stolen Millions; and the Law that Hangs them, pleads a greater necessity for his being brought to the same Justice; because his continuing in the Throne of another warrants all the Robberies that Men can commit. And it is surprizing to see him, or his Creatures in his Name, in judgment upon such as steal for the bare Conveniences of Life; when they sit in Judgment, by virtue of one of the greatest Thefts that ever was committed, in the Name of the most Notorious Thief that is now in being.

Besides, this Precedent may excite Rebellions in other Nations, that may make all the Crowns in *Europe* sit uneasy upon the Heads of those that wear them; for he that can be a silent Witness to the Sufferings of a Royal Brother (in so just a manner) may very well expect that the Justice of God should permit his own People to punish him in the same way: For it is to be considered, that

the Person of a Man suffers not by itself in this Case, but that Royalty lies a Bleeding, which makes it as much the Concern of those that immediately suffer by it; for the Doctrines of Resistance are not taught by it to the *English* Nation only, but to all the Nations upon Earth, and may spread through the World, like a Canker: So that the King of *England's* Cause is their Cause, and what he suffers in it, they must share in.

Then, if the Kings upon Earth are in Subordination to the King of Kings; the King of *England's* Cause is the Cause of God: Therefore the Representatives of God to other Nations (that look with silence upon the Sufferings of his Cause) betray their Office and Character to all the Injuries that can be offer'd, and must account at the great Tribunal for so pernicious a Contrivance.

Upon the whole, nothing is more evident than that of your being an undone People, if this Usurpation be continued. For,

First, An Usurpation is the Invasion of another Man's Right: Therefore it is unjust, and cannot be pleasing to him who is infinitely just, and that Injustice having gain'd a National Assent, you may well expect that a National Calamity should ensue. Then,

Secondly, It has brought you under the *Dilemma* of maintaining a standing Army, to perpetuate this Succession, or of being torn to pieces by the many Armies that an Elective Monarchy will infallibly produce: One or the other of these must be your Lot, under the Usurpation, and be it which it will, it is your unavoidable Destruction.

Under this Reflection (which I am sure is a very just one) it is surprizing to find that the Usurpation should be favour'd, by either Whig or Tory. For,

First, It is Diametrically opposite to the Principles of a Tory. And,

Secondly, It is very much that the Whigs (who are in perpetual Outcry upon the Business of Liberty and Property) should surrender both, to save the vilest Mortal and ungrateful Nobleman now in being, with a few of his Adherents, from the Hand of that Justice which they have offended; when the Life of that miserable Creature, by the Course of Nature, cannot run to a much greater length; tho' the Captivity they submit to, to save him, will be without End.

To all Princes I cry aloud, in the Name of an injur'd Prince, for Justice, they being the Ministers of it, as well to one another, as to the People that are committed to their Care.

I hereby acquaint the Elector of *Brunswick*, that it may be his Prudence to walk out of the Kingdom of *England*, whilst the Door is open, and to rest himself satisfied with his own, as every honest Man would do: for he may go with that in Peace to the Grave, when his Countenance with you (unless he be early with

with his intended Army) may shorten that Life, which in his own Country might have many more Years to run : For there is no pleasing the Party that made him, and the Hand that led him to the Throne, will (if Strength remains) lead him to the Scaffold, if they should come to dislike but the very Countenance of the Man.

By the Artifice of your Enemy, you were made to believe that your pretended King was a Man of profound Piety, but his parting with a Religion that he knew, for a Religion which he knows not, upon Arguments, purely Temporal, is a Testimony of the Standard by which his Devotion is measured.

He was represented a Man of exquisite Justice, but his Possessing the Dominions of another, by Violence, proves that the Representors were deceived by others, or would have deceived you.

He was said to be a Man of marvellous *Chastity*, but I refer you to Madam *Kilmanseck*, and others of the Foreign *Harlotry*, for the truth of that Assertion.

He was reported so vastly Rich, as to give every Body hopes of a mighty Flux of Silver and Gold after his Arrival; Whether he were Rich, before his coming to you, is a doubtful Question; but if he stays any time with you, it is not to be doubted, but he and his People will be so.

It was said that the Treasure of *Hanover* was to pay the Debts of the *English* Nation : But all that you have seen of that was what entered the City of *London* with him (in a Cart) under the appearances of Mops, Brooms, Buckets, Tubs, Earthen-Pans, and Close-Stools: which will not go a great way in paying the Debts of the Nation, if they should be ever so well fold.

And that you may be sure to know what you are like to have more of the Foreign Treasure, I refer you to his Speech (at his meeting his pretended Parliament) where, from his own Mouth, you will find him a Person in great want, and the numerous Issue (called his) in the very same Circumstances; for he carefully sets forth their Necessities, with the Peoples Happiness in seeing such a string of Needy Persons at his Elbow, whom he hopes *no Man will grudge to Relieve*, tho' it is hard for any Man to enter into the reason, why they should have Relief from the Parish of *St. James's*, rather than from the Parish where they were born.

The *English* Nation had always Poor enough of its own, and to them the *French* and *Palatine* were added, and the *Hanoverian* being now added to them; your Labours may be eaten up, by the Foreign Poor in your keeping.

The Wisdom imputed to that Family, does not yet appear in the reputed Father of it; and it is confidently reported, that it never will in the reputed Son, and that it never can in the said Son's Son.

Your

Your pretended King, is one of the Remotest Relations to the Crown, a Stranger to you, and altogether ignorant of your Language, your Laws, Customs and Constitution.

But your Lawful King was born in the Royal Palace at St. *James's*: He is a *Stuart*, perfect in your Language; and tho' driven by you into another Nation, yet his and his Father's Court was still *English*, and his Education *English*; by which he as well understands your Language, your Laws, your Customs and Constitutions, as if he had never been out of his own Dominions, and it may be much better: For his Misfortunes have given him a larger Experience, and a stronger Tendency to the Knowledge of Men and Books, than he might have had in a Life of uninterrupted Tranquillity.

Your pretended King is a Native of another Country, and Nature therefore must give his Affections a stronger Turn towards its Inhabitants, than it is possible for him to have towards you: They will be his chiefest Care, and you may be assur'd of his Enriching them, at your Cost.

But the Heart and Affections of your Lawful King must be with you, for this is his Country, the Place that gave him Birth.

You are his all, your Prosperity is his Prosperity, your Wealth and your Grandeur is his Glory: Therefore his whole Care will be Employed (by all the ways in his Power) to make you a Rich, a Happy, and a Flourishing People.

The Title of your Pretended King will be in perpetual Dispute, which will lay you under a double Load of Inconveniencies. For,

First, A great Part of your Blood and Treasure will be wasted in the Contest. And,

Secondly, It will make him think it is his Prudence to make a Lodgment of all the *English* Money he can, at his Capital in *Hanover*, that he may be able to say (if he should be obliged to withdraw) that still he has made a saving Bargain of it.

But the Right of your Lawful King, is not disputed by any other Prince in all the World; therefore his Hope is to end his Days with his own People: So that he will never think of plundering your Pocket, but of improving your Trade and your Treasure; your Interest and his being the same: When the Gentleman from *Brunswick* will be to you, as a bad Wife that makes a Seperate Purse at the Ruin of her Husband.

Your pretended King cannot be a Man of Probity, whilst he takes the Title and Property of another; and therefore not a Person under whom you can be happy.

Then,

Then, as another Mark of his Insincerity, he has already violated his Coronation-Oath ; for the Religion which he pretends to be of, and has sworn to maintain, is the only Religion in *England* that is discountenanc'd by him ; for every Thing is preferred and caressed that goes under any other Denomination than that of a Churchman, and every Churchman that is so High as to acknowledge that he wishes the Preservation of that Church of which he is a Member, is too High to be deem'd worthy of your pretended King's Service : Which may be another Reason to you, why you should not expect the Performance of any of the Promises he has made to you, unless it be those which he has made in every Action since his Arrival, and they are to be dreaded by you, for they seem fatal to me, and to your Liberties.

But the Actions of your Lawful King have corresponded with the most exact Justice and Honour, and his being a *Stuart*, is the best Pledge that you (who have experienc'd the Probity and Clemency of that Family) can receive for his Perseverance.

The Love of your Lawful King, for his own Country, has been sufficiently attested, by the many Marks of Affection which he shew'd to the *English* Officers and Soldiers that were taken into *France*, in the late War ; tho' the Cause of their Confinement was, their being in Arms against him and that Interest that fought his Restoration.

As he seems the Inheritor of his Grandfather King *Charles* the First's Virtue, for the most malicious of his Enemies never could reproach him with those Impurities that are incident to his Years : But your pretended King (in the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age) has many Lewd Foreign Woman in *English* Pay.

Your Lawful King has also a Capacity, that has rais'd the Admiration of all the Princes with whom he has conversed ; He is so well acquainted with the Art of Government, as that a Man would imagine he had presid'd with all the Councils of past Ages ; he is as well acquainted with the Art of War, as if had commanded in all the Battles and Sieges of the Wars of *Europe* : And his Behaviour (in the Battle of *Malplaket*) was so Brave, as to attract the Affections, even of Prince *Eugene* and others, whom he fought against.

He is so great a Master in the Art of Reasoning, as to have obtained the Character of the Finest and most Promising Prince that is at this Day in all the World ; He Executes nothing Rashly ; He is not Positive, but is easy of Access, and ever ready to hear.

His actions are so well concerted, as to lead always to their End, and under a Regularity that speaks him one of the best Œconomists in the World ; and his
Person

Person (as he conducts it) at once moves all the Passions of those that are so happy as to have their Eyes upon it : For the Clemency of the *Stuart* appears in all his Actions, and at the same time Majesty is preserved in the same Person, so as to raise the Reverence that is due to one of his Distinction.

He is, in every Respect, that perfect Man as have made all *Nations ambitious* of the Honour and Credit of giving him Birth, excepting the unhappy Nation that really gave it him : Which, by a deplorable Fatality, has rejected him whom the World Admires, and has filled his Throne with one of the most Tyrannical and most Scandalous Families in *Europe*.

Your Lawful King has promised to make the Laws of the Land the Rule of his Government ; and to hear what I have to say in the Business of Religion, when he comes into a Country where it may be done with Conveniency ; and to be determined by that as shall appear to him the better Argument : And has farther promis'd (be his Determination what it will as to himself) to Protect and Maintain me, and has offered you should secure the Things he has promised, by the surest Expedient you yourselves can propose : And upon the whole, it should be your Prudence to rely upon the Promises of him who is of unblemished Reputation, rather than upon the Promises of a Man who has already Violated the Laws of God, the Laws of the Land, and all the Vows he made to you (upon the Four *Gospels*) at his Coronation. And I do still hope that your Infatuation is not for ever, and that the Goodness of God will restore your Reason to you, that you may Obviate the Dangers with which you are threatned, both Spiritually and Temporally, and make you Instrumental in the Restoration of your Lawful King ; without which it is Impossible for you to regain the Liberties that were Injoyed by you and your Fathers ; for your Inheritance is given to Strangers, who will not give you your own Water, without Money, and your own Wood they will sell unto you, and your Bread will be gotten at the Peril of your Lives.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Fear of running these Reflections, to a length beyond the Patience of my Reader, is the Reason why the Work is not so perfect as was intended ; but I do hereby promise you a Supplement that shall make the Deficiencies good.

For what I have done already, I do expect that your pretended King and his Ministry (as a Mark of their Affection for me) should punish me with Death,

if they can; for those Truths which they neither like nor are able to answer by dint of Reason, it may be they may (as their Custom is) Stigmatize them with the Words *Libel, Sedition, Rebellion, Treason, &c.* Which Words alone (without farther Argument) give the Reason why the Devulger of those Truths should be *Whipp'd, Hang'd or Pilloried*; and these Punishments, that Set of Men, take for a Full and a Convincing Answer to all that may be said against them by the Person that is Punished.

The Facts I have delivered, you are all Witneses to the Truth of, and the Reflections that I have made upon those Facts, you will find to be measured by your Principles in Religion, and by the Laws of the Land, and if they offer to Punish me for it, in the Person of my faithful *Orator*: It will be a standing Monument, of their Dislike to the Religion which they pretend to be Patriots of, and that *Constitution* that has been universally acknowledg'd to be the Peculiar Happiness of the *English Nation*.

An Account of the SCOTCH PLOT. In a LETTER from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country. Printed 1704.

S I R,

I Have, according to your Desire, made an Enquiry into the *Scotch Plot* so much talk'd of. I have convers'd with several Persons of Quality of that Kingdom about it, and find them not well pleas'd, that so many here should charge a Plot upon their whole Nation, for the sake of a few. They think this so much the harder, because Captain *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, the principal Manager of this Plot, is a Person guilty of most notorious Crimes, and is condemn'd to Death in *Scotland* for a barbarous Rape; yet this Man has been countenanc'd by great Persons in that Government, and Hear-says from him alone are made Use of against some of the greatest Families in that Nation, who prosecuted him, or appear'd for having Justice done upon him, according to Law, for his villainous and horrid Crimes, as I shall acquaint you more at large anon, after giving you a short Narrative of what I have learn'd concerning the Plot.

Captain

Captain *Frazer* above-mentioned having fled from Justice twice, at last went over to *St. Germans*, and as Sir *John Macclean* has declar'd upon Oath, turn'd Papist, and was introduc'd to the *French* Court by the Pope's Nuncio. There he solicited an Invasion upon *Scotland*, and gave them Assurance that several People of Note would join their Troops: But the *French* King willing to be sure of that, before he would trust him, ordered him back to *Scotland*, with one Captain *John Murray*, and Major *Frazer*, a Papist, who had serv'd several Years in his Army.

Captain *Frazer* arrived accordingly in *Scotland* last Summer, having received Five Hundred Pistoles from the *French* King, and though a condemn'd Criminal, as above-mentioned, and that he had likewise forfeited his Life again by his Correspondence with the Courts of *France* and *St. Germans*, yet he was privately introduced by the late D. of *Ar——* and the E. of *L——* to a great Minister of State there, while the Parliament was sitting, and received from the said Minister 200 Guineas, with a Pass and Protection. Being thus furnish'd the Captain and the Major went to the Highlands. He endeavoured to meet with several Heads of Clans there, but they refus'd to meet or converse with him, till he sent to shew them before-hand the Pass and Protection granted by the Minister of State, and at the same Time he shew'd them his Commission and Instructions from the pretended King *James* the VIIIth (as they call him in *Scotland*) dated at *St. Germans*, and, by this Means he seduc'd and trapan'd several of her Majesty's Subjects into Designs against the Government. The D. of *A——* Brother to the Lady whom he had ravish'd, hearing that Captain *Frazer* was in *Scotland*, complain'd of it, and at the Instance of the injur'd Lady, the Council issued a Commission of Fire and Sword against the Captain in *September* last (the Lord High Commissioner being present), forbidding the Subjects to converse with him, and ordering the Sheriffs and Officers of the Army to pursue and apprehend him dead or alive. Notwithstanding this, he found Means to return to *Edinburgh*, where he procur'd another Pass from the D. of *Q——* to carry him to *London*, where he arrived in *October* last, and there met privately with the said D. of *Q——* *John Campbell* of *Glenderoul*, Mr. *Kelth*, and others, and then the said D. of *Q——* procur'd a Pass for the said Captain and Major, and two more to go beyond Sea. Since that Time several Letters have been intercepted from the Captain, one from *Holland* to the said D. of *Q——* and one from *Paris* to the said E. of *L——* with several others to *Colin Campbell* of *Glenderoul*, now in Custody at *London*, and one to Captain *Macleod*, an Officer of the Guards in *Scotland*; all which it's hop'd will in a little Time be made publick. When the Captain went

beyond Sea last, he received Bills for 100 and odd Guineas, which *Campbel* paid unto Mr. *Corbussiere*, a Merchant, who has own'd the sending of the said Bills, upon Examination. Some Papers that *Frazer* left in the Custody of *Thomas Clerk*, an Apothecary, have been since discovered, amongst which is found a Colonel's Commission from the pretended King *James* the VIIIth, to the said *Simon Frazer*, and two forg'd Bonds from the late Lord *Lovat* in *Scotland* for considerable Sums to him: Of which you shall have a further Account anon.

That which relates more particularly to the D. of *A——* and his Friends is thus, the said *Colin Campbel* and Captain *Macleod* have declar'd, upon Examination, That they heard the said Captain *Frazer* say, that the said D. of *A——* and his Friends design'd to send some Persons as their Agents into *France*.

The first Notice the D. of *A——* had of this Design against himself and his Friends, was sent him from Mr. *F——* on the 25th of *November* last, importing that there were most pernicious Designs carrying on against her Majesty and the Government, together with a wicked Contrivance to ruin his Grace and his Friends by Means of Captain *Frazer*, and Witnesses of his procuring. The D. immediately acquainted the Government with it, who sent for Mr. *F——* that inform'd him, and what that Gentleman said upon his Examination has been since confirm'd by the intercepted Letters above-mentioned.

But that you may fully understand the Character of the Captain, and the Cause of his inveterate Malice against the D. of *A——* and his Friends, take this short History of it as follows.

Captain *Frazer* was a Cadet of the Family of *Lovat*, but had no Manner of Estate. The late Lord *Lovat* knowing the Meanness of his Circumstances, recommended him to the Earl of *T——* now D. of *A——* for a Lieutenant's Post in the Regiment, the Earl had then in King *William's* Service, about 1694, which the Earl readily agreed to; but soon after, the Captain wrote seditious Letters dated in *Jan.* 1695. one of them *triumphing at the Death of the late Queen Mary of Glorious Memory*, and the other expressing his Hopes that King *William* would die next Year, which Letters being sent to the Earl by some of his Friends, sometime after, he could not but in Abhorrence of the Captain's Villainy acquaint his Majesty with it, who thereupon gave the Earl Orders to turn him out of his Regiment, which was done.

In 1696. The Lord *Lovat* above-mentioned died, leaving behind him four Daughters by the D. of *A——*'s Sister, the eldest of whom by unquestionable Title, fell Heir to the Honour and Estate, but *Thomas Frazer* and the said Captain *Simon* his Son pretending to be the next Heirs Male, assembled some loose Men of the Name to seize the Estate, and committed some Violences and Devastations

vastations upon it, but being sensible they had made themselves obnoxious by this illegal Attempt, they agreed in order to prevent Prosecution, to sign a Renunciation of all their alledg'd Pretensions before the Lord *Salton* and other Witnesses, and sent the same to the Earl of *T—n*, now Duke of *A——* who was then at *London*, and principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

But notwithstanding this Renunciation, the Captain attempted again to possess himself of the Estate in the following Manner. He assembled a great many loose Men of the Name, and marched with them in Arms to the Lady Dowager of *Lovat's* Jointure-House of *Castle-Downie*, and in his Way met Lord *Mungo-Murray* the Lady's Brother; and the Lord *Salton* abovementioned coming from paying a Visit to the said Lady. He immediately seiz'd and dismounted the said Lords and their Servants, carried them Prisoners to a neighbouring House, where he set Guards upon them, and erected a Gallows, threatening to hang them if they would not persuade the Lady Dowager to marry him, (by which he thought to possess the Estate himself, and to convey it to his own Issue Male if he had any, in Exclusion of her Daughters.) This they absolutely refus'd, and he leaving them under a barbarous Guard, march'd on to *Castle-Downie*, where he surpriz'd and imprison'd the Lady, and upon her absolute Refusal to marry him, made his barbarous Crew cut off her Stays, &c. with their Daggers, and putting her to Bed by Force, committed a villainous Rape upon her; the Grief of which made her lose her Senses for some Time. He kept the Lady in that deplorable Condition, until the late Marquis of *A——* her Father, and the Government sent Forces to rescue her from the said Captain, who continued in Rebellion, notwithstanding his being summon'd by a Herald to lay down his Arms; but being forc'd to it at last, the Lady was deliver'd to the Lord *Forbes*, and the Captain not daring to abide Trial, fled. Upon this the Council of *Scotland*, and High Courts of Justiciary there declar'd him Rebel, Fugitive, and Out-Law, and issued a Proclamation, offering 6000 Merks to any that should apprehend him. He absconded for a Time, but in 1700 or 1701, procur'd King *William's* Pardon for his Rebellion, and other publick Crimes, but not for the Rape. This Remission being of an extraordinary Nature, the Principal Secretary of State refus'd to counter-sign it, but the Under Secretary did it at the Instance of Mr. *C——* one of his Majesty's *Scotch* Chaplains, then attending him in *Holland*.

Upon this the Captain returned to *Scotland*, but the Injur'd Lady by the Assistance of her Father, and the now Duke of *A——* her Brother, pursued him again, and that the Captain might have no Pretence to abscond, all former Sentences were suspended during the Trial. The Lady appeared in Court, and publickly demanded Justice, the Captain was call'd three Times, according to form, and tho'

tho' in Town at the Time, fled again, upon which the Court condemn'd him, and issued out Orders to apprehend him, which fully satisfied the Nation of his Guilt. It is to be observed, that at the same Time the Captain procur'd his Remission, he forg'd a Deed and two Bonds for considerable Sums from the late Lord *Lovat* to himself, making over the Estate to the said Captain, in Prejudice of the said Lord's own Daughter, which had his Lordship been inclin'd to do, he could not, his Lordship's Father by a previous Settlement, having entail'd the Estate upon Daughters, failing Issue Male, and when this Deed and the said Bonds were produc'd to one of the Lords of the Session or Judges, the said Judge did presently discover the Forgery, upon which the Captain took them out of his Hands, and never made more Use of them.

Thus, *SIR*, you may judge, whether the Duke of *A*— and his Friends have not Reason to complain, That contrary to the Laws of *Scotland*, which make Correspondence with Rebels Criminal, such Countenance and Encouragement should be given, especially by Men of Dignity and High Posts, to such a Man as Captain *Frazer*, or that any Credit should be given to his Accusation, or to Witnesses procur'd against the Duke and his Friends, by a Person whom they had justly prosecuted to Sentence of Death, and who is evidently guilty

Of Disloyalty to a Prince, whose Bread he eat, and whose Commission he bore.

Of Robbery.

Of Assaulting, Imprisoning, and threatening to hang Persons of Quality.

Of A barbarous Rape upon a noble Lady.

Of Open Rebellion.

Of Forgery.

Of Turning Papist. *And,*

Of Repeated and Continued Treasons against the Queen and his Country.

An Account of Capt. *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, Who has been carrying on a PLOT in the Highlands of *Scotland*, against the Government : And, at the same Time, was engaged in another wicked Design, to suborn Witneses against several Great Families in *Scotland*, as if they were in a Correspondence with the Courts of *France* and *St. Germans*.
Printed 1704.

CAPTAIN *Frazer* was a Cadet of the Family of *Lovat*, but had no manner of Estate, his Father having only a Lease of a Piece of Land call'd *Beaufort*, belonging to the said Family to maintain himself and his Children. The late Lord *Lovat*, knowing the Meanes of their Circumstances, recommended the Captain to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, now Duke of *Athol*, for a Lieutenant's Post in the Earl's Regiment that he had then in King *William's* Service, about 1694. The Earl, on the Recommendation of the Lord *Lovat*, who was his Brother-in-law, readily agreed to this; but soon after the Captain wrote seditious Letters, dated in *January* 1695, one of them triumphing at the Death of the late Queen *Mary of Glorious Memory*, and the other expressing his Hopes that King *William* would die next Year; which Letters being sent to the Earl by some of his Friends sometime after, he could not but in Abhorrence of the Captain's Villainy acquaint his Majesty with it, who thereupon gave the Earl Orders to turn him out of his Regiment, which was done.

In 1696, the Lord *Lovat* abovementioned died, leaving behind him only four Daughters by the Duke of *Athol's* Sister, the eldest of whom, by unquestionable Title, fell Heir to the Honour and Estate; but *Thomas Frazer*, and the said Captain *Simon* his Son, pretending to be the next Heirs Male, assembled some loose Men of the Name to seize the Estate, and committed some Violences and Devastations upon it, but finding they could not come at it by Law, and being sensible they had made themselves obnoxious by this illegal Attempt, they agreed, in order to prevent Prosecution, to sign a Renunciation of all their alledg'd Pretensions before the Lord *Salton* and other Witneses, and sent the same to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, now Duke of *Athol*, who was then at *London*, and principal Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

But notwithstanding this Renunciation, the Captain attempted again to possess himself of the Estate in the following Manner. He assembled a great many
loose

loose Men of the Name, and march'd with them in Arms to the Lady Dowager of *Lovat's* Jointure-House of *Castle-Downie*, and in his Way met Lord *Mungo Murray*, the Lady's Brother, and the Lord *Salton* abovementioned, coming from paying a Visit to the said Lady. He immediately seiz'd and dismounted the said Lords and their Servants, carried them Prisoners to a neighbouring House, where he set Guards upon them, and erected a Gallows, threatening to hang them if they would not persuade the Lady Dowager to marry him (by which he thought to possess the Estate himself, and to convey it to his own Issue Male, if he had any, in Exclusion of her Daughters.) This they absolutely refus'd, and, *he leaving them under a barbarous Guard, march'd on to Castle-Downie* (the Lady's Jointure-House) *where he surpriz'd and imprison'd the Lady, and upon her absolute Refusal to marry him, made his barbarous Crew cut off her Stays, &c. with their Daggers, and putting her to Bed by Force, committed a villainous Rape upon her*; the Grief of which made her lose her Senses, so that next Morning she did not know her Brother Lord *Mungo*, who was admitted to see her. The distressed Lady, and the above-mention'd Lords, tho' they would never consent to the Marriage, yet submitted so far to his barbarous Force, in order to get out of his Hands, as to sign some Papers, obliging themselves to use their Interest to procure him a Pardon for what he had done, and to get back the Renunciation abovementioned; but when they had sign'd the Papers, *he broke his Oaths, and Promises, to set them at Liberty, and kept the Lady in that deplorable Condition*, until the Marquis of *Athol* her Father, and the Government, sent Forces to rescue her from the said Captain, who continued in Rebellion, notwithstanding his being summon'd by a Herald to lay down his Arms; but being forc'd to it at last, the Lady was deliver'd to the Lord *Forbes*, and the Captain, not daring to abide Tryal, fled. Upon this the Council of *Scotland*, and High Courts of Justiciary there, declar'd him Rebel, Fugitive and Outlaw, and issued a Proclamation, offering 6000 Merks to any that should apprehend him. He absconded for a Time, *but in 1700 or 1701, procur'd King William's Pardon for his Rebellion, and other publick Crimes; but not for the Rape. This Remission being of an extraordinary Nature, the principal Secretary of State refus'd to countersign it; but the Under Secretary did it, at the Instance of Mr. Carstairs, one of his Majesty's Scots Chaplains, then attending him in Holland.*

Upon this the Captain returned to *Scotland*, but the injur'd Lady, by the Assistance of her Father, and the now Duke of *Athol* her Brother, pursued him again for the Rape; and that the Captain might have no Pretence to abscond, all former Sentences were suspended during the Trial. The Lady appear'd in the High Court of Justiciary at *Edinburgh*, and publicly demanded Justice. The
 Captain

Captain was call'd three Times according to Form, and tho' in Town at the Time, fled again ; upon which the Court condemn'd him, and issued Orders to apprehend him, which fully satisfied the Nation of his Guilt, and of the Falshood of the Calumnies he had spread against the Family of *Athol*.

It is to be observ'd, that, at the same Time the Captain procur'd his Remission, he forg'd a Deed and two Bonds for considerable Sums from the late Lord *Lovat* to himself, making over the Estate to the said Captain, in prejudice of the said Lord's own Daughter, which, had his Lordship been inclinable to do, he could not ; the late Lord *Lovat*, his Father, by a previous Settlement, having entail'd the Estate upon Daughters failing Issue Male ; and when this Deed and the said Bonds were produc'd to one of the Lords of the Session or Judges, the said Judge did presently discover the Forgery ; upon which the Captain took them out of his Hands, and never made more use of them.

After this second Trial Capt. *Frazer* did abscond, and never after durst appear in *Scotland*, from whence it seems he went to *France*, and turn'd Papist, to get an Interest in the *French* Court and at *St. Germains*, and return'd again to *Scotland* last Summer, by Order of those Courts, where he did negotiate their Affairs, did converse with, was countenanc'd and protected in *Scotland* by the Duke of *Queensberry* ; but the Friends of the Lady hearing of his being there, did apply to the Council, and got new Orders to seize him. Accordingly a Commission of Fire and Sword was issued out against him in *September* last, where the Duke of *Queensberry* was present in Council, to apprehend him dead or alive, and declaring it High Treason to converse with or reset him, in the Terms of several Acts of Parliament, particularly the 12th Parliament of King *James VI. cap. 144.* wherein all Persons are ordain'd to do their utmost to apprehend intercommun'd and outlaw'd Persons under the Pains due to Rebels.

This Act is renew'd in the fourth Session, of the first Parliament of *William and Mary, cap. 33.* as to all Persons that are known to be intercommun'd and Rebels.

And, besides, tho' the said Captain *Frazer* had been a free Subject, yet the Person that imploy'd him is Guilty of High Treason another Way ; for *Frazer's* coming from, and being sent back to *St. Germains*, or Corresponding there by him, or any Manner of Way, is High Treason, as appears by 17 Acts 7 Session of King *William* ; and, being now the Time of War, the sending him and three other Persons to *France*, doth aggravate the Treason, the last Act being made in Time of Peace ; by all which it is evident, that *Frazer* and his Accomplices, who were acting a double Game, are doubly Guilty of High Treason.

A Paragraph of the Letter above-mentioned.

Beaufort, January 12. 1695.

*TELL Sir Robert, That I hope he'll pledge me a Bumper ;
that I am drinking to Q. M. Dridge, i. e. her Funeral Cup.*

Sic Subscribitur,

Directed to *Thomas Frazer.*

Simon Frazer.

A Paragraph of another Letter.

Beaufort, January 12. 1695.

*I DOUBT not you will be in Mourning for Queen Mary, but I
am resolved to buy none till K. W. dies, which perhaps may serve for the next Summer
Suit, and I hope you will give me a Hat and Gloves.*

Sic Subscribitur,

Simon Frazer.

A True

A True Copy of the Depositions taken by Order of the Lords of Secret Council, before the Lord Justice General, and other Lords of Justiciary, in the Crimes of Rebellion and Violence, committed by Capt. *Simon Frazer*, upon the Person of my Lord *Mungo Murray*, Son to *John* Marquis of *Athol*, and on the Person of my Lord *Salton*; and of the horrid Rape committed upon the Person of Lady *Emillia Murray*, Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, and Daughter to the Right Honourable the said *John* Marquess of *Athol*; in her own House of *Castle-dounie*, some short Time after her Husband, my Lord *Lovat*'s Death: The said Capt. *Simon Frazer* being a Person who all his Life had been maintain'd by the said Lord *Lovat* and his Father's Charity. Which Depositions are all extant in the Records of the Justice Court in *Scotland*, and subscribed by the Witneses and the Lord Justice-General himself.

ALEXANDER *Frazer* younger of *Balnean*, aged twenty one Years, examin'd, purged, and sworn, Depones, That he was present at *Fanellan*, when he saw the Lord *Mungo Murray*, and the Lord *Saltoun*, brought Prisoners there, and made close Prisoners there in several Rooms, with Centinels put on them; and that they were brought Prisoners there by Capt. *Simon Frazer*; and that when they came to *Fanellan*, a House belonging to the Laird of *Kinaries*, the Doors were shut close, and they forc'd them up, and put a Garrison of armed Men in the House. Depones, That he saw at *Fanellan*, about two or three Days after the Lord *Saltoun*, &c. was brought Prisoner, about two or three hundred Men in Arms, under Captain *Frazer*'s Command, and saw him muster them there, and that they had Arms, such as Guns, Swords, Pistols, Targets, &c. Depones, That about seven or eight Days after the Lord *Saltoun* was made Prisoner, he was at *Castle-Downie*, where he saw the Lady *Lovat*, and that he saw a Number of armed Men within the House, and Centinels at the Gate,

Gate, and that he saw Capt. *Simon Frazer* about the same Time there. Depones, He saw Centinels sitting on the Threshold of my Lady's Chamber-Door, and that they continu'd there for a Night, after which Time the Deponent went away. Depones, He saw Parties sent from *Fanellan* to *Castle-Downie* to and fro several Times. Depones, That after the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo Murray* were brought Prisoners to *Fanellan*, he saw a Gallows standing before the Windows, where the said two Lords were kept close Prisoners, which was not there the Day they were brought Prisoners. Depones, That about nine or ten Days after the Lord *Saltoun* and the Lord *Mungo Murray* were taken Prisoners, he did see one Night at *Castle-Downie*, Capt. *Simon Frazer*, and Mr. *Robert Monro*, the Minister at *Castle-Downie*, and being desired by Captain *Leonard Robertson* of *Straloch*, to get him Notice of my Lady's Condition, he went to my Lady's Chamber Door, and heard her Sighing and Moaning, and it was then about the Reike of Day, and that he heard the Pipes playing in the Dining-Room next to my Lady's Chamber. The same Night he saw my Lady's two Women in another Room, with Centinels set upon them, and the two Women weeping; and this was about Midnight he saw them. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, Al. Frazer. *Lothian I. P. D.*

Thomas Frazer of *Gortulig*, aged thirty Years, married, purged, and sworn, Depones, That about the Beginning of *October*, Captain *Simon Frazer* and the Deponent coming from *Inverness*, and the Lord *Saltoun* and the Lord *Mungo Murray* from *Castle-Downie*, there having met them in the Wood of *Moncreive* some armed Men, when they were met together, they did make up thirty or forty Foot, beside Horse, all in Arms, where the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* being riding peaceably, Captain *Simon* gave Orders to his Company, to take my Lord *Saltoun* either dead or alive, and accordingly came up close to my Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*, and assaulted them with bended Pistols, and commanded them to render themselves Prisoners; my Lord *Saltoun* asking for what Cause, he answered because it was his Pleasure: And the Deponent did see Captain *Simon* and his Party, dismounting and disarming the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*, and all that were with them, and threatening them, the Foot having Guns presented, and Durks drawn, and the Horsemen Pistols cock'd, and thereafter they were set on Country Horse instead of their own, with Guards in Arms surrounding them, and carried them in that Posture to *Fanellan*, where they were made close Prisoners in several Rooms, and Centinels put upon the Rooms, and a Guard kept in the House, where they stay'd four or five Nights. Depones, That immediately thereafter, he heard the Firie Cross

was sent through the Country, to convene the Men, and accordingly the next Night, there convened at *Fanellan*, about three or four hundred Men with Guns, Swords and Pistols, and Pipers: And Depones, That they were all commanded by Captain *Simon*, and under him, by their several Under-Leaders. Depones, That there was a considerable Party sent from *Fanellan*, to my Lady *Lovat's* House at *Castle-Dounie*, and that Parties were from Time to Time relieved, and there were Centinels put upon several Rooms of the House, and particularly upon my Lady's Chamber, and that he saw Capt. *Simon* there, and that he was the Person that gave the Orders. Depones, That he saw the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* carried Prisoners to the Isle of *Egies*, where they were kept Prisoners with a Guard of fifty or sixty Men in Arms. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, T. Frazer. *Lothian*, I. P. D.

William Frazer of *Kilbokie*, aged forty Years, married, purged, and sworn, Depones, That in *October* last, the Deponent came to the House of *Fanellan*, where Capt. *Simon* was with two or three hundred Men all armed, who had convened there upon a *Firie Cross*, which was sent by Capt. *Simon's* Order through the Country, and it was the third Day after the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo* were taken Prisoners: And the Deponent saw them there, and Guards and Centinels upon them as Prisoners; and likewise saw a Gallows erected over against the Windows of their Chambers: And the Deponent having asked at Capt. *Simon*, what that mean'd, he answered, That it was to terrify the Lord *Saltoun* and Lord *Mungo*. Depones, that he was present when the said Lords were carried Prisoners from *Fanellan* to the Isle of *Egies*, where they were detained Prisoners by the said Captain *Simon's* Command. Depones, That before the Deponent went first to *Fanellan*; he was at *Castle-Dounie*, my Lady *Lovat's* Dwelling, where there was a Party of upwards of three or fourscore of armed Men, and saw them keeping Guard at the Gates, and Capt. *Simon* was there, and gave them Orders as Commander.

Robert Spence in *Suddie*, aged twenty four Years, married, purged and sworn, Depones, That Captain *Simon Frazer* having carried my Lady *Lovat* alongst with him from *Kirkhill*, and having heard that there was a Party of Red Coats, with Lord *James Murray* and some Gentlemen, coming to rescue my Lady, Capt. *Simon* did send Word through the Country, to raise the *Firie Cross*, to warn the Country to come for their Defence. Depones, That when my Lady left Captain *Simon*, there would have been about two or three hundred Men in
Arms

Arms with him. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, Robert Spence. *Ad. Cockburn, I. P. D.*

Mr. *George Frazer*, Sub-Principle of the College of *Aberdeen*, purged and sworn, Depones, That when my Lord *Saltoun*, Lord *Mungo Murray*, and others were made Prisoners, the Time libelled, he was one of the Company, and that Captain *Simon* commanded the Party that apprehended them, which consisted of fourteen Horse, and fifty Foot, or thereby, all armed with Swords, Pistols, and Guns; and one of them called *Hutcheon Oig*, came up with a bended Pistol on my Lord *Saltoun*, and desired them to render, and dismounted them, and put them on little Horses, and carried them Prisoners to *Fanellan*, and kepted them there Prisoners under Guards by the Space of six Days, and that there was a Gallows put up, and there was a Convocation of Men in Arms, sometimes to the Number of three or four hundred Men in Arms, with Colours displayed, and Pipers playing. And this is the Truth, as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscribitur*, Geo. Frazer. *Lothian, I. P. D.*

Mr. *Leonard Robertson* of *Straloch*, aged 44, *solutus*, purged, and sworn, Depones, That upon the Sixteenth of *October* last, being *Saturday*, he came to *Inverness*, and was there informed, that the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, was under Restraint at *Castle-Dounie*; whereupon he repaired to that Place, and after some Difficulty made, got Access to my Lady, who acquainted them with the Proposals that Capt. *Simon Frazer* had made to her; and intreated the Deponent to persuade the Lord *Saltoun*, and her Brother Lord *James Murray*, to condescend to the Terms; which the Deponent undertook: And having returned to *Inverness*, prevailed with them to sign the Articles, for her own, and Lord *Mungo's* Liberation, and brought them back to *Castle-Dounie* on *Tuesday*, to get my Lady's Hand to them. Which being done, the Deponent expected nothing, but that my Lady was fully at Liberty. But when he was conveying her to her Horse, they were both stopped at my Lady's-Chamber-Door, and there was a Chair and a Centry set at my Lady's Door, and all the rest of the Centries doubled; and the Deponent himself, after some Time, was put under a Guard of Centinels, and was so detain'd under Restraint till the next Day at ten of the Clock; that complaining to Captain *Simon*, the Deponent was permitted to pay a Visit to my Lady, whom he saw in a very disconsolate Condition, and softly spoke in his Ear, *For Christ's Sake take me out of this Place either dead or alive*, and that he observed my Lady's Face all swollen, and she fell in a Sownd the Time the Deponent was with her, and the Lady suspecting that he had not fully heard what she had

had spoken to him, sent her Servant Mrs. *Mackbryar* with Commission to repeat the same Words to him, which she did. And the Deponent thinks Captain *Simon* had at least Three Hundred Men with him at that Time, all well armed, in and about the House of *Castle-Dounie*, and that he heard at the Time some Person lamenting, and the Bag-Pipe played about the same Time, but knows not whether it was to drown the Voice or not. And further Depones, That the next Time he saw my Lady was, That the Laird of *Cullodine* and the Deponent came to the Water-Side near the Isle of *Aigis*; and Captain *Simon* having come over to them by Boat, the Deponent desired to see my Lady, which he shunn'd, telling him, That my Lady did not desire to see him; and the Deponent replied, That it was not done like a Comerade; especially seeing that it was reported at *Inverness*, That my Lady was dead, or near expiring. Captain *Simon* answered, That he should be soon cleared of the contrary; and returning into his Boat, he caus'd bring out my Lady in their Sight: But so weak as she was supported by two, and then carried her back again to a little House upon that Island: But the Deponent having asked at Mrs. *Mackbryar* from the other Side of the Water, to try at her Lady, if she had discharged the Deponent to see her; she went accordingly, and brought back Word, that she desired nothing more than to see the Deponent, except her own Liberation, and to tell her Brother Lord *James*, that she was some better, and liv'd longer than she desired: And that the Deponent saw my Lady several Times after that, where she made heavy Complaints of the bad and rude Usage she had met with; but her Guards and others suspecting the Deponent, because he would not comply annent some Papers they were drawing up, for their own pretended Security, he had not that free Converse which he had formerly; and that this was the third or fourth Night after the Charge given them by the Herald, to dissipate and lay down their Arms, and set my Lady at Liberty. And at the Time when my Lady parted with them, and went away with my Lord *Forbes*, the Deponent saw about two hundred Men in Arms with Captain *Simon Frazer*. *Sic subscribitur*, Leonard Robertson.

Amelie Rioch, late Servitrix to Lady *Lovai*, aged Sixteen Years, sworn and purged, Depones, That about the Time libelled, she being a Servant to my Lady, Captain *Simon Frazer*, with several armed Men, came to *Castle-Dounie*, and set Centinels on my Lady's Chamber without, and within the Doors, with drawn Swords; that Captain *Simon's* Men carried by Force my Lady's waiting Maids, Mrs. *Janet Frazer* and the Deponent, out of her Room, and made them Prisoners in another Room, That about two of the Clock in the Morning, two armed Men came and carried the Deponent back to the Lady's Chamber, where she did.

did see the Lady sitting on the Ground, her Hair hanging down about her Head, leaning backwards upon the Bed stock; That one *Donald Beaton* was pulling off my Lady's Shoes, and Captain *Simon* was holding *Aquavitæ* and burnt Feathers to her Nose, because she was then in a Swarf; That thereafter they commanding the Deponent to take off my Lady's Shoes, and when she offer'd so to do, my Lady spurned her away with her Feet, shewing her Unwillingness; That the Deponent refusing to take off her Cloaths, Captain *Simon* ordered to beat her; that *Frazer* of *Kinmonavie* did then hold up the Lady in his Arms, and Captain *Simon* pulled off her Petticoats, and sought a Knife from *Hugh Monro* to cut her Stays; and because he had none, the Captain ordered *Frazer* of *Kinmonavie* to cut the Stays with his Durk; and then they threw the Lady upon the Bed: But the Deponent saying that she would take off the Lady's Stays, they went a little out of the Room, in which Time the Deponent did again fasten the Stays, but they returning were displeased, that the Stays were not taken off, and commanded to put the Deponent out of the Room, and then they turn'd the Lady upon her Face, and streached out her Arms, and so took off her Stays, which the Deponent did see, because she went not out of the Room, but stood at the Foot of the Bed. And when the Deponent was going away, she heard my Lady cry, but the Bagpipe did play all the Time in the next Room to my Lady's Chamber, that her Cries might not be heard. Depones, that next Morning she went into the Lady's Chamber, and see her Head hang over the Bed, and nothing upon it except a Handkerchief; the Deponent did see all the Lady's Face swollen, and she spoke nothing, but gave her a Broad Look. And the Deponent thought that my Lady was not sensible for a Day or two thereafter; for she did not know Lord *Mungo* her Brother the next Morning, when he came to see her, and when her Servant told her here is your Brother at the Bed-Side, the Lady asked what Brother, albeit she was looking him in the Face with fair Day-light. Depones, That when she and the other Servants were carry'd by Force the first Night out of my Lady's Chamber; the Lady stood up and held out her Arms and cry'd: And when *Dumballock's* Lady came the next Morning to the Room, and call'd her Madam, my Lady answered, *Call me not Madam, but the most miserable Wretch alive.* Depones, That she saw my Lady carried Prisoner from *Castle-Dounie* to the Isle of *Aigis* at Twelve of the Clock at Night, and from that to *Culgrain*, and from that to *Deanie*, and then to the Isle of *Muilie*. The Reason of her Knowledge, because she went along with her.

Janet Frazer, Daughter to *Dumballock*, aged Sixteen Years, unmarried, sworn, and purged, Depones, That at the Time libelled, Captain *Simon Frazer*, and several

veral armed Men, came to the House of *Castle-Downie*, and thereafter, there being Guards and Centries set on my Lady's Chamber-door, the Deponent and Mrs. *Mackbryar* being my Lady *Lovat's* Servants, were, about Twelve of the Clock at Night, carry'd by Force out of my Lady's Chamber, and my Lady taking hold of the Deponent's Cloaths, and crying out when the Deponent was pulled away by Force, my Lady fell on her Face. Depones, That next Morning the Deponent came to my Lady's Chamber about Eight o'Clock in the Morning, and did see my Lady's Head hanging over the Bed Stock, and see her Face swollen. And the Deponent enquiring annent my Lady's Health, my Lady answered, *I am dead*. And about Twelve o'Clock that Day, my Lady appeared altogether unfensible, and did take the Deponent for Lady *Catherine*, my Lady's Sister, who had died several Years before, and about four o'Clock the same Afternoon, my Lady did not know her Brother my Lord *Mungo*, and could not speak to him. Depones; That about Two o'Clock the same Day, my Lady fell in a Swarf, and continued out and in the Swarf about two Hours. And this is the Truth as she shall answer to God; and depones, she cannot write.

Christian Macklain, late Servitrix to *James Frazer* of *Relict*, aged Twenty-four Years, unmarried, purged, and sworn, and interrogated by the Lord *Aberuchil*, and Mr. *Tho. Frazer* sworn Interpreter, in respect she cannot speak the *English* Language. Depones, That the Time libelled, particularly that Night that they talk of the pretended Sham Marriage, she being a Servant in the Family, had the Charge of a young Child, being in the next Room to my Ladies; and the Door of my Lady's Room, and the Room where the Deponent was, being open, and the Doors guarded by armed Men, she heard my Lady moan and lament. In the mean Time there were Bagpipes playing, and yet she heard my Lady's Voice so loud, that the Sound of the Bagpipe did not drown her Voice. Depones, That she saw *Kinmonavie* drawing a Durk from one of the Centries that was at the Room where the Deponent was, and rush into the Room where the Lady was with it. Depones, That the Deponent was guarded so strictly, that she could get neither Meat nor Drink for herself nor the Child, nor none allow'd to come near her, from Twelve o'Clock of the Day, to Eight o'Clock next Morning. Depones, she saw Captain *Simon Frazer* there, with the most Part of the other Persons insisted against, all in Arms, and saw a great many more People in Arms in and about the House. Further Depones, That before the Pipes were bended up, she heard my Lady crying and clap her Hands, saying, *Is there no Person that hath any Christian Blood in them, who will have no Re-*

ſpect to my Woes, and repeated very often, *Lord have Mercy on her Soul*. This is the Truth, as ſhe ſhall answer to God. And Depones, ſhe cannot write. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, Tho. Frazer.

Upon which Probation the Affize did return their Verdict, finding the Libel proven, with the Aggravations againſt the ſaid Captain *Simon Frazer* and the other Perſons inſiſted againſt.

After opening and reading of which Verdict of Affize, the Lords Juſtice General, Juſtice Clerk, and Commiſſioners of Juſticiary, in reſpect thereof, decerned and adjudged the ſaid Capt. *Simon Frazer*, and the whole Perſons contained in the above-written Verdict, to be executed to Death, demeaned as Traytors, and to undergo the Pains of Treason and utter Punishment, appointed by the Laws of the Realm, at ſuch Times and Places, and in ſuch Manner, as the ſaid Lords ſhould appoint: And ordained their Name, Fame, Memory and Honours, to be extinct, and their Arms to be riven forth and delete out of the Books of Arms; ſo that their Poſterity may never have Place, nor be able hereafter to bruick or joice any Honours, Offices, Titles or Dignities, within the Realm in Time coming: And to have forfeited, amitted and Tint, all and fundry their Lands, Heretages, Tacks, Steedings, Rooms, Poſſeſſions, Goods and Gear whatſoever pertaining to them, to our Sovereign Lord, to remain perpetually with his Maſteſty in Property. And this Sentence was by Sound of Trumpet, and all other Solemnities given for Doom.

The Journals of Her MAJESTY's Privy-Council, met at *Edinburgh*, Sept. 27. 1703. about Captain *Simon Frazer* of *Beaufort*, an Emiſſary of *France*, who was carrying on Deſigns againſt the Government, in the Highlands of *Scotland*.

P R E S E N T,

Duke of <i>Queensberry</i> , High Commiſſioner.	Earl of <i>Crauford</i> .
Earl of <i>Seafield</i> , Lord High Chancellor.	Earl of <i>Marr</i> .
Marq. <i>Anandale</i> , Preſident of the Council.	Earl of <i>Morton</i> .
Duke of <i>Atholl</i> , Lord Privy Seal.	Earl of <i>Galloway</i> .

Earl

Earl of *Loudoun*.
 Earl of *Leven*.
 Earl of *Forfar*.
 Earl of *Dunmore*.
 Earl of *Stair*.
 Earl of *Roseberrie*.
 Earl of *Glasgow*.
 Lord *Forbes*.
 Lord President of the Session.

Lord Register.
 Lord Advocate.
 Lord *Aberuchill*.
 Mr. *Fra. Montgomery*.
 Sheriff of *Bute*.
Kilbirnie.
Hoptoun.
Prestongrange.

Commission of Fire and Sword, the Lady LOVAT against Captain SIMON FRAZER.

ANNE, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
 Defender of the Faith, to our *Lovits*, Macers of our Privy-Council, Mes-
 sengers at Arms, our Sheriffs in that Part, conjunctly and severally, specially con-
 stituted, and to all and fundry our loyal and loving Subjects, whom it effeirs,
 Greeting. Forasmuch as, by a Petition presented to our High Commissioner,
 and the Lords of our Privy Council, by *Emilia* Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, making
 Mention, that Captain *Simon Frazer*, of *Beaufort*, being denounced Rebel, and in-
 tercommuned at the said Petitioner's Instance, upon the 16th Day of *March*, One
 Thousand Seven Hundred and Two Years, at the Market Cross of *Inverness*, and
 upon the 17th Day of *February* preceding, at the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*, for
 a most horrid and abominable Crime committed upon the said Petitioner's Person, which is
 notorious to the whole Nation; whereupon the said Captain *Simon Frazer*, having fled
 out of this Kingdom, and escap'd the Hands of Justice, yet has now adventured to return
 to that Place where his Villainy was committed, in Contempt of Authority and the Justice
 of the Nation. And therefore humbly Craving, that according to Justice and Law
 in such Cases, our said Commissioner and Lords of our Privy Council, would be
 pleased to grant and direct a *Commission of Fire and Sword against the said Captain Simon*
Frazer, an intercommuned Rebel, and his Associates, to the Commanders of our Forces,
 Sheriffs of the Shires of *Inverness* and *Ross*, and their Deputies, and such other
 Persons as our said High Commissioner and Lords of our Privy Council should
 think fit to name, as the said Petition, Letters of intercommuning therein men-
 tioned, and executions thereof produced and had in Presence of our said High
 Commissioner and Lords of our Privy Council in themselves at more length bears:
 Under which Renunciation, Intercommuning, and Outlawry aforesaid, the said
 Captain *Simon Frazer* hath ever since lien and abiden, taking no Regard thereof,

nor of our Authority and Laws, but in manifest Contempt of the same, daily and continually haunts, frequents and repairs to Kirk, Mercat, and other publick Places within this Realm, as if he were our free Liege, to the evil Example and Incouragement of others to do the like in Time coming. For preventing whereof, and vindicating our Authority from such high Contempt, We, with Advice of our said High Commissioner and Lords of our Privy Council, *Have made and constitute*, and by the Tenour hereof make and constitute the Sheriffs of the Sherifffdoms of *Ross, Inverness, Nairn, Murray, Perth, and Angus*, and their respective Deputies, and such of the Heretors within the said respective Shires, whom they shall call to their Aid and Assistance in executing the said Commission. As also all the Officers of our Forces, and the Soldiers under their Command, and particularly Brigadier *James Maitland*, Governor of *Fort William*, Captain *William Grant*, Captain of one of the Independent Companies, and the Officers and Soldiers under their Commands, respective, our Commissioners and Justices in that Part, to the Effect after specified, *Giving, Granting and Committing to them, and each of them, conjunctly and severally, our full Power and Command, express bidding and charge, to convocate our Leidges in Arms, to pass and search for, see, follow, take, apprehend, imprison, or present to Justice, and in case of Resistance, Hostility or Opposition, to pursue to the Death the said Captain Simon Frazer, Outlaw'd and Fugitive foresaid, and such Persons as shall associate themselves to him, and resist the Execution of this our Commission wherever he can be apprehended.* And if the said Captain Simon Frazer, and they who shall associate themselves to him, in opposition to this Commission, shall, for his or their Refuge, happen to flee to Houses or Strengths, in that Case, We, with Advice foresaid, give full Power and Commission to our said Commissioners conjunctly and severally as said is, to pass, pursue and assiege the said Houses or Strengths, raise Fire, and use all Force and warlike Engines that can be had for winning and recovering thereof, *and apprehending the said Captain Simon Frazer, and such Persons as shall associate themselves to him, in resisting the Execution of this Commission, as Rebels and Traitors.*

And if in Pursuit of the said Rebels (they resisting to be taken) or in Assieging the said Strengths or Houses, there shall happen Slaughter, Mutilation, Fire-raising, Destruction of Corn, or Goods, or other Inconveniency whatsoever to follow, We, with Advice foresaid, *Will and grant, and for Us, and our Successors, discern and declare, That the same shall not be imputed or charged as any Crime or Offence to our said Commissioners, nor to the Persons assisting them in the Execution of this our Commission, and that they, nor none of them, shall be called or accused therefore criminally or civilly in Time coming, exonerating them and each of them thereof, and of all Punishment and Danger that they, or any of them shall happen to incur there through for ever.* And

for the better Execution of this our Commission with Power to our said Commissioners, conjunctly and severally, as said is, and such Persons our Leidges, as shall be convocate by them, or shall be joined with them to the Effect foresaid, to bear, wear, and use Swords, Hagbuts, Pistols, and other warlike Weapons, in their going from their own Houses to this our Service, in the Time that they are in the Prosecution of the same, and in their Return home to their said Houses; and generally all and sundry other Things to do, use and exerce, which to the Execution of such Commissions, by the Law, and Consuetude of this Realm, is known to appertain, firm and stable, holding, and for to hold, all and whatsoever Things shall be lawfully done therein by our said Commissioners, or any of them: And this our said Commission is hereby declared to stand, and endure, ay and while the same shall be charg'd by Us, and the Lords of our Privy Council. **OUR WILL IS THEREFORE**, and we charge you strictly and command, That incontinent these our Letters seen, ye pass, and in our Name and Authority, make Publication hereof by open Proclamation at the Market-Crosses of the head Burghs of the Sherifdoms of *Ross, Inverness, Nairn, Murray, Perth, and Angus*, and other Places needful, that none may pretend Ignorance of the same, and that ye command and charge all our Leidges to reverence, acknowledge, and obey, concur with, fortify and assist our said Commissioners, and every one of them in all Things tending to the Execution of this our Commission, as they and ilk one of them, will be answerable upon their Obedience and highest Peril. The whilk to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full Power by thir our Letters, delivering them to you, duly execute, and indorsed again to the Bearer.

Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, the Twenty-seventh Day of September, and of our Reign the Second Year, 1703.

Sic Subscribitur.

Seafeld, Cancellar.

Athol, C. P. S.

Mar.

Kintore.

Dunmore.

Glasgow.

Galloway.

Loudon.

Forfar.

Roseberrie.

Forbes.

Ja. Murray.

M. F. Montgomery.

At Edinburgh, the 27th Day of September, One Thousand Seven Hundred and three Years.

The

The Commission within written is recorded in the Books of Privy Council,

By me,

Gil. Eliot. Cls. Sti. Conf.

An Account of the Proceedings against Dr. *Titus Oates*, at the Quarter-Sessions held in *Westminster-Hall* on *Thursday*, *July* the 2d, 1702, for scandalizing and assaulting Mrs. *Eleanor James*; and of his being found guilty, and fined for the same. To which is added, Mrs. *James's* Case relating thereto.

ON *Thursday* last, being the 2d Instant, *July*, Dr. *Titus Oates*, and Mrs. *Eleanor James* had a Hearing at the Quarter Sessions held for the City of *Westminster*, relating to an Assault that was made by the said *Titus Oates* on the Body of Mrs. *James*: As also for several scandalous and reflecting Expressions, the Particulars of which were to this Effect, That the Plaintiff Mrs. *James* happening to meet the said *Oates* some time since in the Court of Requests, where, only asking him some modest Questions, he was so enraged, that in a violent and riotous Manner struck her on the Head with his Cane, putting her in bodily Fear; and not only so, but attempted to repeat his Blows a second Time, tho' prevented; after which, her Council having declared the customary Scandals that the Defendant had been guilty of, as well against the Dead as living (besides the Matter in Question) and of the evil Consequences that has attended them. Mrs. *James's* Evidence were called, who made it appear, that *Oates* had assaulted her as afore-said; has also proved the said reflecting Expressions, tho' *Oates's* Council endeavoured to insinuate that she made the first Assault, by pulling him by the Sleeve; but it being made appear that her taking him by the Sleeve was done by Way of Admonition, in a friendly Manner, without the least Appearance of Anger; the Court, after some Consideration, gave it in Favour of Mrs. *James*, and thereupon was ordering a considerable Fine to be paid by the said *Titus Oates*, for committing the said Assault and Scandal: But upon the Doctor's acknowledging the Crime, and promising to refrain from such like Scandals for the future, and withal alledging he was above a Thousand Pounds in Debt, and consequently

incapable

uncapable to pay a large Fine, but must be obliged to lie in Prison all his Life for its Payment ; and upon his engaging that he would never affront, scandalize, or assault Mrs. *Eleanor James*, or any other Person whatsoever in the like Nature any more, he was only fined six Marks and dismissed the Court, but not without a severe Check for acting so irreverently and unbecoming his Profession.

The chief Heads of Mrs. *James's* Case, relating to the Occasion of her differing with *Titus Oates*, as abovesaid.

Mrs. *Eleanor James* having heard the abovesaid *Oates* speak very disrespectful-ly of K. *Charles II.* and also of the Word of God, she was troubled to see him wear the canonical Habit, and therefore, meeting him in the Court of Request (as abovesaid) she asked him why he presum'd to wear the Robes of the Church, when he knew himself an Anabaptist ? In Answer to which he returned her (as a Mark of his Favour) a dreadful Blow on the Head, and had he not been prevented by a Gentleman (something civiler than himself) he would have repeated his Strokes ; upon which she was pleased to petition the House of Lords about it, to this Effect, *viz.*

‘ I humbly intreat your Lordships, for the Love of God, and for the Sake of
 ‘ Religion, (to which *Oates* is a Scandal) to forbid him wearing the Gown, and
 ‘ order his Cane to be burnt, that it may no more be an Instrument of Mis-
 ‘ chief. And as it is in your Lordship’s Power to lessen his Pension, he having
 ‘ 300*l. per Annum* ; if Part of that was given to poor Ministers Widows, it
 ‘ would glorify God, and bring a Blessing on your Lordships and the Nation :
 ‘ Indeed he was made an Instrument to discover the Popish Plot, and had he
 ‘ kept to Truth, he might have done some Service ; but telling Lies which the
 ‘ King knew to be such, made him not believe what might be true, and so
 ‘ thought his Brother and the Roman Catholicks were injured, so that *Oates* was
 ‘ an Instrument to carry the Plot on under the Pretence of preventing it : And
 ‘ this is the Man who some has idoliz’d as Saviour of the Nation.

‘ I wish it was seriously considered what great Evils such Scandals do, espe-
 ‘ cially when it happens upon Magistrates, to asperse them with Popery when
 ‘ they are innocent ; for by that Notion the Jews destroyed Christ, pretending he
 ‘ would bring in the *Romans*, and King *Charles* the first fell under that malicious
 ‘ Pretence, &c. Therefore, seeing Lying does so much Mischief, it ought to be
 ‘ severely punished.

And

And in another Paper she says thus,

‘ Is there any Reason (quoth she) I should be scandalized and abused for my
‘ innocent Intentions and good Endeavours, by *Oates*, that uncircumcised *Phili-*
‘ *stian*, whose Actions are as black as Hell, one whom Justice, for the blackness
‘ of his Crime, excluded him from the common Benefit of Mankind, that his
‘ Oath might not be taken in any Court of Justice.

‘ And was it a Crime in me to take him by the Sleeve and ask him a Question,
‘ when I have taken Kings, Princes and Governours by the Hands. Sure he
‘ showed himself more like a Devil than a Doctor, in endeavouring to beat out
‘ my Brains with his Cane ; therefore I think there’s not any Man that has any
‘ Sense of God and Goodness can be on his Side ; for what is worse than a lying
‘ Tongue ? St. *James* says, *It is set on Fire of Hell*. And Christ compares false
‘ Teachers to devouring Wolves, and Dr. *Oates* is known to be such, and why
‘ should he wear the Church Livery ? I hope all good Men will be against it.
‘ And as I am innocent of all his Accusations, so I desire I may obtain Justice ;
‘ for all hope now to see Justice appear in her perfect Beauty, and that Lying will
‘ not be encouraged, nor Perjury rewarded.’

It was signed,

ELEANOR JAMES.

Secret Transactions during the hundred Days Mr. *William Gregg* lay in *Newgate*, under Sentence of Death for High-Treason, from the Day of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution. Printed 1711.

PUBLISHED

FOR the better Information of such as have been deluded, misinformed, or impos’d on by the dishonest Abettors of a late Set of Men, whose Power and Prevalency occasion’d many to take up with such Reports, as Malice and Interest dictated. While (through their Suppression of the Truth) abundance of others remain’d wholly ignorant, or have imbib’d nothing but the partial Suggestions of the Party they side with.

This

This Impartial Account

Is Dedicated to all honest Men, who will (doubtlessly) consider, and be convinc'd hereby,

How truly bright and spotless the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley's* Reputation must be, which the Subtilty, Lies, Venom, and unprecedented Malignancy of the late Mighty Party (he has overturn'd) could no Ways blast.

A P O L O G Y.

There is a Satisfaction, which none but good and honest Men can feel, in vindicating *Virtue, Merit, and Innocence*, from the most abandon'd Imputations of inveterate and unjust Men; especially when it is done for no other Cause, but for the Love, and for the Sake of *Justice and Humanity*; the only Principle, and sole Motive of my *Present Undertaking*.

I was Abroad at the Time of Mr. *William Gregg's* Tryal, insomuch, that till very lately, (tho' it made so much Noise in the World) I had neither a just Account of it, nor seen his Dying Speech, only by the common Vogue. The great Esteem People had of the Duke of *Marlborough*, on Account of his Glorious Successes Abroad, occasion'd them to think very hardly of the Right Honourable Mr. *ROBERT HARLEY*, then one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, when (as was reported) they heard his Grace would have laid down, unless the Other was remov'd.

And this Report, indeed, was the heaviest Pressure Mr. *Harley's* Reputation lay under, to have so much Merit oppos'd to his own, which notwithstanding, has at length redounded to *his Honour*.

Hearing some People very lately reflect on Mr. *Harley*, on *Gregg's* Account, even since his being made a PEER, and Lord High TREASURER; I thought myself obliged, by *Truth and Justice*, to remove their Prejudices, which I did effectually, by giving them the following Account, as I received it from Mr. *Lorrain* himself, who, as I told them, had the best Opportunity in the World, to know the very bottom of *Gregg's* Heart; and whom all that know him, will attest to be a very good, pious, honest Man.

I have myself known him a long Time, and have neither ever heard, or had Reason to think his Conduct, in the least, blameable; which is a Character none ever maintain'd in his Station, (or especially of late.) And very few Clergymen

have discharg'd the Duty of their *Function* so well, in Stations more agreeable and beneficial, *beyond Compare*.

Mr. *Lorrain* did, in a most solemn and ready Manner, declare to me, not only his being fully convinced of Mr. *Harley's* Innocence, but told me of so many Endeavours to corrupt *Gregg's* Conscience, not only with repeated Offers of Life, but of great Preferments and Advantages; that indeed on his Relation of it to me, I felt as much Uneasiness, lest he should betray his Master, as if it had been then *my own Case*.

'Tis apparent from hence, that some Persons stabb'd as directly and villainously at Mr. *Harley's* Life then, as *Guiscard* did since.

As a Proof of what I have said, I have printed, and caus'd to be published, a True Copy of a Letter written to me by Mr. *Lorrain* himself, (which I keep by me) of what relates to Mr. *William Gregg*, while he was under Mr. *Lorrain's* Care of his Soul.

As Mr. *Lorrain's* Letter is full of Piety, Moderation, and honest Truth, without any Mixture of Bitterness, or Prejudice, 'tis a sufficient Evidence that it is IMPARTIAL and TRUE.

So that I only desire the Reader thoroughly to peruse and consider it, with *Gregg's* own *Dying Speech*, reprinted Word for Word, and subjoin'd to it, and refer it to every honest Man's Conscience, to be the Guide of his *Belief, Discourse,* and *Conduct*, in Relation to Persons and Parties, for the future, being herein

To our Queen,

A most faithful and dutiful Subject ;

And of my Native Country,

An Affectionate Lover and Servant,

FRANCIS HOFFMAN.

A True Copy of the Ordinary of *Newgate*, the Reverend
Mr. *Paul Lorrain's* Letter, to *Francis Hoffman*.

My good Friend,

‘ **W**HEN you were with me Yesterday, you know I was in haste to go to St.
‘ *Andrews*, and could not for that Reason give you the Account you then
‘ desired; but promised it you against this Morning.

‘ That I may be as good as my Word, I have (being now engaged in Business
‘ from Home) left this to refresh your Memory, in what I once, and more than
‘ once, told you, about Mr. *William Gregg*.

‘ When that unfortunate Person was under Sentence of Death for High-Trea-
‘ son, I (according to the Duty of my Place) constantly visited him, pray’d with
‘ him, examin’d him, and apply’d such Directions and Exhortations to him, as
‘ I thought most suitable for the well-disposing him, and preparing him for
‘ **ANOTHER WORLD**.

‘ I found him to be a Man of Parts, and very sensible of his heinous Crime,
‘ which he readily confest, and for which, he express’d great *Horror, Sorrow, and*
‘ *Repentance*.

‘ I often press’d him to discover who (if any) were concern’d with him, in that
‘ *Treasonable Fact*.

‘ And press’d him also, (in an especial Manner, upon his Eternal Salvation,
‘ and as he should answer it at the Great Tribunal of God) freely to tell me,
‘ whether Mr. *Harley*, did know any Thing of it, or was any ways concern’d, or
‘ to be concern’d in it.

‘ To which he answer’d me, with the greatest and solemnest Affirmation and
‘ Protestation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his Knees, and calling
‘ the Great God to Witness) That that Honourable Gentleman,

Mr. *ROBERT HARLEY*,

‘ knew nothing of it, neither was to know, nor to be concern’d in it.

‘ Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I then grew jealous of
‘ those People that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were so far
‘ from offering him any Thing to quiet his Conscience, that, on the contrary,
‘ they gave a great Disturbance to it.

‘ It seems, that among the rest, some Friends of that Honourable Gentleman’s
‘ coming to see this Prisoner, I then express’d some Dislike of his being so much
‘ disturb’d, by Persons that resorted to him, even at those Hours, when myself

‘ was to be at Prayer with him; but I knew not who those Persons were, that
 ‘ thus came to him, and my endeavouring to keep them from him, was with no
 ‘ other Design, than for the Good of that poor Man’s Soul, who did all along
 ‘ express to me his great Desire of being in the Chapel, and privately in his Room,
 ‘ with me, as much as possible.

‘ And as he also told me, that he was proffer’d his Life, and a great Reward, if
 ‘ he would accuse his Master; so I must own to you, I was very uneasy at his
 ‘ frequent Visitors, especially when I considered how they disturb’d his Mind,
 ‘ and how much they took up of his precious Moments, and hindered him from
 ‘ his Devotions, and my Assurances to him therein.

‘ I urged him, many and many Times and Ways, to clear his Conscience, and
 ‘ not violate it for the whole World, telling him, that it was infinitely better to
 ‘ dye with a good Conscience than make Shipwreck of it, and save his Life
 ‘ here; yea, and gain the whole World; by laying a false Accusation on that
 ‘ Honourable Person, or any other he knew to be Innocent, for that would cer-
 ‘ tainly make him miserable, both here and ever, &c.

‘ With such-like Expressions and Admonitions (God’s Grace intervening)
 ‘ I fix’d his (then unsettled) Conscience, wean’d him from the vain Hopes and
 ‘ Desires of this Life, and directed his Thoughts and Affections to far better
 ‘ Things, which I told him, it was possible for him to obtain, if he earnestly
 ‘ and entirely labour’d after them.

‘ He thank’d me for my good Advice, and the great Concern I shew’d for
 ‘ his Eternal Welfare, and said, he would now give the deaf Ear to the World,
 ‘ and so hoped God’s Ear would be open to his Prayers, &c.

‘ At the Place of Execution, he thank’d me publicly for all my Pains with
 ‘ him, which had prov’d so happy to his Soul, praying God to bless me, and my
 ‘ Family.

‘ Then he deliver’d a Paper into my Hand, for me to publish; in which Pa-
 ‘ per, he, (among other Things) acknowledges God’s Mercy to him, in prevent-
 ‘ ing him from prostituting his Conscience, to save his Life.

‘ Now the Reason why I did not presently publish that Paper, was this,
 ‘ That it was commanded, and kept from me by the then present Sheriffs,
 ‘ Sir *Benjamin Green*, (to whom I was then Chaplain) and Sir *Charles Piers*, even
 ‘ from the Time of its Delivery, which was the 28th of *April* 1708, to the 6th
 ‘ of *May*, then next ensuing, at which Time, having receiv’d it again, I wait-
 ‘ ed with it on the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, then one of her
 ‘ Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, who immediately gave me Leave to
 ‘ publish it.

‘ Telling

‘ Telling me withal, that I was the properest Person to authorize such Papers,
 ‘ as were thus deliver’d to me.

‘ Upon this, I forthwith sent it to the Press, and it then appear’d under my
 ‘ Name, as you may see by the printed Copy here enclos’d.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Your very humble Servant, and

Christ’s Hospital, Tuesday Morning,

Affectionate Servant,

June 13, 1711.

PAUL LORRAIN.

A Copy of *William Gregg’s* Paper, delivered by him to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, Sir *Benjamin Green*, and Sir *Charles Piers*, and *Paul Lorrain*, Ordinary of *Newgate*, at *Tyburn*, the Place where he was executed for High-Treason, on *Wednesday* the 28th of *April*, 1708. Printed from the Original, and publish’d by Authority.

‘ **T**HE Crime, I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great Noise in
 ‘ the World, a Paper of a more than ordinary Length will be expected
 ‘ from the Criminal; who, therefore takes this last Opportunity to profess his
 ‘ utter Abhorrence, and sincere Repentance of all his Sins against God, and of
 ‘ the Heinous Crime committed against the QUEEN, whose Forgiveness I most
 ‘ humbly implore, as I shall heartily pray for HER MAJESTY’s long Life and
 ‘ happy Reign over her United People, and Success against her Enemies, with
 ‘ my parting Breath.

‘ This being all the Satisfaction I can make Injur’d Majesty,

‘ I declare, in the next Place, the Reparation I would make (were it in my
 ‘ Power) to those of her Majesty’s Subjects, I have wrong’d in any Kind,

‘ And particularly, the Right Honourable *ROBERT HARLEY*, Esq; whose
 ‘ Pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my Trust. Which Declaration, tho’
 ‘ of itself sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet for the Sake of those whom

‘ it

‘ it was my Misfortune, not to be able to satisfy in my Life-Time, I do sacredly
 ‘ protest, That as I shall answer it before the Judgment Seat of CHRIST, the
 ‘ Gentleman, aforesaid, was not privy to my writing to *France*, Directly, nor In-
 ‘ directly.

‘ Neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways accessory to the Miscarriage be-
 ‘ fore *Thoulon*, nor the Losses by Sea; all which happen’d before the first of my
 ‘ Letters, which was written the 24th of *October*, 1707.

‘ As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly
 ‘ beg they would forgive me, and I pray God to make up their Losses to them
 ‘ Seven-fold.

‘ For my own Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and dye in perfect Charity
 ‘ with them, not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveness, thro’ the
 ‘ Merits of *Jesus Christ* with GOD, who in Mercy touch’d my Conscience, so
 ‘ powerfully from the Beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save
 ‘ my Life; for which Instance of his Love, (to be prefer’d before Life itself) I
 ‘ bless and magnify his Holy Name, with unspeakable Joy and Comfort, at my
 ‘ Death, nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a Life.

‘ After this Confession, the Duty of a dying Man, leads me to profess the Reli-
 ‘ gion in which I was brought up, and do now dye, which is *the Protestant*.

‘ The Scandal given whereunto, by my enormous Practices, cannot be better
 ‘ taken away, than by my publishing to the World my hearty Sorrow for those
 ‘ sensual Pleasures which have prov’d my Bane.

‘ Wherefore, let all that shall read this poor Paper, take Warning by me, to
 ‘ shun the like Youthful Lusts, to which, whoever gives up himself, cannot
 ‘ tell how far they may (when indulged) carry him, even to the committing of
 ‘ such Crimes, as he thought himself incapable of, some time a Day.

‘ Of which sad Truth, I (to my woful Experience) am a melancholy Instance;
 ‘ but at the same Time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom I am now
 ‘ going to appear, that, notwithstanding all the Pains taken to make me out
 ‘ an old Offender, by fastening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin;
 ‘ this is the first Fault that ever I ventured upon, which was not out of Zeal for
 ‘ the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my Death, but solemnly declare,
 ‘ that in all my Life, I never thought he had any Right to these Realms, how
 ‘ foolishly soever I may have rendred myself obnoxious in this Particular.

‘ But the only Motive of my mad Undertaking, was Money, of which I never
 ‘ receiv’d any, on account of the Ship Pass, though I have met with the more
 ‘ just Reward of such secret Services, intended by

IV. GREGG.’

All

All that the Sessions Paper says of his Tryal, is, that,

William Gregg, of the Parish of *St. Martins in the Fields*, Gent. was indicted for High-Treason against the Queen and Government, in corresponding with Her Majesty's Enemies.

The Proceedings of which will be printed by itself, and publish'd in a few Days.

But the Proceedings at his Tryal were never printed.

Here it is evident, that he lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death pass'd on him for High-Treason, in corresponding with Her Majesty's Enemies, from the Nineteenth Day of *January* 1707-8, to *April* the 28th 1708, which was the Day of his Execution, as a Traytor at *Tyburn*.

So that in the whole, he lay'd under Sentence of Death, from the Time of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution, *One Hundred Days*.

All which Time, *Mr. Lorrain* labour'd very diligently, and devoutly with him, by good Admonitions, and frequent Prayers to God for him, and with him, that he might not violate his Conscience, nor betray his Master.

While on the other Side, *Gregg* often declar'd to *Mr. Lorrain*, no Manner of Solicitations, or Offers of Life, Preferment, and great Advantages were wanting to induce him to bring *Mr. Harley's* innocent Blood on his Head.

So long a Respite from Death, as one Hundred Days, was enough to make any Man so unwilling to dye, as to make him to do any Thing to save his Life, right or wrong, and *Mr. Lorrain* said *Gregg* so often wavered in his Mind about it, being put so much, and so often, in hopes of living with Splendor by certain Persons, that he almost resolv'd to say and do any Thing *Mr. Harley's* Enemies would have him.

Against which, *Mr. Lorrain* fortified his Mind with all Manner of upright Industry, and at length with final Success. So that *Gregg* gave a deaf Ear to all their farther Attempts.

Here was One Hundred Days hard Struggle between Life and Death, *Innocence* and *Party-Malice*.

Who those Persons were that offer'd *Gregg* his Life, with great Preferments and Advantages (if he would but accuse his Master) may not uneasily be guess'd at; for most of the Time he was lock'd up, none but People of Note were permitted to come near him, who made him strange Promises, and often repeated them. However, it is not improbable, but we may see them taken in the very same Net they so inhumanly spread for the Life of another, and deservedly fall into their own Mischief.

And

And here it would be worth while to examine, how, and why, a certain Person got out of *Newgate*; who was justly confin'd there for Life, by Act of Parliament.

But cunning as they were, all their Councils were of none Effect; all their Attempts against Mr. *Harley's* Life, were baffled.

Neither One Hundred Days Time to contrive something specious against him.

Not all their Tamperings with the Conscience of a Man of an ill Life, under the Fear of Death, and horrible Dread of Something worse.

Nor the Assistance of so many long-headed Iniquity-mongers, could prevail against Mr. *Harley's* single Innocence.

This seems astonishing, to see so mighty, so rich a Party, come off so poorly.

Reduc'd to their last Shifts, little Tricks, like the After-Drops of a Shower.

Submitting to stop *Gregg's* dying Speech for eight Days only.

And then, when it was publish'd by another Hand, for the two Sheriffs of *London*, to send Mr. *Lorrain* to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to ask Leave to print a dying Speech, they had commanded, and kept from him, till to keep it any longer, or indeed so long, was a burning Shame to them, but of no Manner of farther Service.

From hence you may conclude, how generous it was to say to Mr. *Lorrain*,

You are the proper Person to give Authority to this Paper, and I will give you my Word, you shall come to no Trouble for the printing and publishing it.

This, I say, was a generous Liberty indeed, when they had conceal'd as long as they could, a Truth, which trumpeted out their own Injustice and Dishonour, at the same Time, as it gave an unextinguishable Lustre to the Innocence and Loyalty of the Man, whose Life they fought.

The COMMITTEE of Lords appointed to examine Gregg; were,

Devonshire,
Somerset,
Bolton, } Dukes.

|
Earl of *Wharton*,
Lord Visc. *Townshend*,
Lord *Sommers*,
Lord *Halifax*,

More Secret Transactions relating to the Case of Mr. *William Gregg*. By the Author of the former Part. Printed in the Year 1711.

To the AUTHOR of the Letter to the Seven Lords.

WERE ever Seven Lords so blest, so honoured, in a Letter before, as by yours, Intituled, *A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg*? In which you tell them with unusual Confidence and Self-Conceit, that the publick Writers treat them as Rogues, Rascals, Cheats, Villains, Enemies of the Nation, Affronters of the Queen, Subverters of the Constitution, &c.

I am amazed at your Assurance, in applying these Terms to them; none but yourself would have been so mad as to do it.

Neither could I any ways think otherwise, but that you was hired by some implacable Enemies of their Lordships, to render their Honours as odious to Mankind as possible, by publishing to the whole Nation, that when any eminent Writers treat of ill-designing Men, you can apply it to none but themselves, in a Parenthesis; thus, i. e. *Your Seven Lordships*.

No other Enemy of their Lordships, but your self, would so insolently presume to point at them, and cry, they mean, i. e. *Your Lordships certainly*.

But as to your being hired; tho' it may be possible for their Lordships to have Enemies as viperous as yourself, I cannot think any rational Creature could be so void of common Sense and Prudence, as to hire so vain, so wretched a Scribler, as your Performance shews you to be.

I find you would fain have the *Examiner* condescend to take Notice of you, but no such Honour will fall to your Share.

I am sorry to find you so disturbed in your Mind, on Account of my Paper of *Secret Transactions*, during the hundred Days *Gregg* lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death, which you say cannot well be afforded at so cheap a Rate as a Penny, as the Lord-Booksellers informed you. I find they can very easily impose on you, and I doubt not but they made you pay through the Nose for printing your Three-penny Letter, to which a Penny Answer is more than sufficient, which is a plain Proof, that we, who write on the Behalf of the manifestly clear and untainted Honesty of Mr. *H—*, take Example by the present Ministry, and do

not put the Publick to three Times more Charge than is necessary, as you have done in your Three-penny Letter, and as your Party have often, but most notoriously done, for no other Cause, but out of strange Extravagance, Vanity, and Pride; instead of erecting new Temples in Honour of the Most High.

In Honour of whom, and by whose Grace, Men preserve a good Conscience, the happy Effects of which are a chearful Countenance, and an inward Satisfaction, which it is not in the Power of Man to take away: This is what our Saviour alluded to, when he thus expressed himself to his Disciples:

And your Joy no Man taketh from you.

Among other Discourses which we had in Company of some Strangers at Mr. Lorrain's, just on the publishing of my Paper of *Secret Transactions*, &c. Mrs. Lorrain gave us the following Relation of what she observed in a particular Manner of Gregg, viz.

‘ That during the Time Gregg had Offers made him of his Life, and he continued in Suspence, whether he should bring Mr. Harley's innocent Blood on his Head, or no, he laboured under very strange and violent Agonies of Mind; which Violence had so great an Effect on his Countenance, and Bodily Health, that he not only looked like Death itself, but wasted away beyond Expression; as his Soul was full of inutterable Trouble between the Desires of Life and Fear of Death, the Struggles of his Conscience in Behalf of Innocence, and the strong Temptations not only to save his Life, but of living with Splendor, that he might justly be said to be most exquisitely tortured on the very Rack of Nature itself.

‘ So in this his extream Perplexity, Mr. Lorrain did all that a sincere and pious Minister could do; as first, he set before him the Impossibility of being ever happy here or hereafter, after so black Crimes, and so heinous a Murder, as that of his Master, and the Multitude of enormous Perjuries by which he must bring it to pass, with a thousand other Evils at the Heels of it; and lastly, added, That as the best of Men could not be depended on in any Measure like a good God, so the Promises of the Persons who offered him his Life, were infinitely less to be depended on; since without regard to Heaven, Conscience, or the Innocence of the Person whose Life they sought, they tempted him to so foul a Deed. On these Considerations, Mr. Gregg took a firm Resolution to die with a good Conscience; and from that Time, his Countenance and bodily Health returned to their former Chearfulness and Vigour faster than they declined before.’

You

You do, and must allow (because Malice itself can do no otherwise) Mr. H--- to be untainted and manifestly innocent ; and yet you will not have it to be a proper Expression, to say, Betray no innocent Person, tho' *Judas* betrayed his Master, who was a Person the most innocent.

However, your Exception or Criticism on the Word *Betray*, betrays who set you at Work, if you are not that very Person (as I have Reason to think you are) who told me in positive Terms, nobody made *Gregg* any Offers but Mr. H--- himself ; tho' you affirm in your Letter, Mr. H--- was manifestly clear and untainted ; but you can say and unsay as you please, with your own peculiar Air.

As to my Uneasiness (lest Innocence should be betrayed) seeming to you ill-timed. Now Mr. H--- is safe and great, if you had read the *Secret Transactions* (while in those Lord-guiding Hands of yours, as you were pleased to acquaint their Lordships) you would have found, that I, having been in foreign Parts, from the Time of *Gregg's* Trial till very lately, could not have tim'd it sooner, nor more seasonably, than at a Time when Mr. H---'s Conduct began to be applauded, even by his Enemies, or rather those honest Men who had sided with them in behalf of Liberty of Conscience, Liberty of the Subject, &c. for which the ruined Party seemed so zealous.

I appeal to yourself, whether what I published was not seasonable (though you and your Party have Cause to think it ill timed on your own Accounts) at a critical Juncture, when honest Men began to suspect your Party's Treacheries, and to be sensible that Mr. H--- was really that Lover of his Country, whom the best of your Friends could only pretend to be, who had suppressed *Gregg's* Dying Speech, and imposed inveterate and malicious Accounts thereof on the Publick, instead of the Truth you have confessed and published in your Letter.

Now I appeal to you again, whether or no I could have timed any Truth better, or more seasonably, than at a Juncture when Truth and Humanity began once more to find a fair and sincere Reception among the higher Powers, and from their great Examples, among all the inferior Ranks of the People.

But nothing can be more mortifying to you, and *your greatest Ministers of State, as you term them*, than to behold all those honest Men, whom by your Artifices you had deluded and misinformed, leaving you, and flying from your Snares of Disloyalty and Hypocrisy, and entertaining a just Affection and Veneration for the Man, whom you cannot but affirm to be innocent ; though your Party, by suppressing *Gregg's* Dying Speech, did all they could to leave ill Impressions in Peoples Minds against him.

The *Examiner* may well call yours a ruined Party ; since you (like desperate People) take all Opportunities to rush headlong to your final Ruin.

You fell headlong in your Attempt to make the Resistance of your Sovereign lawful, in her Reign, who deserved all Manner of Obedience and Gratitude at your Hands.

You fell headlong in your Attempts against the Life of the loyal Favourite she delights to honour.

And you are now falling headlong from the Esteem of all good and honest Men, down to the lowest Degree of Ignominy and Confusion.

And all truly conscientious *Dissenters* begin to be sensible, That in the present Lord High Treasurer they have a true Friend, in Relation to Liberty, Property, and Conscience, who does not like your Friends to make an Outcry in Behalf of the Liberty of the Subject, and at the same Time engross almost all the Places of Profit into his own Family or Hands, to the Exclusion of the Rights of his Sovereign, as well as the very Rights of their Fellow Subjects; of which they pretend to be such Patrons.

But the most infamous Piece of Ingratitude of which your Party are guilty, is their endeavouring to tax their Sovereign with Want of Sense, for no other Cause but her Munificence, Patience, and Indulgence towards them; of whom her late She-Favourite cannot but own her Delight was to be *always the same*.

*Kindly her Domesticks using,
Loving all beneath her Care;
When accus'd, their Faults excusing;
These her private Pleasures are.*

*Never to a Change inclining,
Till she found the Case so plain;
(Mercy in her Justice shining)
Other Methods were in vain.*

You taxing so good a Queen with want of Sense, is the horrible Gulf, down which your Party are tumbling headlong, finally and irrecoverably for ever; the Eyes of all *Europe* see you, every loyal and honest Heart condemns you, and your Ingratitude renders it impossible to preserve the least Pity or Compassion for you.

In the upper Part of your 20th Page, you Question, Whether your Sovereign will make any Observations at all; at the Bottom of the same Page, you say, Your Sovereign will not recal her old Servants, whose Looks you Affirm your Sovereign cannot bear; (What strange Looks must they have) because, as you say, wrongfully suspected, and for fear of her being taxed with Inconstancy; and

and then sum up the whole in the most treasonable and traiterous Manner you can express it.

In your 21st Page, beginning Line the third, only putting She instead of He: For you must allow me to point out one Meaning of yours, who have pointed out so many for other People, you affirm meaning the Queen.

She will much less think of discarding her new Choice upon finding her Mistakes, viz. *That she wrongfully suspected them.*

Which is not only calling her Sense of Right and Wrong in question, but is a bare-faced Insinuation, that she has no Disposition in her, either to Justice or Humanity.

And here I will appeal, in your own Words, to the *French* King and his Counsellors, to the Pretender, and all the rest of your Friends and his Abettors, whether is greater, *Your Folly or your Impudence?*

And I am sure the King of *France* would have hanged you up immediately, had you been his Subject, as you are his Votary, for saying half so much against him, notwithstanding you have done what you call the fairest thing in the World, (*i. e.* your appealing to him and the Pretender) in giving them Precedence before your lawful Sovereign, and all the other Princes of *Europe*, in your grand Appeal.

I shall conclude the whole with this final Remark on you in your own Phrases.

That no Sovereign had ever so base, so audacious a Wretch of a Subject, nor did seven noble Lords ever receive a Letter from such a Hedge-writer as yourself, and so *unskilful a Sycophant.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

July 22, 1711.

SIR *Charles Piers* told me, Mr. *William Gregg* desired him to give his Dying Speech into the Queen's own Hands; but it being a Matter of High Treason, he thought it not proper to deliver it to her Majesty any otherwise than by the Hands of the then Principal Secretaries of State; but he has quite forgotten, as he says, to which of them.

Sir *Charles* readily owned, that *Gregg's* Dying Speech, printed by Mr. *Lorrain*, was according to his and Mr. *Lorrain's* Copy, which agreed with his, and that there was a third Copy, which *Gregg* told him he had deliver'd to another Hand, who published it several Days before Mr. *Lorrain's* came out.

And

And Sir *Charles Piers's* Lady said, Sir *Charles* read the Copy *Gregg* gave him of his Dying Speech to her, which she remembered so well, that she could safely give her Oath as to the Truth of what was published.

This Confirmation of the Dying Speech of Mr. *William Gregg*, published by Mr. *Lorrain*, by two such eminent Persons, will, I hope, satisfy some certain Persons, who seemed to me very unwilling to be convinced, That Mr. *William Gregg* did, in his Dying Speech, fairly, freely, publickly, and solemnly, clear and justify the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley* from any Manner of Concern with him in his Treason.

Sir *Charles Piers* does not deny, but that he receiv'd Mr. *Lorrain's* Copy, and kept it in his Hands several Days, during which the other was published, and might, on Business, be from Home once or twice when Mr. *Lorrain* came for it, and does not know but Mr. *Lorrain* might have had it the next Day if he would; but the whole being a trifling Concern, has quite forgot whether it was so or no. All which Forgetfulness of Sir *Charles* proceeded, as I suppose, from his little thinking at that Time Mr. *Harley* would ever have been so great as now: As indeed, who would ever have thought, much less have believed, that, as Matters were then carried, the most excellent Queen herself could ever have given so particular a Proof of her Wisdom and Power, as in advancing the present Lord High Treasurer; or with so much Glory to herself, have vindicated the Dread and Awefulness of her Sacred Majesty, by casting down the audacious *Phaetons*, to the Surprize and Astonishment of all *Europe*?

Sir *Charles Piers* said, tho' Mr. *Lorrain* had kept Minutes of *Gregg's* Affairs, and he had not, he would keep very severe and exact Minutes, when he came to be Lord Mayor; and that Persons had best take Care what they spoke of him; was angry with Mr. *Lorrain* for mentioning his Name without conferring with him first; and then informed me, That his Word, as a Christian, would go as far as Mr. *Lorrain's* *Verbum Sacerdotis*, for all he was a Priest; and said, he told Mr. *Lorrain* as much before the present Lord Mayor and the Judges this last Sessions at the *Old Bailey*.

Francis Hoffman.

*Her MAJESTY's Reasons for Creating the Electoral Prince of
HANOVER a Peer of this Realm: Or, the Preamble to his
Patent as Duke of CAMBRIDGE. In Latin and English;
With Remarks upon the same. 1712.*

CUM serenissima domus Electoralis Brunsvico-Luneburgensis e Regia Majorum nostrorum stirpe oriunda sit, & avita regna (si nos sine prole decesserimus) secundum leges auctoritate nostra sancitas, occupare debeat; cumque tamen enixe cupiamus, ut prædicta Domus serenissima non minus amicitia nobis, quam sanguine & fœderibus, devinciatur: Nos, pro singulari nostro erga illam affectu, charissimum consanguineum nostrum GEO. AUGUSTUM, serenissimi Electoris filium, summis honoribus augere decrevimus. Et quamvis tanti Principis filius unicus patriis finibus excedere, sine gravi rerum periculo, non possit; his præcipue temporibus, quibus vicini Status tam violentis tempestatibus perturbantur: ut tamen rebus nostris & consiliis, qua licet, honoris & nominis auctoritate, etiam absens, quo dammodo intersit, illum Parium hujus regni numero adscribi jussimus. Hæ illi erunt primitiæ supremæ istius dignitatis, ad quam (nobis, nostrisque omnibus optantibus) destinatur: ut, hornatus dehinc nobilissimi hujusce regni titulis, quos Regii sanguinis principes semper ambierunt, nostratem se esse gestiat. Vos interea Barones, Vicecomites, Comites, Marchiones, Duces, vobis gratulemini, quod tantæ spei princeps, Germaniæ decus
et

WHEREAS the most serene Electoral House of Brunswick Lunenburgh is sprung from the Royal Stock of our Ancestors, and is (if we shou'd decease without Issue) to enjoy, by virtue of Laws ratify'd by our Authority, the Kingdoms of their Progenitors; yet as we earnestly desire that the said most serene House shou'd no less be ty'd to us by Friendship, than by Blood and Alliances, We, according to our singular Affection towards the same, have decreed to grace with the highest Honours our most dear Cousin, ^{SIR}GEORGE AUGUSTUS, Son to the most serene Elector. And although the only Son of so great a Prince cannot go out of his native Country without the utmost Danger, especially at this Time, when the neighbouring States are toss'd with such violent Tempests; to the End, nevertheless, that, as much as possible, he may, by the Authority of his Name and Dignity, tho' absent, be in a Manner present in our Parliament and Councils, We have order'd him to be added to the Number of the Peers of this Realm. This will be to him an Earnest of that supreme Dignity, to which (according to ours, and the
Wishes

et deliciae, sanctissimæ nostræ Religionis Wishes of all our Subjects) he's def-
vindex, & Libertatis publicæ propug- tin'd: that being henceforth adorn'd
nator, vobis olim imperaturus, e vobis in- with the Titles of this most noble
terim unus in vestros se ordines referri a- Kingdom, which the Princes of the
met, &c. Blood-Royal have always courted, he
 may be proud to be ours. You there-
 fore the Barons, Viscounts, Earls, Mar-
 quisses, and Dukes, congratulate with
 yourselves, that a Prince of so great
 Hopes, the Ornament and Darling of
Germany, the Defender of our most
 holy Religion, and the Assertor of pub-
 lick Liberty, one that is hereafter to
 govern you, and till then is one of you,
 should now delight to be vested with
 the same Honours with you, &c.

R E M A R K S.

SINCE it has been so fashionable of late to print the Preambles of Patents constituting Peers of this Realm, and that this may afford no small Light to future History, I have likewise thought fit to gratify the Publick with the Preamble foregoing: And as others have taken the Liberty to censure not only the Language, but even the Matter of some Patents, I may (to be sure) more warrantably make three or four Remarks, to justify her Majesty's wise Proceeding and upright Intentions in this, immediately under our Consideration.

I. My first Remark, or rather Explanation, shall be, that by the present House of *Hanover's* being sprung from the Royal Stock of her Ancestors, the Queen does not only mean from the Princess *ELIZABETH*, Queen of *Bohemia*, Daughter to King *JAMES* the First; but also from *MATILDA* or *MAUD* King *HENRY* the Second of *England's* Daughter, who was marry'd to *HENRY* the Lion, from whom the House of *Brunswick* is descended for many Generations past; and therefore the Princess *SOPHIA*, Electress Dowager of *Hanover*, upon her receiving the Act of Succession, order'd a Medal to be struck with her own Bust or Head on one Side, and that of *MATILDA* on the Reverse, betokening the Descent of this new *Saxon* Line, from the *Norman* and *Scottish* Royal Families.

II. My second Remark is, that the Queen notwithstanding does not say they are to succeed to the British Sceptres, *by hereditary Right* (seeing so many Families or Branches, and so many particular Persons of each, are in degrees of Consanguinity before 'em) but by vertue of Laws ratify'd by her Authority, *or by parliamentary Right*; comprehending thereby her own and the Acts of King *WILLIAM* for settling the new Entail of the Crown, and for securing the Succession in the Protestant Line. And most certainly the Government both of *England* and *Scotland*, before the Union, no less than at present, is, in its very fundamental Constitution, the Medium between an absolutely hereditary, and an absolute elective Monarchy. The true State of the Case is this, *To prevent the Incertitude, Competition, Bribery, and Confusion of frequent Elections (as in Poland) the Crown is entail'd upon a particular Family according to the Right of Primogeniture, the Female succeeding in default of Male Issue: But to prevent likewise our remediless falling (as in France) under the Management of Idiots, Madmen, Tyrants, or other Persons incapable of Rule, the crown is so limited under certain Conditions relating to State and Religion, as in cases of extreme Necessity to be transferrable to the nearest in Blood (duely capacitated) or to the most worthy of the same Family.* This has been often prov'd, and will be still further prov'd by ancient Laws as well as Facts, to be our Constitution *de jure*, therefore no less than *de facto* from the very Beginning: nor is it in Queen *ANNE*'s nor in Queen *ELIZABETH*'s Time, that the first Law was enacted, making it Treason for any to assert, that the Prince and Parliament cou'd not limit or alter the Succession, and so dispose of it as they saw most conducing to the publick Good. Now if the *London* Clergy (whose Lay-pupils we may reasonably suppose had no Meaning) wou'd have been at the Pains to explain their new trumpt-up hereditary and indefeizable Right on this Foot in their last Addrefs (that is, hereditary Right, under parliamentary Limitations) there's no body wou'd offer to quarrel with them: whereas till something of this Nature be done in a solemn and authentick Manner, Men cannot help believing they meant no Good to the Protestant Succession, no more than they and some others of their Brethren (for God be thanked, all of the Order are not infected) do wish well to the *British* Constitution, by reviving the odious, exploded, and destructive Doctrines of passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to the lawless Commands of the Prince, or those commission'd by him, which is to bear Allegiance even to his Army.

III. My third Remark is, that nothing can parallel the Imprudence of those who are such Fools to believe themselves, or the Imprudence of those who are such Knaves as to make others believe, that the Queen or her Ministers have any manifest Designs, or secret Reserves in favour of the Pretender, which

Notion the Jacobites are indefatigably infusing every where. I hold it no Wonder that Papists should do so, who think it lawful for Princes to break their Words and Oaths for the Service of Mother Church; but that Protestants shou'd be found, who are not only shameless enough to insinuate these Things, but exultingly show their Approbation of such Politicks (which yet I prophesy will break some of their Necks) is horrible and astonishing beyond any Expression; especially after the Queen's so clear Declaration, on many other Occasions as in this Preamble, That the *Hanover* Family is to succeed her immediately, if she shou'd happen to die without Issue, and that this new Title is to be to the Electoral Prince the first Fruits or Earnest of the Royal Dignity, to which he's destin'd by her Majesty's own Wishes (which are the Words of the Preamble) as well as by the Laws of the Nation. How can any Tories then that propagate, or any Whigs that countenance, such an abominable Fiction (herein equally deluded by the Jacobites) reconcile it with the Character of a Protestant Princess governing by Laws, to whose Sincerity and plain Dealing (among the Crowd of her other conspicuous Vertues) the high Allies and all the World bear a particular Testimony? what a detestable Idea wou'd they create, while they pretend to commend? as unfit (in short) to write, as to imagine.

IV. My fourth and last Remark is, that altho' some Princes are said to have thought fit not to send during their Lives for their immediate Successors, or any of their Family, who in case of the reigning Prince's Death, might take Care of their Interests, yet our Queen has made no such Declaration; but only intimates in this Preamble the Danger and Inconvenience of the Electoral Prince's leaving his Countrey during the War between the *Swedes* and their Enemies, so that after a Peace on that Side (which we wish may soon happen) he may be safely invited over. But indeed he may come of himself whenever he pleases, particularly when he's summon'd to Parliament, that he may take Care (as I said) of his Grandmother's Interest, and that of his Father, whose most serene Highness cou'd not certainly at such a Juncture as this securely leave his Country, not only as he's a Sovereign Prince; but as the Peace of *Germany* will very much depend upon the Counsels of the wisest and richest Prince of the Empire. Neither is it by far so dangerous for the Electoral Prince to venture Abroad now, as when the Patent was penn'd; for from an only Son he has since secur'd the Succession of his Family with several brave and healthy Children, by one of the amiablest Princesses in the World. The Case of Queen *ELIZABETH*, so frequent in the Mouths of some well-meaning People, is no Manner of Parallel: Since, in the first Place, no Successor was expressly declar'd in her Reign; and that, in the second Place, *MARY* Queen of *Scots*, pre-

tended

tended a better and antecedent Right, never openly disclaim'd by her Son King *JAMES*. Thus their Party look'd upon them as Competitors rather than Successors, whereof so wise a Princess as Queen *ELIZABETH* cou'd not but foresee the Danger; but in the Case before us there is no Room so much as for a Suggestion of this Nature, and therefore I doubt not but so wise a Princess as Queen *ANNE* will take proper Measures *to remove the Fears and Jealousies of her faithful Subjects.*

Let no body mistake this last Expression as a Contradiction to what I said in the third Remark: For I am still most firmly of the same Opinion, that the Succession is so far from being in Danger from the Queen or her Ministers, that I cou'd as soon believe 'em in a Conspiracy against themselves, as to be directly engag'd against the House of *Hanover*; yet I neither there nor any where else have said, that the Succession was in no danger from any other Quarter. On the contrary, I think it from my Soul to be infinitely more in Danger, aye in growing Danger, than the Church cou'd ever be conceiv'd to be by the most credulous, when of late so much Noise was seditiously rais'd on this Subject by certain Persons; who are now quite mute about Popery and the Pretender. And therefore, if I be not happily prevented (as I hope to be) by the Proceedings of the ensuing Parliament, I shall not be such a Traitor to my Country, as to fail of giving it that publick Warning, which every good Subject is bound to do when he apprehends publick Danger; for though with the *Irish* House of Commons, *I shall ever adhere to sound Revolution Principles, yet I am by no Means fond of frequent Revolutions.*

F I N I S.

The Selection lately published from the Harleian Miscellany, in one Volume of a similar Size, will be found an interesting Acquisition to the Readers of these historical Tracts.

